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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

COLLECTIONS AND RESEARCHES

MADE BY THE

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society

Vol. XXXII

LANSING, MICHIGAN
ROBERT SMITH PRINTING COMPANY, STATE PRINTERS AND BINDERS
1903

1720904

PREFACE.

With increased hope for the future of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical society the Committee of Historians invite careful attention to the thirty-second volume of its collections. The society has had its period of adversity, but as a result of recent energetic management, has entered upon a new era of prosperity and usefulness. Five years ago its further existence seemed to be in doubt, but a few faithful friends stood by it and kept it alive under the most adverse circumstances, when deprived for two years of State support through the veto of its appropriation bill by Governor Pingree. Since then the wider distribution of its volumes by placing them in public libraries throughout the State, the approval of its work by several organized societies, including the State Grange, and a more general knowledge of its purpose and publications, have made it even more popular than it was during its pioneer years. With a sufficient appropriation to carry forward its work still greater results can be accomplished.

A vast field for research awaits the historical explorer. In official records the history of Michigan dates back to 1612, when that renowned Frenchman, Samuel de Champlain, became lieutenant general and viceroy of the territory whereof it was an important part. His term of office expired in 1635. Following him for 125 years, in 1760, when the title passed to Great Britian, a result of Wolfe's victory over Montcalm at Quebec, twenty-four French governors, under various titles, ruled over the territory now known as Michigan. From 1760 to 1786 it had eight British governors-general. By the famous ordinance of 1787 it became a part of the Northwest Territory, with General Arthur St. Clair as its first American governor, his term continuing from 1787 to 1800. Next it was officially known as Indiana Territory, and General William Henry Harrison was governor from 1800 to 1805. March 1, 1805, Michigan Territory having been organized by an act of congress, General William Hull was appointed governor, and in 1813 was suc-

ceeded by General Lewis Cass, who for more than half a century, in the territory and State, was the foremost citizen in public and private life. Seven other territorial governors administered the office prior to the admission of the State into the Union in 1837.

During all this period, as well as since statehood commenced, there is much interesting history to be gleaned and preserved; and this work can be done by this Society a great deal better than in any other way. Eight years before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock, this territory had a European governor. To collect its history as far as possible, is worthy of encouragement and support by the State; and the past services of this Society furnish a guarantee for the future.

In the present volume the arrangement of matter has been changed. Historical articles appear first, and obituaries follow them. The first paper on the Grand Traverse region, deals largely with King Strang, once a crowned King in Michigan, and also a member of the State Legislature, whose summary death solved for us the Mormon problem. Mr. Gould's article on early times in Shiawassee County does much to harmonize conflicting statements concerning the residence of Whitmore Knaggs, the history of the "Knaggs Family" having been the subject of elaborate newspaper comment. Judge Chapman's paper on the Johnston family perpetuates many an almost lost legend and brings to mind the late Henry R. Schoolcraft's researches, which, owing to the scarcity of his histories and Indian studies, are not found in ordinary libraries. Mr. Burton saves valuable historical letters and papers of Governor Woodbridge, of John Askin and the early fur trade; also authentic documents relating to the war of 1812. General B. M. Cutcheon devotes a number of pages to patriotic Michigan during the civil war. Lewis Miller, clerk of the state house of representatives for many years, gives to the reader a peep behind the curtain in the legislature of 1871. Dr. Beal portrays pioneer life in the 30's, so that we can realize how the pioneers lived in that early time. Mackinac is pictured in words and illustrations by Dr. Bailey, whose acquaintance with that region began when he was stationed there as an army surgeon before the civil war. And Professor Kedzie—a faithful friend of this Society unto the last—reveals something of the work he performed in behalf of Michigan during his long, active and honorable career.

In the last volume of the Wisconsin Historical Society regret is expressed that not enough pains have been taken to preserve the Indian legends of the old Northwest. The present volume is not remiss in this respect. Valuable as are its contents, knowing something of the historic

fields yet to be explored, it is a safe assurance that, with adequate support, better work can be done in the future—work that will place Michigan on a parity at least with its sister states formed of the Northwest Territory, in the matter of historical research.

Continuing this work along broader lines and with better results than in the past, depends wholly upon the aid and encouragement given by the state legislature.

L. D. WATKINS, Manchester, Chairman.
E. W. BARBER, Jackson,
EDWARD CAHILL, Lansing,
MARY C. SPENCER,, Lansing.
PETER WHITE, Marquette,

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Hon. E. W. Barber, Jackson.
Mrs. Mary C. Spencer, Lansing.
Hon. Peter White, Marquette.

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Barry, Mrs. Sarah E. Striker, Hastings.
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Benzie, William A. Betts, Benzonia.
Berrien, Hon. Thomas Mars, Berrien Center.
Branch, Col. Geo. A. Turner, Coldwater.
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Charlevoix, E. H. Green, Charlevoix.
Chippewa, Judge Chas. H. Chapman, Sault Ste. Marie.
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Clinton, Mrs. C. L. Pearse, DeWitt.
Crawford, Dr. Oscar Palmer, Grayling.
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Dickinson,
Eaton, Hon. Esek Pray, Dimondale.
Emmet,
Genesee, Mrs. H. C. Fairbank, Flint.
Gladwin, Hon. Eugene Foster, Gladwin.
Gogebic, Judge Norman B. Haire, Ironwood.
Grand Traverse, Thomas T. Bates, Traverse City.
Gratiot,
Hillsdale,
Houghton, Gov. Orrin W. Robinson, Chassell.
Huron,
Ingham, John J. Bush, Lansing.
Ionia, Hon. P. H. Taylor, Ionia.
Iosco, John M. Waterbury, Tawas City.
Iron,
Isabella, Prof. C. S. Larzelere, Mt. Pleasant.
Jackson, Mrs. P. H. Loomis, Jackson.
Kalamazoo, E. W. DeYoe, Kalamazoo.
Kalkaska, Hon. A. E. Palmer, Kalkaska.
Kent, Hon. Geo. W. Thayer, Grand Rapids.
Keweenaw,
Lake,
Lapeer, Mrs. A. W. Jones, Lapeer.
Leelanau, E. Jaye Dickerman, Solon.
Lenawee, Hon. John I. Knapp, Adrian.
Livingston, Hon. Albert Tooley, Howell.
Luce, Hon. Sanford N. Dutcher, Newberry.
Mackinac, Dr. J. R. Bailey, Mackinac Island.
Macomb, Hon. Geo. H. Cannon, Washington.
Manistee, Hon. T. J. Ramsdell, Manistee.
Marquette, Hon. Peter White, Marquette.

Mason,
Mecosta,
Menominee,
Midland, Hon. C. L. Jenny, Midland.
Missaukee, M. D. Richardson, Pioneer.
Monroe, John W. Davis, Monroe.
Montcalm, Hon. James W. Belknap, Greenville.
Montmorency,
Muskegon, Mrs. Mary E. Chamberlain, Muskegon.
Newaygo, Hon. Daniel E. Soper, Newaygo.
Oakland,
Oceana, Hon. C. A. Gurney, Hart.
Ogemaw,
Ontonagon,
Osceola,
Oscoda,
Otsego, Chas. F. Davis, Elmira.
Ottawa, Hon. G. T. Diekema, Holland.
Presque Isle, H. Whitney, Millersburg.
Roscommon,
Saginaw, Mrs. Anna A. Palmer, Saginaw.
Sanilac,
Schoolcraft,
Shiawassee, Hon. A. H. Owens, Lennon.
St. Clair, Mrs. Caroline F. Ballentine, Port Huron.
St. Joseph, Thomas G. Greene, Centerville.
Tuscola, N. E. York, Millington.
Van Buren, Hon. C. J. Monroe, South Haven.
Washtenaw, J. Q. A. Sessions, Ann Arbor.
Wayne, Hon. Fred Carlisle, Detroit.
Wexford, Hon. Perry F. Powers, Cadillac.

EX-PRESIDENTS.

Albert Miller, Bay City, 1874, 1875.
Oliver C. Comstock, Marshall, 1875, 1876.
Jonathan Shearer, Plymouth, 1876, 1877.
Witter J. Baxter, Jonesville, 1877, 1878.
John J. Adam, Tecumseh, 1878, 1879.
Michael Shoemaker, Jackson, 1879, 1880.
Hezekiah G. Wells, Kalamazoo, 1880, 1881.
John C. Holmes, Detroit, 1881, 1882.
Charles I. Walker, Detroit, 1882, 1884.
Francis A. Dewey, Cambridge, 1884, 1885.
Henry Fralick, Grand Rapids, 1885, 1886.
Merchant H. Goodrich, Ann Arbor, 1886, 1887.
Talcott E. Wing, Monroe, 1887, 1889.
Orrin Poppleton, Birmingham, 1889, 1890.
John H. Forster, Williamston, 1890, 1892.
Alpheus Felch, Ann Arbor, 1892, 1897.
Cyrus G. Luce, Coldwater, 1897, 1901.
Clarence M. Burton, Detroit, 1901. ——

MICHIGAN

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETING JUNE 3-5, 1902.

TUESDAY, 3:30 P. M.

Agricultural College.

The twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society was called to order by the president in the chapel, and addresses of welcome were given by Governor A. T. Bliss and President J. L. Snyder of the college.

The meeting was intended to be entirely informal, and the music by several of the students, under the direction of Mrs. Marshall of the M. A. C., and poem by Mrs. T. C. Taylor of Almont, together with the excellent address of Hon. H. R. Pattengill, but served as a preliminary to the final competitive drill of the cadets.

The chapel was furnished with a number of the quaint old relics of pioneer days and with the flowers made a fit setting, and the meeting at the college was voted a success.

TUESDAY EVENING, 7:30.

Representative Hall.

Previous to the opening of the regular session a gavel was presented to the society by Mr. John I. Knapp of Adrian. This gavel was made from the wood of the "Bent Oak Tree" in Adrian, a tree which, when cut down, was found to be more than four hundred years old. The gavel

was used by the president in calling the meeting to order, and the opening prayer was offered by Rev. R. C. Crawford of Byron.

The program was followed, as nearly as possible, the music being furnished by Elton Esselstyn; but the paper of Lieutenant Governor O. W. Robinson was substituted for the one by C. J. Thorpe, who was unable to be present.

A committee consisting of Cyrus G. Luce, L. D. Watkins, Edward W. Barber, Judge Cahill and George W. Thayer was appointed to make the nominations for the new official family, and Chairman Luce called a meeting for Wednesday morning at 9 o'clock.

Not the least pleasant feature of the evening was the reception in the executive parlors tendered by Governor and Mrs. A. T. Bliss, assisted by Ex-Governor C. G. Luce, Secretary of State Fred M. Warner, State Treasurer McCoy, State Land Commissioner Wildey, Deputy Adjutant General Turner, Superintendent of Public Instruction Delos Fall, Hon. Peter White and others.

WEDNESDAY, 9:30 A. M.

Meeting opened with music by the second grade pupils of the Townsend street school under the direction of Miss Hoes.

This was followed by the reports of the officers and memorial committees.

A report of the health work in Michigan by Drs. Kedzie and Baker was read, and after the final music of the morning, by the high school pupils under Miss Jaenette Osborn and the Industrial School boys, the nominating committee made their recommendations as follows:

President—Clarence M. Burton, Detroit.

Recording and Corresponding Secretary—Henry R. Pattengill, Lansing.

Treasurer—Benjamin F. Davis, Lansing.

Executive Committee—Robert C. Kedzie, Lansing; Daniel McCoy, Grand Rapids; H. B. Smith, Marengo.

Committee of Historians—L. D. Watkins, Manchester; Judge Edward Cahill, Lansing; Edward W. Barber, Jackson; Mrs. Mary C. Spencer, Lansing; Peter White, Marquette.

A unanimous vote was given for the election of these persons for their respective positions.

WEDNESDAY, 2:30 P. M.

The program was given in its entirety, the music being under the supervision of St. Mary's church choir.

A bouquet was presented by F. M. Cowles to the pioneer present who had lived longest in Michigan. Mr. John A. Dewey of Owosso was found to be the recipient, he having lived in the State eighty years.

WEDNESDAY, 7:30 P. M.

Meeting opened by music, a violin solo by Lowell B. Judson with Clark W. Rowley accompanist. The paper of Mr. Chapman on the historic Johnston family was supplemented by some remarks by Mrs. Gilbert, who had a personal acquaintance with some of the older generation.

The other papers were read in their order, the remainder of the music being given by Miss Emma Glicman.

THURSDAY, 9:30 A. M.

Meeting called to order, and Mrs. Gilbert of Grand Rapids gave some very interesting readings of her personal recollections. Five-minute speeches were made by William A. Betts, Geo. W. Thayer and others.

Miss Jennie Barber favored us with some instrumental music. Dr. Beal gave pioneer experiences in his paper, "Pioneer Life in Southern Michigan in the 30's." Mr. C. J. Thorpe's paper was read by his daughter, Mrs. A. J. Patton. Prof. Wheeler's article on the "Flora and Fauna of Early Michigan," was not read owing to its length, but will appear in its proper place.

After the parting song of "Auld Lang Syne," the benediction was pronounced by Rev. R. C. Crawford, and the president declared the meeting adjourned to convene during the first week of June, 1903.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

BY C. M. BURTON.

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:

The Historical Society of Michigan was organized in Detroit in 1828, and Lewis Cass was elected the first president, and retained the office for some years.

There were a number of well-written articles on different historical subjects prepared by the members of this society. These papers were read before the society at their meetings and were printed in the Northwestern Journal in Detroit in the years 1830-32, and were subsequently published in book form under the title of "Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan." The authors of the various chapters of the book were Lewis Cass, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Major Henry Whiting, and Major John Biddle; names familiar to every student of the State's history.

Cass was chosen Secretary of War in 1832 by Gen. Andrew Jackson, and Schoolcraft and Whiting left Detroit. Biddle became a member of congress. Thus the life of the society quieted down and it remained dormant for some time until an attempt to revive it was made, some twenty-five years later, by Judge Benjamin F. H. Witherell, and Judge Charles I. Walker. Both of these men were diligent students, and prepared and published in the newspapers numbers of sketches and articles that were of interest and importance. It is to be regretted that the writings of these men have not all been preserved in our own society's records. At the present time many of them are to be found only in the newspapers of the times in which they lived and wrote.

The attempt to revive the society succeeded for a time, and some new life was occasionally added to it in such persons as Levi Bishop, John C. Holmes, James A. Girardin, Samuel Zug, and others. After a time the interest died out, and the association became lifeless in fact, though its name remained.

In 1871 a number of the older citizens in Detroit formed a Pioneer Society, with interests nearly similar to that of the Historical Society. Among others in this movement were Luther Beecher, Thomas Lewis, Levi Bishop, Stanley G. Wight, Washington A. Bacon, Seymour Finney, and Samuel Zug. Two years later, a resolution of the legislature was passed asking the citizens to contribute books and historical pamphlets per-

C. M. BURTON, PRESIDENT, 1901 ——

taining to the State to the State library, and making that institution custodian for Indian relics and curiosities of all kinds. At the same session of the legislature (1873), an act was passed for the incorporation of the State, county or municipal historical, biographical and geological societies. The object of this act was to permit the formation of local societies that would be independent of each other, and yet that would tend to form a union of societies through the State. It was contemplated that there would be one central State society formed under this act, and that the local or county societies should, each year, transmit to the State society copies of the papers prepared and read at the meetings of the county society; all these papers and all other collections made by the State society were to be deposited with the State librarian.

The State librarian, Mrs. Harriet A. Tenney, issued a circular letter calling upon the people to aid in the collection of general statistics, books, models of inventions, local histories, recollections of pioneers, personal journals of travel and pioneer life, and, in fact, everything that would add to the historical material which was every day being lost from want of care.

In the following year (1874) some of the citizens of the State set about the formation of a State society as was contemplated by the act of 1873, and a meeting was called at Lansing in March. At this meeting Judge Albert Miller of Bay City was chosen chairman, and John C. Holmes of Detroit secretary, and it was resolved to meet again at Lansing on April 22, 1874, for the purpose of organizing a State pioneer society, and it was at this meeting that the "Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan" was organized.

At this meeting Judge Miller was elected president, and the twelve vice-presidents were chosen from various parts of the State.

The fees and annual dues from members were very light, but it was expected that sufficient money could be derived from them to publish the first volume of the collections, and no appropriation could be obtained from the State for that purpose.

The small appropriation of five hundred dollars per year was obtained from the State in 1875, and even a part of this was lost to the society because it was not used in time and was charged over to the general fund.

Additional moneys were subsequently appropriated sufficient to print the succeeding volumes of the society.

Thirty volumes have been issued and one or two more are now being prepared as an index to the thirty preceding ones. These books are seemingly each divided into two parts, the first part consisting of reports from the various county or local societies, compiled and read at

their local meetings and then forwarded, as required by the statute of 1873, to the State society for preservation and publication; the other part consisting of publications of papers on historical subjects, and of archives collected by the committee of historians. This manner of publication originated in the idea that the society was what its original name suggested, a Pioneer Society, and which was later changed to a Pioneer and Historical Society.

The society as originally formed consisted mainly of those citizens who had come to the State at an early day, and who, with ax and plow, had subdued the wilderness and opened the roads for those who came later. As the number of these pioneers began to lessen, the attendance at the annual meetings grew smaller, for the next generation hardly felt that they could be included in the list of pioneers. The age limit that was fixed in the original articles of association tended to prevent the addition of younger members to the society, and there was some danger that the society would die as the pioneers were passing away. In order to meet and solve the problem of a continued and useful existence, it was proposed to strike out the age limit and extend the invitation to every one in the State to become a member of the society. That this was a wise move is shown by the interest that has been revived during the past year, and the increased number of members. There can be no valid reason for deciding that the pioneers are "dropping off." A person who seeks new industries, makes new settlements, tills new lands, or engages in any new enterprise, is just as much a pioneer as was his father or grandfather who came to the State half a century or more ago. To be sure, he cannot recount the hardships of a life far from markets, with poor roads, no schools or churches, and few of the surroundings that were termed luxuries, but he is nevertheless a pioneer, and the hardships of his early life will be as interesting to read, a century hence, as are those of the early farmer, who was the first man in his country. No more interesting memoirs can be found today than those of the old-time merchants of New York City, and yet those men were the pioneers in a city then more than two hundred years old, and were the grandsons and great-grandsons of ancestors who lived and carried on business in these same streets of New York for generations before them. So every person is a pioneer in some sense, and his pioneer recollections ought to be preserved for the future pioneers to read and profit by.

The adding of new life to our society and the accumulation of historical material like Haldimand and Bouquet Papers cannot but be of great value to our reputation and usefulness. We are not building up our society for ourselves alone. The libraries and historical societies of

America are looking to us for assistance in their researches. The wealth of our historical matter is limitless, and it only remains for us to select and put in proper shape that which we have and can obtain to make our society known and appreciated as far as the English language is known. No other State in the Union has, I believe, as many volumes on historical subjects as have been issued by our society, and so, in that particular, we stand at the head of State institutions. In some other States, as in Massachusetts and New York, private societies have published a larger number of historical volumes, and in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, the Commonwealth has published State archives exceeding our publications in volume.

What I have said has been of the past, but what will be the future? We are just beginning to feel that we are of importance in this field, and we must work harder still to force our society and its objects before all the people. We ought to make every child in the State see how great a State we have and know its history. That history should form a part of the education of our young people in the kindergarten, the grammar school, the high school and the university; we ought to have an appropriation from the next legislature sufficient to employ a secretary who is capable to properly care for the work, and whose heart is in it, to collect and edit the proper materials, and who will push the knowledge of the existence of our society everywhere. We have a grand work to perform, and we look to the State for material aid in performing it.

The Historical Society is and always has been considered as a part of the State library, and the two should join in carrying out the work we have.

We must make it apparent to taxpayers and to the legislature that the work of the society is a necessary part of the school education, and we will have no trouble to obtain the material aid we need for successful work. The present government is favorably inclined toward us, and I do not think we need fear that we will ever again be omitted from the appropriations, but we want to do more work—grander work each succeeding year. We want to follow no State or society in the value and quantity of our work—we want to be the leaders, and I think we will be.

REPORT OF RECORDING AND CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

To the Officers and Members of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:

During the four months which followed the twenty-seventh annual meeting, held June 5 and 6, 1901, no work whatever was done, as the committee did not meet until September 25 to plan the labor for the year or examine the manuscripts for Vol. 31. The printers then requested us to hold this until December 1, and all the work of publishing this volume has been done in the past six months. During October and November letters were written to every State representative and senator, all of our congressmen, and to all others whose names we could secure, if there seemed the slightest prospect that they would be interested in our work. The result has been very gratifying, and the next few years will show more from this than the present one, if the policy be continued.

Each vice-president was notified of his or her position and asked to continue the work; from this correspondence we found we had thirteen vacancies to fill, some on account of increasing age,—some had passed on. By persistent efforts we have supplied these places with new names, and have secured a representation in twenty counties never before on our list, making a total of *fifty-eight* counties, and the prospect seems good that the rest will be filled during the coming year. In the upper peninsula the Hon. Peter White has secured several for us, where the case would have been hopeless if we had been obliged to depend upon our own knowledge of the district.

In October we wrote the Federation of Women's Clubs regarding the subject of Michigan history, asking them to put one day in the year upon the program, to be known distinctively as Michigan Day. A number of the clubs have responded favorably, as have also several chapters of the D. A. R. If the matter is taken in time this fall it will undoubtedly receive official notice from the State society.

Early in December the Farmer's Clubs and the State Grange met here, and it was considered a good time to secure their co-operation. They are, in most cases, the lineal descendants of the Pioneers, and only need to be informed of our work to aid us materially. They have promised to hold a pioneer day once each year, and when the papers are of historic interest they will be sent us for publication, and perhaps secure relics for our museum.

In December I attended the State Teachers' meeting at Grand Rapids, and spoke to them of the importance of teaching municipal, township, county, and State history. The Department of Public Instruction has shown great interest in our work, and we outlined a plan of work which can be used by any school or organization desiring it. The schools are to have a pioneer day this fall, with the idea that it become a permanent feature of their work, and there is no reason why this may not be as prominent and important as any of the days now observed by them.

Judge Cahill has been writing the colleges, but just what the response will be is conjecture as yet, but if they refuse they will be the first, and I cannot suppose that. In fact, every one has been so ready to help, that it is only proper to acknowledge the many courtesies and favors we have received. To mention all the names will be impossible, as every room in the capitol would be included, and nearly every occupant.

Through the Secretary of State's Department nearly 4,000 invitations were issued, Dr. Wilbur taking charge of something less than 3,000 through the Bureau of Vital Statistics and O. C. Howe caring for the balance, sending them to the granges and editors of newspapers. These latter, in their turn, have printed the invitations in their local papers, reaching thousands in this manner, and in some instances have sent us marked copies.

The Wolverine Workman, a publication issued in the interests of the A. O. U. W., by the Hon. Perry F. Powers, and edited by Walter J. Wheaton, has a subscription list of 24,000, and printed our invitation in full. A very conservative estimate would give at least 100,000 people who have heard of us, at least, this spring, and this should be quite an element for future work.

Of the 209 names added to our list since last October, the Hon. Daniel McCoy, himself a new member, has brought in 50, and Henry Bishop of Kalamazoo, an adopted son of Michigan, sent us fifteen at one time. Dr. Kedzie has secured seven members from the M. A. C. It is impossible for the secretary to add many names, through correspondence, and we requested the vice-presidents to try to secure five each for us, but this met with the least response of anything for which we asked.

Mr. William A. Betts of Benzonia has been very helpful all through the year, urging our needs in his local paper, and in various ways keeping us before his friends. The French paper, "Le Canadien," has been sent us regularly, two books from Chicago Historical Society, through Mr. McCoy, State Manual, and for our museum we have received some singing books, one of which is 150 years old, from William A. Betts; a candle-

stick, mold for making candles, lantern from N. E. York of Tuscola county; a flail, sickle, and warming pan, from H. K. Billings of Concord; some of the first beet sugar made at the Lansing factory, a gourd and gavel, spoken of at the opening meeting, Tuesday evening, from Mr. J. I. Knapp of Adrian, andirons from A. H. Owens of Lennon, and a collection of specimens of all woods native to Michigan, from Francis R. Beal of Northville.

Among the many pleasant incidents of the year came the unsolicited gift of Mrs. Susan G. S. Winpenny, of Philadelphia, Pa., of a check for $100, in loving memory of her father, Colonel Michael Shoemaker of Jackson, Mich. For many years Colonel Shoemaker occupied high positions in the affairs of State, and his interest was very intense for the history and welfare of Michigan. He took a very active part in the work of our society, being its President in 1879, and afterwards as chairman of the committee of Historians, doing very valuable and conscientious work.

No action has yet been taken regarding the disposition of this gift, but it is possible that a picture of our lamented friend will be secured with it.

Letters of regret have been received from Gen. Isaac D. Toll of Petoskey, Thomas G. Greene, P. H. Taylor, Gideon Noel, M. Brown, Byron M. Cutcheon, A. M. Eddy, Mrs. Nancy M. Wilson, Thomas Mars, J. C. F. Hollister, Grant G. Spur, Mrs. Mary R. Fairbank, The Atheneum Club of Lexington, Anna A. Palmer, and outside of the State from Rev. Meade C. Williams of St. Louis, Chas. Moore of Washington, William Gray Brooks of Boston, Dr. George Holbrook of Booneville, Arkansas, E. G. Holden of Coquille, Oregon.

Each year takes from us some of the faces of those whom we hope to meet again at our next session, and this has been no exception. Mr. Bishop wrote us a very cheerful letter, expecting to be with us today, but he has gone, and only leaves to us the memory of a friend. A younger generation has not been spared and we have to record the loss of Mr. N. J. Kelsey, who was on the committee of historians a year ago, and Judge J. W. Champlin, of our present executive committee. In their proper places will be found obituaries.

Perhaps a report may not be just the place for suggestions, but the work of the past is so closely interwoven with the future that separation seems impossible, and I feel that the whole society should understand the work done, so far as a report can show it. It would be wise, I think, for each vice-president to consider himself a delegate to act for his county society in our meetings, and to represent us there, and in addition to this the secretary should attend such meetings whenever possible.

In February the Livingston county society met at Fowlerville, and in response to an invitation I attended. It was not their annual meeting, and as it was in cold weather, there was probably a smaller attendance than in the summer. There was no preparation on either side, yet their secretary was good enough to say it had helped them, and there is no question in my mind of the benefit to us. A few names were secured, and we have the promise of some relics for the museum. From several places in the State have come requests that my successor should attend the county gatherings, and in no way can you secure so much help as from this personal communication.

The upper peninsula should have a branch society if you wish the best results. A general vice-president and secretary for that district should be elected, with authority to organize a branch of the work. The various vice-presidents of those counties will aid them, and if they can have a meeting such as ours once each year, with a delegate, or even two from here, you will add greatly to the interest felt by the people in that part of our State. It is too far to have any close relations, but the hand can be extended and they will take it if they have the chance. A glance at our book of registry will show just who are the *live* vice-presidents. In some counties we have a good representation, in others almost no one save the vice-president himself; perhaps a volume of the current publication might induce them to work a little harder. It seems to me that each one could secure three to five new names each year. Yet the largest year previous to this was forty. Systematic work must be done this fall with the newly-elected State officials, that they may know all about us before they come here with their pockets full of bills not half so important as ours. They must be made to see that they and all of us are making history, and if it is worth making it is worth recording. A committee should be appointed whose duty it shall be to come here during the legislative session and aid in securing an appropriation large enough to allow for the payment of a fair salary to a competent secretary. We are as great a State as any in the Union, yet we are far behind some of our younger sisters in this important matter. If the addition to the capitol is voted for this winter, which is not at all unlikely, we should secure rooms which shall be a credit to the society. We have been trying to secure a number of specimens of the minerals produced in the upper peninsula, and less than a month ago was told that one of the men was quite inclined to secure for us a fine collection, but when he heard where our room was he gave up the thought at once. He is a specialist in that line, and said that unless we could show them properly

he did not care to trouble himself about them. There are a good many quaint things, and some of beauty in our room, but no one would suspect it from the general appearance.

With the increased work in each county it becomes necessary to shorten some of it, and obituaries should be restricted to 150 words or less, except where the person has been of State or national reputation.

MRS. ELLEN B. JUDSON,
Secretary.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Report of Treasurer of Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society from June 7, 1900, to close of business June 30, 1902.

Disbursed during 1900	$476 64
Disbursed during 1901, as per annexed schedule	3,009 66
Cash on hand July 1, 1902	344 56
	$3,830 86
On hand June 7, 1900	$53 37
Received during 1900	514 00
Received during 1901	3,263 49
	$3,830 86
Expense of annual meeting	$90 53
Stationery and postage	303 28
Compiling records Vol. 31	868 99
Printing Vol. 29	449 71
Stationery and blocking	6 43
Salaries	732 00
Binding Vol. 29	269 88
Committee meetings	229 34
Expenses	14 98
Binding Vol. 5	32 05
Reports and portraits	79 00
	$3,076 19

Less $50.00, $5.00, $7.23, $4.30 checks outstanding June 30, 1902	$66 53
	$3,009 66

No check issued for the above $50.00.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

B. F. DAVIS,
Treasurer.

In addition to above balance I have $100.00 "Special gift," carried in special account.

HISTORY OF THE GRAND TRAVERSE REGION.

BY DR. M. L. LEACH.

INTRODUCTORY.

The following history was compiled in 1883 by Dr. M. L. Leach* of Traverse City, at the request of Hon. Thomas T. Bates,† who printed it in his paper, *The Grand Traverse Herald*, and also in pamphlet form. No attempt has been made to bring it down to the present time, but it does aim to be carefully collected from authentic sources, and give an accurate history of this extensive region. Through the courtesy of Mr. Bates we have been permitted to embody it in our collections.

EDITOR.

*Morgan L. Leach, M. D., was born in Clarence, now Lancaster, Erie county, N. Y., April 6, 1821. He came to Michigan in 1825, and his last visit to the State occurred in 1842, when he became a resident of Mundy, Genesee county. Up to his thirteenth year Dr. Leach attended the old-fashioned district school. By the death of his father, the main care of the family devolved upon him at the age of 20. Deprived of school privileges, he made good use of such opportunities as fell to his lot, and gained a fair proficiency in some of the higher studies. Later he turned his attention to medicine, and graduated from the Medical College of the University of Michigan, March 25, 1858. In the war of the rebellion he served in the 1st Michigan Cavalry, and afterward as assistant surgeon in the 9th Michigan Cavalry. On General Banks' retreat from the Shenandoah Valley he was badly wounded, and fell into the hands of the enemy. At the close of the war he resumed the practice of his profession, and at times engaged also in various business projects, together with literary work. Dr. Leach was married to Mrs. Lemira M. Coy, of Duplain, Mich., and after her death to Mrs. Emily Caroline Wisner, of Mayfield, Mich. For the last few years Dr. Leach has made his home at Traverse City, Mich.

†Thomas Tomlinson Bates, of Traverse City, Mich., was born December 13, 1841, at Keeseville, N. Y. His father was Rev. Merritt Bates and his mother was Eliza A. Tomlinson, of the old New York family. His father was a Methodist Episcopal clergyman, and an active and uncompromising anti-slavery man through all the 35 years preceding the civil war. He was educated in the public schools, and at 16 began life for himself. A year later he was general helper in a bank at Glens Falls, N. Y. At 18 he occupied an important position in a banking house in Memphis, Tenn., but came north at the outbreak of the civil war. He removed to Traverse City in 1863, was cashier for Hannah, Lay & Co. two years, and resigned to open a real estate office with Hon. D. C. Leach, whose interest in the business he bought in 1871. In 1876 he bought from its owner, D. C. Leach, the *Grand Traverse Herald*, a paper established by his uncle, Hon. Morgan Bates, in 1858, and he has been editor and publisher ever since. In 1897, in connection with J. W. Hannen, he established the *Morning Record*, changing it in 1901 to an evening publication. Both papers are republican in politics. Mr. Bates having always taken an active part in the work of that party in the State. Though never a political office-holder, with the exception of the position of postmaster, he was several years chairman of the township and county committees, and he also served ten years, from 1880 to 1890, as a member of the State Central Committee, the longest consecutive service ever given on that committee by any member of the party. He has been a member of the board of trustees of the Northern Michigan Asylum for the Insane, located at Traverse City, since it was opened, in 1886, was president of the board for seven years, and was also a member, and chairman, of the building commission of the same institution. He is president of the Traverse City Railroad Company, and has been on its board of directors since its organization in 1871, and has in every way been active in the development of Northern Michigan. He was married in 1867 to Miss Martha Cram of Traverse City, and his family consists of one son, George G. Bates, who is in the publishing business in Chicago, and two daughters, who reside at home.

PREFACE.

The work of collecting materials for a history of the Grand Traverse region was commenced without any well-settled purpose as to the use to be made of them, further than to put them in shape convenient for preservation, for the benefit of some future historian. As the work progressed, the abundance and richness of the material obtained made it evident that a work might be written of great interest to the present generation. How far the writer has succeeded in the attempt, remains for his readers to determine.

A few simple principles have guided the author in the execution of the work. It has not been written in the interest of any person, party, or clique. To tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and to make of the truth an interesting narrative, has been his constant aim. In case of conflicting testimony, of which there have been but a remarkably small number of instances, he has carefully and impartially examined and weighed the evidence, and has given the statement of what to him appeared to be the truth, without fear or favor.

It should be borne in mind that this is a local history; hence it properly contains elaborate descriptions of local events and incidents, and reminiscences of personal adventure, that would be out of place in a history of a State or a nation.

That the work is imperfect, cannot be denied; that it contains inaccuracies of minor importance is highly probable. Should it ever attain to the honor of being published in book form, the author will be glad to avail himself of all possible aids in correcting in that edition the faults of this. To this end, friendly criticism and communication of further interesting facts are cordially invited.

M. L. Leach.

Traverse City, December, 1883.

CHAPTER I.

The Dim and Shadowy Past—An Ancient People—What is Known of Them—Mounds and Earthworks—Ancient Manufactories of Stone Arrow-heads—Pottery—Copper Ornaments—Probabilities in Regard to the Occupation of the Grand Traverse Country by the Mound-Builders.

The history of a country differs in some points from the history of a people. The latter traces a people through all their migrations, and portrays their life in the different countries they have occupied; the former confines its investigations to a single country, and treats of all the different peoples that have at any time inhabited it.

In our inquiry regarding the early occupancy of the Grand Traverse country, we soon pass beyond the domain of authentic record, into the dim and shadowy realm of conjecture. When the white man came, he found the Indian here; but the Indian had been preceded by another people. Of that other people there is no tradition, or at most but a very vague and uncertain one. All we know of them is gleaned from scattered and scanty monumental remains, brought to light by accident or the researches of the antiquarian. Yet these remains are sufficient to enable us to construct a theory of their civilization, religion, and civil polity, having a tolerable degree of probability.

This ancient people have been named the Mound-Builders, from the numerous mounds of earth, some of them of immense magnitude, found in those parts of the country they inhabited. They were an agricultural people, having made considerable advancement in the arts of civilization. They manufactured pottery of clay, and various implements, weapons, and ornaments of stone and copper. They constructed extensive earthworks for religious uses. They worshiped the sun. They offered human sacrifices by fire. They offered sacrifices of their most valuable goods, on altars made of burnt clay, and then covered up altar and ashes, and the burned fragments of the offerings with mounds of earth. They laid their honorable dead in shallow graves, and heaped huge mounds of earth above them. The mysterious rites of sepulture were celebrated by the aid of fire, and sometimes a human victim was sacrificed above the grave.*

*The writer has in his possession the fragments of a burned human skull found in a mound in such a situation as to warrant the above statement. Two bodies had been laid in shallow graves, and a mound partly built above them. On a level spot, on the partly-built mound, a body had been burned, and then the bed of ashes, with the burned bones lying upon it, had been covered with earth by the completion of the mound.

Their government, whatever its form, was strong enough to control the mass of the people, and hold together large bodies of men in the service of the State. They built extensive fortifications, in positions well chosen for defense, that, in primitive methods of warfare, must have been well-nigh impregnable. They carried on an extensive internal commerce, exchanging the products of one region for those of another.

Such are some of the facts antiquarians have been able to establish in regard to the ancient people who, long ages ago, had their seat of power in the Mississippi valley, and spread their colonies over the country from the Alleghanies to the Rocky mountains, and from the great lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.

There is indubitable evidence that the Mound-Builders wrought the copper mines of Lake Superior—that the work was carried on by large bodies of men through a period of hundreds of years—but evidence that they established permanent settlements there is wanting. The most reasonable theory is that the laborers spent the summer in the mines, but retired for the winter to a more genial clime; hence it becomes an interesting problem to determine the northern limit of their permanent abode.

It is evident that they had populous settlements in some of the more fertile districts of the southern part of the State. Farther north their remains are found less frequently, and are of a less imposing character. Characteristic earthworks (whether built for defense or for civil or religious purposes is uncertain) are found in Ogemaw county. Mounds are known to exist in Manistee county. That outlying colonies extended north to the Grand Traverse country scarcely admits of a doubt. Around Boardman lake, near Traverse City, several small mounds formerly existed, some of which have been destroyed in the search for relics. Several small burial mounds have been opened within the village limits.

The sites of several ancient manufactories of stone arrow-heads have been found. In excavating for a street, on the bank of Boardman river in Traverse City, such a location was discovered, marked by the presence of great numbers of chips of flint, or hornstone, the refuse of the material used for making the arrow-heads. At Charlevoix the soil for a foot or more in depth on the top of the bluff north of the mouth of the river contains great numbers of these flint chips, together with some unfinished arrow-heads that were spoiled in making and thrown away. Another well-marked site of an arrow-head manufactory is on the farm of John

Miller, on the north shore of Pine lake, about a mile from the village of Boyne City.*

Fragments of ancient pottery, having the markings common to the pottery attributed to the Mound-Builders, are found at the locality last mentioned, and also within the village limits of Boyne City, as well as sparingly in other places.

At Charlevoix, in excavating a cellar, an ancient grave was opened, in which were found a great number of beautifully-finished flint arrow-heads and a quantity of copper beads. In the same locality, some boys amusing themselves by running up and down the steep bank of the "Old River," discovered a piece of copper protruding from the gravelly bank. An examination resulted in the finding of two knives and two bodkins, or piercing instruments, all of copper.

The evidence seems conclusive that the Mound-Builders, the most ancient inhabitants of the territory of the United States of whom we have any knowledge, had extended their scattered frontier settlements into the Grand Traverse country. Here, perhaps, mining expeditions from the more populous south called to make their final preparations for the northern summer trip, and here some of the returning miners were accustomed to spend the winter.

That ancient people have long since disappeared. Of the reason and manner of their disappearance no record remains, except, perhaps, a vague and shadowy tradition, which seems to imply that they retired towards the south before the fierce and savage race that succeeded them in the occupancy of the country.

CHAPTER II.

Migrations of the Ottawas—First Meeting of the Ottawas and Chippewas —The Three Brothers—The Underground Indians—The Mush-quah-tas —An Unpardonable Insult—A Tribe Blotted Out.

When northern Michigan first became known to the white man, the Ottawas, a tribe of the Algonquin family, occupied the region now known as the Grand Traverse country. Their origin as a tribe is veiled in the

*It may be objected that the Indians made and used flint arrow-heads and stone axes, and that therefore the finding of these relics is no evidence of the former presence of the Mound-Builders. I freely admit the possibility that in the cases mentioned the arrow-heads were made by the Indians, but I am fully convinced that at least three-fourths of all the stone implements and ornaments found in the United States are the work of the Mound-Builders. In regard to the pottery of the Grand Traverse country, its marking and general appearance place it with the pottery of the Mound-Builders. As to the copper ornaments and implements, the fact is well established that the Indians knew nothing of the copper mines, and did not put copper to any practical use till the white men taught them how.

obscurity of the past. Tradition says that they came from the east, advancing up the Ottawa river, in Canada, and then westward by way of the north shore of Lake Huron and the Manitoulin islands. The reason for the migration is not known. There may have been no special reason beyond the common exigencies of savage life which necessitate removal, or they may have been influenced by the proximity of their fierce and powerful neighbors, the Iroquois, with whom they were always at war. The advance westward was slow and gradual, being interrupted by pauses of varying duration. At the great Manitoulin islands the tribe for a long time made their home.

At Sault Ste. Marie they first met the Chippewas, who inhabited the country bordering on Lake Superior. The two tribes were mutually surprised to find that, though previously each had had no knowledge of the existence of the other, their languages were so nearly alike that they could converse intelligibly. A council was held, the subject was discussed, and the history of each tribe rehearsed, but the tradition does not tell us that the mystery of the likeness of the languages and the probable consanguinity of the tribes was solved.

The Ottawas were brave and warlike. As they advanced westward they fought and vanquished those who opposed their progress; with those that were friendly they smoked the pipe of peace. Friendly intercourse with the Chippewas and Pottawattamies resulted in the formation of a sort of loose confederacy of the three tribes, who styled themselves, "The Three Brothers." During the period of the earlier intercourse of the whites with the Indians of the Northwest these tribes seem to have held undisputed possession of nearly the whole of the Lower Peninsula.

The Ottawas remained for some time established in the vicinity of the Straits before they extended their settlements along the shore of Lake Michigan. During this period, though they were at peace with their immediate neighbors, they gratified their thirst for battle by frequent warlike expeditions against distant tribes. They often passed south around the head of Lake Michigan, and westward beyond the Mississippi, sometimes, it is said, extending their forays almost to the foot of the Rocky mountains. They brought home many western prisoners. Some of these were called by the Ottawas, Underground Indians, on account of their custom of digging pits in the ground for dwellings. The Underground Indians were brave and intelligent, and made excellent counsellors. The captors often intermarried with their captives, and the descendants of the latter, in many cases, were closely related to the royal families of the Ottawas. Some of the most noted Ottawa chiefs of later times were descended from the Underground Indians.

At that time a portion of the present county of Emmet was the home of a small tribe, called the Mush-quah-tas. Their principal village was situated in a beautiful valley in the northeast part of the township, now called Friendship. The name of the tribe signifies, "The People Who Roam Over the Prairies." They were of Algonquin stock, as is proved by the fact that their language resembled the Ottawa, while the tribal name and their recognized affinity to the Underground Indians seem to point to a western origin. The Mush-quah-tas were intelligent, peaceable, and industrious, cultivating large fields of corn, and seldom going on the war-path. They had been on friendly terms with the Ottawas since the arrival of the latter in the country, though it is probable that some degree of concealed ill-will existed on both sides. It was a sad day for the Mush-quah-tas, when, by their own foolish act, these friendly relations were disturbed.

There was a small village of the Mush-quah-tas on the lake shore, at what is now called Seven-Mile Point. A small party of Ottawas, returning in their canoes from an expedition against the Sacs, having lost some of their comrades, as they came near the village, commenced wailing for the dead, according to the Indian custom. The Mush-quah-tas, hearing the distant sounds of grief, instead of preparing to join in the mourning, as would have been proper, rashly determined to express in an emphatic manner their disapproval of the marauding expeditions of their neighbors and their contempt for those who engaged in them. Accordingly, as the canoes touched the beach, their occupants were pelted by the young men and boys of the village with balls of ashes wrapped up in forest leaves. The Ottawas retired sullen, burning with the spirit of revenge, and soon reported the occurrence to their own people. To the proud Ottawas, the insult was such as could only be wiped out with blood. A joint council of the Ottawas and Chippewas was held, in which it was determined, if possible, to annihilate the Mush-quah-tas.

Living in the principal village of the Mush-quah-tas, was an old man and his two married sons. Whether the old man, hearing of the affair at Seven-Mile Point, shrewdly surmised that the insulted Ottawas would seek a bloody revenge, or, as the tradition seems to imply, was impressed with a true prophetic presentiment of coming evil, he faithfully warned the people that their village would soon be overwhelmed by enemies, and earnestly counselled retirement to a place of safety. Finding his counsel disregarded, he, with his sons and their families, removed to the shore of Little Traverse bay, fixing his temporary abode near the present site of Harbor Springs.

It may have been that a calm summer's night had nearly passed away. The first faint glimmering of light in the east heralds the approach of morn. The village of the Mush-quah-tas is still wrapt in slumber. The sleeping mother gently clasps her baby to her breast, unconscious of approaching danger. The maiden dreams of her lover; the young man of glorious feats of the chase or of war. The old brave lives over again the experiences of the youth or dreams of the happy hunting ground to which he is hastening. Dark forms, crouching in the shadows, are stealthily approaching, on this side a long line of Ottawa braves, on that their friends and allies, the Chippewas. The lines close round the doomed village. Some of the crouching figures are already at the very doors. So noiseless and stealthy has been the approach that not even the watchful dogs have been alarmed. Suddenly there bursts upon the night air a sound to make the blood curdle, a deafening chorus of demoniac yells, as if uttered in concert by a legion of frantic furies. Full well the startled Mush-quah-tas know the fearful import of that sound, the war-whoop of their enemies. Full well they know there is no avoiding the death struggle. The old brave reaches for his war club, and the young man strings his bow, but their assailants are quick and powerful, and the stone hatchets are wielded with terrible effect. Crushed and mangled they go down, slain but not conquered. The maiden covers her face with her garment and quietly bows her head to the fatal blow. The mother loosens her clasp of her frightened infant, seizes the nearest weapon, and, with the fierceness of a tigress at bay, springs upon her foes. Her blows tell, but fierceness cannot long avail against strength and numbers. She falls mortally wounded. Her dying eyes are turned lovingly upon her child. A brawny warrior seizes it by the feet, whirls it high in air, dashes it with crushing force upon the earth, and flings its bleeding and lifeless body upon its mother's bosom. The surprised Mush-quah-tas, taken at a disadvantage, make a brave fight, but victory does not long waver in the balance. As the sun rises upon the scene, all the inmates save one of that doomed village lie stark and bloody on the ground, or are being consumed in the rapidly-burning wigwams. The revenge of the insulted Ottawas is complete.

This battle, says the Ottawa tradition, was one of the most terrible ever fought in this region. Only a young man escaped, who carried the news of the disaster to the three families at Little Traverse bay. Some of the Mush-quah-tas living in the small outlying villages escaped. The remnant of the tribe removed toward the south and established themselves near the St. Joseph river, where for a time they enjoyed a degree of prosperity. But they were not safe. After intercourse had been

opened between the French and the Ottawas, and the latter had been supplied with guns and axes by the French traders, it occurred to them that these implements would be effective in battle. Anxious to put them to the test, they resolved to try their effectiveness on their old enemies, the Mush-quah-tas, who as yet were unacquainted with firearms. Accordingly, an expedition was fitted out, destined for the St. Joseph. As the Ottawas approached the village of their enemies, each man carrying a gun, the Mush-quah-tas mistook the weapons for clubs, and came out with their bows and arrows, anticipating an easy victory. But they were soon undeceived, and suffered a second crushing defeat, from the effects of which they never recovered. The tribal organization was dissolved, and the few Mush-quah-tas remaining alive were scattered among the neighboring tribes.

After the destruction of the principal village of the Mush-quah-tas and the removal of the remnant of the tribe to the St. Joseph, the Ottawas gradually extended their settlements toward the south, along the shore of Lake Michigan.

In the forest were plenty of beaver, marten, and otter, but not many deer. At the approach of winter, they generally went south to hunt, returning in the spring. The fish in the lakes, during the proper season, furnished an abundant supply of food. They were caught in gill nets made of twine manufactured from the inner bark of the slippery elm *(Ulmus fulva)*. The manufacture of the twine was a part of the work of the women. The bark was macerated in the lye of wood ashes, to remove the mucilage, beaten to separate the fibers, and spun by hand. It was the work of the women, also, to dress the game, cure the skins, cultivate their limited corn-fields, pound the corn in wooden mortars and prepare the hominy, gather the fuel, and perform the general drudgery of the household. The men, when not engaged in fishing or the chase, or in forays into the homes of distant tribes (for all distant tribes were considered lawful plunder), reclined in listless idleness in the shelter of their bark wigwams, or engaged in the athletic sports common among the Algonquin people.

We see in the Ottawas what may be called a fair average example of Indian character. In common with others, they were brave, suspicious, treacherous, generous as friends and cruel and implacable as enemies. Marquette says that they were addicted beyond all other tribes to foulness, incantations, and sacrifices to evil spirits, but the estimates of Indian character of all the early Jesuit missionaries should be taken with many grains of allowance.

As a tribe the Ottawas were never strong in numbers. Their own tradition says they were more numerous at the time of Pontiac's war than ever before, and that that period was the most glorious of their existence; yet historical records seem to show that they could not bring more than a few hundred warriors into the field.

CHAPTER III.

Jesuit Missionaries—Principal Missions—Point St. Ignace—Father Marquette—First White Men in the Grand Traverse Country—L'Arbre Croche—Schemes of Pontiac—Massacre at Mackinac—Father Jonois—The English Prisoners Carried to L'Arbre Croche—The Release.

When, about the year 1650, the Huron settlements at the southeastern extremity of the Georgian bay of Lake Huron were broken up by the victorious Iroquois, and the people scattered in various directions, a remnant, known as the Tobacco nation, migrated towards the northwest and fixed their abode on the Island of Mackinac. There they were joined by a band of Ottawas from the Isle des Allumettes of the Ottawa river, the ancient home of the Ottawa nation, and, it is said, by some Ottawas and other Algonquins from the western shore of Lake Huron. After remaining several years at Mackinac, and finding themselves still harassed by their enemies, they moved again westward, and took possession of the islands at the entrance of Green bay. From thence they migrated southward and westward, coming in contact with the Illinois, and afterward, on the banks of the Mississippi, with the Sioux. Quarreling with the Sioux and being driven from their country, they retreated to Point St. Esprit, near the Islands of the Twelve Apostles, in the southwestern part of Lake Superior.

The Jesuit missionaries, who had done some of their most successful work among the Hurons, followed the flying remnants of their flock into the depths of the northwestern wilderness. Two principal missions were established, one named St. Esprit, at the point of that name, on Lake Superior, the other at Sault Ste. Marie. About 1760 a third mission was founded at Green Bay.

The mission at St. Esprit was of short duration. About 1671 the Sioux commenced open hostilities upon the Hurons and Ottawas and so terrified them that they abandoned their settlement and fled. Marquette, who was in charge of the mission, followed his panic-stricken flock. They coasted Lake Superior, passed the mission at the Sault, and descended

the St. Mary's river. The Hurons stopped in the vicinity of Mackinac, fixing their abode on Point St. Ignace. The Ottawas continued on to the Great Manitoulin island. The Hurons were afterwards joined at St. Ignace by bands of Ottawas from those occupying the country in the vicinity of the Straits. A new mission was now established at St. Ignace, and placed in charge of Marquette.

The missions were centers from which radiated influences that, in a wonderful degree, affected the lives and fortunes of the Indians. Each was in reality a sort of triple establishment, consisting of the mission proper, under the control and management of the zealous, determined, and wily Jesuits, a military post, kept by an officer and a few French soldiers, and a straggling village, inhabited by a motley company—traders, adventurers, and voyageurs—Frenchmen, Indians, and half-breeds. Unlike the English the French colonists readily adapted themselves to the manners and customs of the Indians. A few Frenchmen brought their wives to the western wilderness, but no disgrace attached to the marrying of an Indian woman, and in many localities families of mixed blood became the rule, rather than, as in the English border settlements, the exception to the rule.

The salvation of souls, the aggrandizement of the Society of Jesus, and the glory of France were the objects aimed at by the leading spirits of the mission, to which the greed of gain, manifested in much sharp practice in trade, was scarcely subordinated. So cleverly was the intercourse with the Indians planned and executed, through a long series of years, that the northwestern tribes became the firm friends and allies of France. During the war between France and England, ending with the surrender of Canada to the English in 1760, commonly called in this country the French and Indian war, though living far distant from the principal theater of action, they rendered valuable service to the French. It is said that even on the farthest shores of Lake Superior, the wigwams of Indian braves were garnished with English scalps.

The Grand Traverse country came properly within the territory over which the mission at St. Ignace essayed to establish politico-ecclesiastical control. For two years after the establishment of the mission, Marquette was its animating spirit. Popular belief credits him with having preached the gospel to the Ottawas along the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, but it is not sustained by the record. There is no evidence that he ever visited the beautiful wilderness country bordering on Grand Traverse and Little Traverse bays, or that he even coasted along the shore. It is probable that his arduous duties at the mission

left no time for extended journeys, and that he found ample opportunity for the fullest exercise of his persuasive powers on the residents and visitors of St. Ignace.

With Marquette it had long been a cherished project to visit the great river of the west, the Mississippi, wonderful accounts of which he had received, while at St. Esprit, from the Illinois and the Sioux, who visited him there. When, after two years' residence at St. Ignace, he was permitted to set out on his tour of discovery, in company with Joliet, he passed westward to Green Bay, and then to the Mississippi by way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. Returning, he passed up the Illinois and Des Plaines rivers, crossed the portage to the Chicago, and from the mouth of that stream coasted along the western shore of the lake to Green Bay. After spending the winter and summer there, he set out on a visit to the Illinois, taking the route of the western shore of the lake and the portage to the Des Plaines. On his return, in the spring of 1675, he started to coast for the first time along the eastern shore of the lake. A disease from which he had long been a sufferer assumed increased violence, and it soon became evident that he could not long survive. At the mouth of a little river, supposed to be somewhere north of the stream that bears his name, he peacefully passed away, and was buried by his faithful attendants, Pierre and Jacques, who then pursued their lonely journey to St. Ignace. A year afterwards a party of Ottawas returning from their annual winter hunt opened the grave, washed and dried the bones, enclosed them in a box of birch bark, and carried them to St. Ignace, where they were received with solemn ceremony, and buried beneath the floor of the little chapel of the mission.

It is possible that some devoted and adventurous missionary, burning with a desire to promote the spiritual welfare of the Ottawas of the Grand Traverse country, had visited them in their own villages, or that some trader, bent on schemes of profit, had coasted along its western border or even penetrated the interior previous to the death of Marquette, but, if so, there is no record of it. As far as we know, Pierre and Jacques, lonely and sorrowful, returning in their canoe to St. Ignace, were the first white men to look upon the placid waters of the two beautiful bays, one of which gives its name to the country. The next was La Salle's lieutenant, Henri de Tonty, who, with a party of men, passed southward along the shore, late in the autumn of 1679, and, after great hardship and suffering, joined his commander at St. Joseph.

Since the death of Marquette, nearly a century had rolled away, when the stirring events of Pontiac's war furnished material for an interest-

ing chapter of the history of what was then the northwestern wilderness. Some of those events fall properly within the scope of the present narrative.

In the Grand Traverse country and the region adjacent some important changes had taken place. A military post had been established at Mackinaw, not on the island of that name, but on the south side of the Straits, at the place which, since the military occupation of the island, has been known as Old Mackinaw. Around the fort had grown up a little French village. It is said there were thirty families living within the palisade, and as many more in the immediate vicinity. The Hurons had left St. Ignace, and settled at Detroit and Sandusky, where they had taken the name of Wyandots. The mission had been transferred from St. Ignace to L'Arbre Croche (The Crooked Tree), south of the Straits. L'Arbre Croche seems to have been used by the French as a general name for the Ottawa settlements along the shore of Lake Michigan in the western part of what now constitutes the county of Emmet. The village of L'Arbre Croche proper, so named from a crooked pine tree, a conspicuous and convenient landmark for the voyageurs coasting in their canoes along the shore, was on the site of Middle Village of the present day. Another landmark, conspicuous to the hardy voyageurs of those days, was a huge cross of cedar timber, standing on the brow of the bluff, at what is now, from the circumstance, called Cross Village. Whether it was erected by Father Jonois, or some one who preceded him, is not known. By whomsoever erected, it has stood there till the present day, being repaired or renewed by the willing hands of the Catholic Ottawas when natural decay made repair or renewal necessary.

The Ottawas of L'Arbre Croche, under their head chief, Nee-saw-kee, could muster 250 warriors. Many of them were nominal Catholics. Profiting by the instruction of the missionaries, they had made some advancement in civilization, and cultivated the ground to a greater extent than formerly.*

South of L'Arbre Croche, in the western part of the Michigan peninsula, there were other settlements of Ottawas, and there was a strong band in the vicinity of Detroit, under the immediate chieftianship of the renowned Pontiac.

The principal village of the Chippewas in the northern part of the peninsula was on Mackinac island. The village contained a hundred

*Parkman, in his History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac, says that the name of the Ottawa chief at L'Arbre Croche has not survived in history or tradition. This is a mistake. His name, Nee-saw-kee, is familiar to the Ottawas of today. His grandson, Nee-saw-wa-quat, a chief of the Little Traverse Indians, died in 1857.

warriors. There was another smaller village at Thunder bay, where dwelt their chief, Minavavana. There were also numerous settlements of the Chippewas in the Saginaw valley and on Grand river.

A part of the Wyandots, as we have already seen, were living at Detroit, and the Pottawattamies occupied the southwestern portion of the peninsula. Theoretically, the peninsula, or at least the northern part of it, belonged to the Ottawas and Chippewas, the former claiming the western and the latter the eastern portion, the boundary between them being an imaginary line drawn due south from the fort at Mackinaw.

At the close of the French and Indian war, in accordance with the terms of capitulation agreed to by the French at Montreal, all the military posts of the northwestern wilderness passed into the hands of the English. The Indians throughout the region were the enemies of the English and the firm friends of the French. It was with ill-concealed displeasure that they saw the English come among them. The haughty and sometimes brutal treatment received from the latter, so different from the easy familiarity and kindness of the French, instead of tending to allay the irritation, had only the effect of increasing it. The first English traders at Mackinaw, who came after the removal of the French garrison and before the English troops arrived, ventured there at their peril. They succeeded in propitiating the Chippewas, but the Ottawas of L'Arbre Croche, a strong body of whom were at Mackinaw, were bent on mischief. The traders saved their goods, and perhaps their lives, only by arming their followers, barricading themselves in a house, and holding the Ottawas at bay till the arrival of the troops assured some degree of security.

Pontiac, an Ottawa by birth or adoption, having won distinction at the head of a numerous body of his braves at the memorable battle of the Monongahela, contributing not a little to the defeat of Braddock's army, now smarting under wrongs both fancied and real, and foreseeing the probable ruin of his people before the increasing strength of the English, conceived the bold plan of cutting off all the frontier military posts almost at a single blow. So well were the arrangements of the wily chieftain carried out that, in a short time, with the exception of the garrison at Detroit, not a British soldier remained in the region of the great lakes.

The fall of Mackinaw, next to Detroit the most important post in the western country, has been a theme of thrilling interest to both the historian and the writer of romance. In the events grouped around the

tragic fate of the garrison, the people of the region the history of which we are endeavoring to trace bore a conspicuous part.

When, towards the end of May, 1763, the Chippewas of Mackinaw heard that Pontiac had already struck Detroit, they at once resolved on the immediate destruction of the English at the fort. Their number had recently been largely increased by the arrival of several bands from other localities. Though confederate with the Ottawas of L'Arbre Croche, they determined to proceed independently of the latter, securing all the plunder and glory to themselves.

It was the 4th of June, the birthday of King George. The Chippewas came to the fort, inviting the officers and men to come out and witness a game of baggattaway, their favorite ball-play, which had been arranged between them and the Sacs, several bands of whom, from the Wisconsin river, were encamped in the vicinity. The unsuspecting commander allowed the gates to be thrown wide open, and some of the soldiers went out to watch the game. The Indian women collected near the entrance, each with a weapon concealed under her blanket. When the excitement of the game had apparently reached its height, the ball received a blow that sent it over the palisade, into the area of the fort. It seemed an accident, but was really a well-executed part of the plan of attack. In an instant there was a rush of players through the gateway, as if to recover the ball, but, as they passed the women, each snatched a weapon, and fell upon the nearest unsuspecting and defenseless Englishman. The bloody work was quickly completed, and a general cry was raised of "All is finished." There were at the fort 34 officers and soldiers, constituting the garrison, and four traders. Of these one officer, 15 soldiers, and one trader were killed. The others were made prisoners. Of the prisoners, five soldiers were soon afterwards killed by an infuriated brave who had not been present at the assault and took this method of expressing his approval of what had been done and of his hatred of the English.

It is uncertain what would have been the fate of the remaining prisoners, had there been no check to the doings of the Chippewas. Probably most of them would have met death by torture. Their lives had not been spared from motives of humanity or clemency. The French had looked coolly on, neither helping the Indians nor offering protection to the English. The latter, however, found a friend in Father Jonois, the Catholic missionary at L'Arbre Croche. But by far the most effectual aid came from the incensed Ottawas. Confederates of the Chippewas, it was their right to be consulted in matters of such moment as the

destruction of the English, or, at least to be invited to join in the execution of the project. Regarding themselves as slighted and wronged, if not insulted, they resolved to revenge themselves by taking the control of matters into their own hands.

A party of seven Chippewas, with four prisoners, started in a canoe for the Isles du Castor (Beaver islands). When about 18 miles on their way, an Ottawa came out of the woods and accosted them, inquiring the news, and asking who were their prisoners. As the conversation continued, the canoe came near the shore, where the water was shallow, when a loud yell was heard, and a hundred Ottawas, rising from among the trees and bushes, rushed into the water, and seized the canoe and prisoners. The astonished Chippewas remonstrated in vain. The four Englishmen were led in safety to the shore. The Ottawas informed them that their captors were taking them to the Isles du Castor merely to kill and eat them, which was probably not far from the truth. The four prisoners soon found themselves afloat in an Ottawa canoe, and on their way back to Mackinaw, accompanied by a flotilla of canoes, bearing a great number of Ottawa warriors.

Arrived at Mackinaw, the Ottawas, fully armed, filed into the fort and took possession of it. A council of the two tribes followed, in which the wounded feelings of the Ottawas were somewhat soothed by a liberal present of plunder, taken from the whites. The prisoners seem to have been divided, the Ottawas, because they were the stronger party, or for other reasons, being allowed to keep the greater number. The Ottawas soon after returned to L'Arbre Croche, taking with them Capt. Etherington, Lieut. Leslie, and 11 men. They were disarmed, but, probably through the influence of Father Jonois, treated kindly. Father Jonois performed a journey to Detroit in their behalf, bearing a request to Major Gladwyn for assistance, but that officer, beleaguered by a horde of savages, could do nothing.

In the meantime Capt. Etherington had found means to communicate with Lieut. Gorell, commanding the little garrison at Green Bay, requesting him to come with his command immediately to L'Arbre Croche. Gorell had the fortune to secure the good will of the Menomonies, 90 of whom volunteered for an escort. As the fleet of canoes on the way approached the Isles du Castor, warning was received that the Chippewas were lying in wait to intercept them. Immediately the Menomonies raised the war song, and stripped themselves for battle. The alarm, however, proved to be false. When the party reached L'Arbre Croche they were received with honor and presented the pipe of peace.

After a series of councils, to which the Chippewa chiefs were invited, the latter reluctantly consented not to obstruct the passage of the soldiers to Montreal. Accordingly, on the 18th of July, the English, escorted by a fleet of Indian canoes, left L'Arbre Croche, and, going by way of the Ottawa river, reached Montreal the 13th of August.

CHAPTER IV.

The Period Following Pontiac's War—The War of 1812—Military Operations on the Island of Mackinac—Indian Barbarities—Golden Age of the Ottawas of L'Arbre Croche—Extent of their Settlements—Indian Houses—Gardens—Hunting Grounds—The Jesuits Again—Churches Built.

From the massacre at Mackinac in 1763 up to the close of the war of 1812, a period of 52 years, we are able to gather from history and tradition only meagre accounts of events occurring strictly within the limits of the Grand Traverse country. It was not at any time the theater of active war. The Ottawas were still the only inhabitants, except here and there an adventurous fur trader, or possibly a zealous Roman Catholic missionary.

That the Ottawas of L'Arbre Croche were concerned, directly or indirectly, in most of the Indian troubles of the northwestern frontier, occurring during the period alluded to, scarcely admits of a doubt. They were probably represented at the grand Indian council held near the mouth of the Detroit river in 1786. Some of their warriors, no doubt, were present at the battles in which Harmer and St. Clair were defeated, and some of their braves may have fallen before Wayne's victorious army on the banks of the Maumee. One of their noted chiefs, Saw-gaw-kee, a son of the former head chief, Nee-saw-kee, was a firm believer in the Shawnee prophet Waw-wa-gish-e-maw, or, as he is called by the historians, Elkswatawa. It does not appear that either Tecumseh or the prophet visited L'Arbre Croche in person, but the influence of the prophet was sufficient to induce a deputation of Ottawas from that vicinity to visit the distant Indian villages on Lake Superior, with a message he professed to have received from the Great Spirit, intended to rouse them against the Americans.

When in 1812, war was declared between the United States and Great Britain, Capt. Roberts, commanding the British post on St. Joseph's island, was able in a short time to gather around him a thousand Indian

warriors for the capture of the American fort on the Island of Mackinac. It is probable that nearly the whole force of the Ottawa warriors of L'Arbre Croche and the scattered bands around Grand Traverse Bay were engaged in that enterprise. The affair ended in the complete success of the British, happily without the shedding of blood. Two years later, when the Americans, under Col. Croghan, attempted to retake the fort, they were foiled, mainly by the large force of Indians the British commander had again been able to gather to his standard. In this attempt the Americans suffered severe loss. The most shocking barbarities were practiced on the bodies of the slain. They were literally cut to pieces by their savage conquerors. Their hearts and livers were taken out and cooked and eaten, and that, too, it is said, even in the quarters of the British officers. More than 40 years afterwards, when the Indians had become friendly towards the Americans, and the settlements of the latter had reached the Grand Traverse country, Asa-bun, an Indian of Old Mission, used to be pointed out as one who had been seen running about with a human heart in his hands, which he was devouring. Another, a chief by the name of Aish-qua-gwon-a-ba, was credited by the settlers, whether justly or not, with keeping a number of scalps, the trophies of his prowess at Mackinac, carefully hidden away in a certain trunk.

In reviewing the history of the Indian tribes of the United States, one cannot avoid the conclusion that the greatest hindrance to the increase of population, and, indirectly, to the development of an indigenous civilization, was not so much the privations incident to a peaceful savage state as to the destruction of life by constantly-recurring wars. There seems little doubt that if the number of deaths by violence during a given time could be ascertained, it would be found not to fall far below the number of births for the same period. This remark applies more especially to the Indians as the Europeans found them; not to those of the present time, where whites and Indians live in mingled or adjacent communities, in the border settlements. The sudden partial transition from their mode of life to that of their white neighbors and the adoption of many of the worst vices of the white men with few of their virtues, are doing more to hasten the extinction of the race than was done by all the Indian wars of which we have any knowledge.

If, as their tradition asserts, the Ottawas were at the height of their power and glory at the time of Pontiac's war, a later period was the golden age of those at L'Arbre Croche, with reference to the prosperity that comes from peaceful pursuits.

At the close of the war of 1812 the occupation of the warrior passed away. Quarrels with their Indian neighbors of the south and west, and with the Iroquois of the east, had already ceased. Thenceforth there was no opportunity to take an enemy's scalp. The arts of war gave place to the peaceful pursuits of savage life. There followed as much prosperity as savage life, improved by the first dawnings of civilization, in a country well fitted by nature for the habitation of a people in just that stage of advancement, was capable of producing. The lakes, streams, and forests, with their cultivated gardens of no mean extent, supplied an abundance of food; their peltries, bartered at Mackinac, procured various articles of comfort and luxury. The baleful effects of fire-water were yet but seldom felt; the ruinous influence of vicious white men had not yet begun to warp the Indian character. The concurrent testimony of witnesses still living goes to show that, previous to the time when the first adventurous white men erected their cabins in the Grand Traverse country, there was a degree of physical comfort, moral culture, and social and domestic happiness among the Indians far exceeding what the observation of a more recent period would lead one to believe. Their condition was much better than that of the ordinary American savage of the average historical writer.

Their principal and most permanent settlements were at Cross Village, Middle Village, Seven-Mile Point, and Little Traverse; but between the first and last of these places, wigwams, singly and in groups, were scattered at intervals all along the shore. A few families had their home at Bear creek, on the south side of Little Traverse bay. There were gardens on the height of land, a mile or more back from the shore not far south of the present village of Norwood, and a camping place, frequently occupied, on the shore. There were gardens on the peninsula in Grand Traverse bay and a village at Old Mission. West of the bay, a small band had their home on the point afterwards known as New Mission, and another on the shore of Lake Michigan, at or near the site of the present village of Leland.

Their dwellings were of various sizes and shapes, and were constructed of a variety of materials. The most substantial and permanent consisted of a frame of cedar poles, covered with cedar bark. One of these, called o-maw-gay-ko-gaw-mig, was square or oblong, with perpendicular walls, and a roof with a slope in opposite directions, like the simplest form of frame houses among white men. Another, the ke-no-day-we-gaw-mig, had perpendicular end walls, but the side walls in the upper part were bent inward, meeting along the middle line, thus forming the roof in the shape

of a broad arch. Houses of this kind were sometimes 50 or 60 feet long, and had places for three fires. The ne-saw-wah-e-gun and the wah-ge-no-gawn were light but very serviceable houses, consisting of frames of poles covered with mats. The former was cone-shaped; the latter regularly convex at the top. The mats, ten or twelve feet long and three or four wide, were made of the long, slender leaves of the cat-tail flag *(Typha)*, properly cured and carefully sewed together. When suitably adjusted on the frames, with the edges lapping, they made a serviceable roof. Being light, and when rolled up not inconvenient to carry, they were used for traveling tents. Houses of mats were often used for winter residences in the woods, and were not uncomfortable. The ah-go-beem-wah-gun was a small summer house for young men, usually constructed of cedar bark, on an elevated platform resting on posts, reached only by ascending a ladder. Winter houses in the woods were sometimes built of slabs or planks of split timber. They were often cone-shaped, and were made tight and warm. They were called pe-no-gawn. In the woods, even in winter, they sometimes lived in temporary wigwams of evergreen boughs, which they managed to make comfortable.

The Indian houses were without windows. The fire was built upon the ground, in the center if the lodge was small; or there was a row of fires down the middle line, in a long ke-no-day-we-gaw-mig. A hole in the roof, above each fire, served for the escape of the smoke. A raised platform, a foot or a foot and a half high, covered with mats, along the sides of the room, served for a seat during the day and for a sleeping place at night. The mats, some of them beautifully ornamented with colors, were made of rushes found growing in shallow lakes, ingeniously woven together with twine manufactured from the bark of the slippery elm.

In their gardens they cultivated corn, pumpkins, beans, and potatoes. Apple trees, the seed for which was originally obtained from the whites—either the Jesuit missionaries or the fur traders—were planted in every clearing. Wild fruits, especially choice varieties of wild plums, were grown from seed introduced from their distant southern hunting grounds. At the time of the present writing, fruit trees of their planting are found growing wild in the young forests that have sprung up on abandoned fields. The gardens were frequently some distance from the villages. The owners resorted to them at the proper season to do the necessary work, living for the time in portable lodges or in temporary structures erected for the occasion.

Though they hunted more or less at all times, winter was the season devoted more especially to that pursuit. Then the greater part of the population left the villages and scattered through the forest. The chain of inland lakes in Antrim county, having its outlet at Elk Rapids, was a favorite resort, on account of the facilities for fishing, as well as for hunting and trapping. Many plunged into the deeper solitudes of the forest and fixed their winter abode on the Manistee, the Muskegon, or the Sauble. Others embarked in canoes, and coasted along Lake Michigan to its southern extremity, from there making their way to the marshes of the Kankakee and the hunting grounds of northern Indiana and Illinois. Several families had their favorite winter camping place on the northeastern shore of Boardman lake, within the present corporate limits of Traverse City. Here the women and children remained while the hunters made long trips in the woods, returning to camp with the spoils of the chase several times during the winter. One principal advantage of the location was the abundance of pickerel in the lake—an abundance that seems fabulous to the white fishermen of the present day. They were caught with spears through holes cut in the ice, and were an important addition to the winter supply of food.

In spring traders came from Mackinac, and sometimes from other places, to barter goods for furs. Not infrequently, however, the Indian hunter, accompanied by his wife and children, preferred to visit the center of trade with his peltries, in person. Then, sometimes, there was a brief but fearful indulgence of the Indian's appetite for strong drink. At home sobriety usually prevailed.

How long the Jesuits continued active work at L'Arbre Croche after the time of Father Jonois is not known. There seems to have been a long period during which the Indians were left to themselves. The great cedar cross remained standing on the brow of the bluff at Cross Village, a memorial of the devotion and zeal of the early missionaries, but their teachings had been forgotten. It is said that when the ground was afterwards reoccupied only one Indian could be found who could prove himself a Christian by making the sign of the cross.

In 1825 the Catholics sent a missionary to reoccupy the long-abandoned field. Seven-Mile Point was chosen as a center of operations, and a church was immediately built. The building was about 20 feet by 40 in size, constructed, like the better class of Indian houses, of the most suitable materials readily obtainable—cedar timbers for the frame, and for the covering cedar bark. Seven-Mile Point not proving a satisfactory location, in 1827 the mission was moved to Little Traverse. At the

latter place a church of cedar logs was built the following year. About the same time a similar church was built at Cross Village. The work of the missionaries was successful, a considerable number of Indians readily becoming Catholics.

About 1839 and 1840 the population was greatly diminished by a sudden exodus, caused by distrust of the Indian policy of the United States government. Fearing to be forcibly removed beyond the Mississippi, fully one-half of the Indians, it is said, took refuge in Canada.

In the preceding pages the author has endeavored to narrate succinctly the events known to have occurred in the Grand Traverse region while it was yet a strictly Indian country, and to portray truthfully the situation as it was when the first adventurous white men essayed to establish permanent homes within its borders. In those that follow, it will be our duty to trace, as faithfully as the material at hand will enable us to do, the varied fortunes of the early pioneers.

172094

CHAPTER V.

The two Missionaries—Consultation With the Indians—Site for Mission Chosen at Elk River—The Track of a White Man's Horse—House Built—Sorrowful News—Visit From Indian Agent—Removal to Mission Harbor—School Opened—A Mixture of Races—Two Civilizing Agencies.

In May, 1839, a Mackinaw boat, with four men at the oars and two passengers, rounded the point that, jutting out from the peninsula into the east arm of Grand Traverse bay, forms the little cove known as Mission Harbor. The passengers were Rev. John Fleming and Rev. Peter Dougherty, missionaries of the Presbyterian board. They had spent the previous winter at Mackinac, and now came to the country of Grand Traverse bay, which to the white man was then almost a *terra incognita,* for the purpose of establishing a mission among the Indians. They had brought supplies from Mackinac, including doors and windows for a house.

On all sides the country was seen in its primeval wildness and beauty. The shores were fringed to the water's edge with foliage of various shades of green. In the crystal flood on which their frail craft floated, the shore scenes were reflected, as in a mirror of liquid silver. Of the presence

of man there were no signs visible, save a few bark wigwams, in a narrow break in the fringe of forest, from one of which a thin column of blue smoke curled lazily upward.

The adventurers landed near where the wharf has since been built. They found only one Indian in the village. He informed them that the band were encamped at the mouth of the river, on the opposite side of the bay. The Indian made a signal with a column of smoke, which had the effect of bringing over a canoe, full of young men, who came to inquire who the strangers were and what was wanted.

The next day a chief, with a number of men, came over. Messrs. Fleming and Dougherty informed him that they had come, by direction of their agent at Mackinac, and by permission of their great father, the president, to establish a school among them for the instruction of their children, and to teach them a knowledge of the Savior. The reply was that the head chief, with his men, would come in a few days, and then they would give an answer.

On the arrival of the head chief, Aish-qua-gwon-a-ba, a council was held for the purpose of considering the proposal of the missionaries. At its close Messrs. Fleming and Dougherty were informed that the Indians had decided to unite the bands living in the vicinity, and locate near the river, on the east side of the bay. If the missionaries would go with them they would show them the intended location of their new villages and gardens, so that they could select a good central site for their dwelling and school.

About the 20th of the month, the white men, in their boat, accompanied by a fleet of Indian canoes, crossed the bay, landing at the mouth of the river, where the village of Elk Rapids is now situated. The Indians proposed to divide their settlement into two villages. After looking over the ground, the missionaries chose a location, something more than a quarter of a mile from the river, on the south side.

The day after the missionaries landed at Elk river the Indians came to their tent in great excitement, saying there were white men in the country. They had seen a horse's track, which contained the impression of a shoe. Their ponies were not shod. Shortly after a white man came into the camp. He proved to be a packman belonging to a company of United States surveyors, who were at work on the east side of Elk and Torch lakes. He had lost his way, and wanted a guide to pilot him back to his company. An Indian went with him several miles, returning in the afternoon with the man's hatchet in his possession, having taken it on the refusal of the latter to pay him for his services. The next day

the whole company of surveyors came in and encamped for a short time at the river.

Immediately after deciding upon the location Messrs. Fleming and Dougherty commenced cutting logs for the construction of a dwelling and schoolhouse. Hard work and the discomforts of a wilderness, the latter of which were doubly annoying to the inexperienced missionaries, filled up the next few days. Among other evils from which they could not escape, the sand flies were a terrible torment. Finally the body of the house was raised, the doors and windows brought from Mackinac were put in their places, and the gables and roof were covered with sheets of cedar bark purchased of the Indians.

Then an unexpected blow fell upon the devoted missionaries, crushing the hopes and changing the life prospects of one, and plunging both into deep sorrow. A messenger came from Mackinac with intelligence that Mr. Fleming's wife had suddenly died at that place. The bereaved husband, with the four men who had come with them, immediately embarked in their boat for Mackinac. He never returned to the mission. Mr. Dougherty was left alone. With the exception of the surveyors at work somewhere in the interior, he was the only white person in the country.

After the departure of his comrade Mr. Dougherty, with the assistance of Peter Greensky, the interpreter, busied himself with the work of finishing the house, and clearing away the brush in the vicinity. Once or twice the cedar bark of the roof took fire from the stove-pipe, but fortunately the accident was discovered before any serious damage was done. The old chief, Aish-qua-gwon-a-ba, and his wife, perhaps to show their friendliness and make it less lonely for the missionary, came and stayed with him several days in his new house.

About the 20th of June Henry R. Schoolcraft, Indian agent at Mackinac, arrived in a small vessel, accompanied by his interpreter, Robert Graverat, and Isaac George, an Indian blacksmith. From information received at Mackinac, Mr. Schoolcraft had come impressed with the notion that the harbor near the little island, on the west side of the peninsula (Bower's Harbor), would be a suitable point at which to locate the blacksmith, carpenter, and farmer, that, by the terms of the recent treaty, the government was obligated to furnish for the benefit of the Indians. Looking over the ground, and consulting the wishes of the Indians, he finally came to the conclusion that Mission Harbor was a more suitable place. Accordingly, Mr. George was left to commence operations, and Mr. Schoolcraft returned to Mackinac.

Soon after the departure of Mr. Schoolcraft, Ah-go-sa, the chief at Mission Harbor, accompanied by the principal men of his band, visited Mr. Dougherty, saying that most of the Indians at that place were unwilling to move over to the east side of the bay, and offering to transport him and his goods across to Mission Harbor, and furnish him a house to live in, if he would take up his residence with them. Convinced that, all things considered, the harbor was a more eligible site for the mission, Mr. Dougherty at once accepted the proposal. Leaving what things were not needed for immediate use, and loading the balance in Indian canoes, he was ferried across the bay to the scene of his future labors—the place where he had first landed, not many weeks before, and which, under the name of Old Mission, has since become famous as a center of development of the agricultural interests of northwestern Michigan.

The next day arrangements were made for opening a school, with interpreter Greensky as teacher, in the little bark wigwam that the Indians had vacated for Mr. Dougherty's use. Then followed a hard summer's work. Mr. Dougherty and Mr. George commenced the construction of a house for themselves. The logs for the building were cut close along the border of the harbor, floated to a point near where they were to be used, and then dragged to the site of the building by hand. Of course, the work could never have been accomplished without the aid of the Indians. The house was covered with shingles, such as the two inexperienced men were able to make, and a few boards brought from Mackinac with their fall supplies. The building was so nearly completed that the men found themselves comfortably housed before winter fairly set in.

Desiring not to be left alone while the Indians were absent on their annual winter hunt, Mr. Dougherty induced the chief, Ah-go-sa, and two others, with their families, to remain till sugar-making time in the spring, by offering to help them put up comfortable houses for winter. There is some uncertainty about the style of these houses. We are informed that the offer was to help them put up log or slab shanties. If finally the latter was determined on, the slabs must have been rough planks, split out of suitable logs with beetle and wedges, and smoothed with an ax. Whether the shanties were built cone-shaped or not, by placing the planks on end in a circle, with the tops inclining inward, like the Ottawa pe-bone-gawn, does not appear. Before they were finished, the weather had become so cold that boiling water had to be used to thaw the clay for plastering the chinks in the walls. Mr. Dougherty's house stood on the bank of the harbor, east of the site afterwards occupied by the more commodious and comfortable mission house. The chief's shanty was

built on the south side of the little lake lying a short distance northwest of the harbor. The cabins for the other two Indian families were located a little way south of where the mission church was afterwards built.

In the fall Mr. John Johnston arrived at the mission, having come by appointment of Mr. Schoolcraft to reside there as Indian farmer. During the winter the mission family consisted of the four men—Dougherty, George, Greensky, and Johnston. Mr. Johnston had brought with him a yoke of oxen for use in Indian farming. There was no fodder in the country, unless he may have brought a little with him. Be that as it may, he found it necessary to browse his cattle all winter.

In the spring of 1840 the log house which had been built at Elk Rapids the previous year was taken down, and the materials were transported across the bay and used in the construction of a schoolhouse and woodshed. Until the mission church was built, a year or two after, the schoolhouse was used for holding religious services, as well as for school.

In the fall of 1841, besides Indian wigwams, there were five buildings at the mission—the schoolhouse and four dwellings. All were built of logs, and all, except Mr. Dougherty's house, were covered with cedar bark. The dwellings were occupied by Mr. Dougherty, missionary, Henry Bradley, mission teacher, John Johnston, Indian farmer, and David McGulpin, assistant farmer. Mr. George was still there, and there had been another addition to the community in the person of George Johnston, who had come in the capacity of Indian carpenter. As regards race, the little community, the only representative of Christian civilization in the heart of a savage wilderness, was somewhat mixed. John Johnston was half Indian, with a white wife; McGulpin was a white man, with an Indian wife. All the others, except Greensky the interpreter, were whites.

As the little community represented two races, so also it represented two distinct agencies, working in harmony for the improvement of the physical, intellectual, and moral condition of the Indians. The blacksmith, carpenter, and farmer were employés of the United States government, appointed by the Indian agent at Mackinac, and subject to his control. It was their duty to instruct the Indians in the simpler and more necessary arts of civilization. The missionary and his assistants, the interpreter and teacher, were employed by the Presbyterian board, and supported by missionary funds. The only assistance they received from the government was an allowance for medicines dispensed to the Indians.

CHAPTER VI.

Mrs. Dougherty—The Dame Family—Lewis Miller—The Mission School —First Frame Building—Church Built—First White Settlers—Scattering of the Indians—Removal of the Mission—Manual Labor School —The Mission Discontinued.

In the fall of 1841 an event occurred that must have created a little flutter of excitement in the quiet and isolated settlement at the mission. It was on a pleasant morning in September that the little schooner Supply came into the harbor, having on board as passengers, besides Mr. and Mrs. Dougherty and their infant daughter, Henrietta, two persons whose names have since become intimately associated with the events of the early history of the Grand Traverse country. These two persons were Deacon Joseph Dame and Lewis Miller.

We are not informed at what time Mrs. Dougherty first came to the mission. On the occasion referred to, she and her husband were returning from a visit to Mackinac, where they had gone some time previously, in order to be within reach of suitable assistance at the period of Mrs. Dougherty's confinement.

Deacon Dame had received the appointment of Indian farmer, as successor to John Johnston, and came to enter upon the duties of his office. With him were Mrs. Dame, their eldest son, Eusebius F., and two daughters, Almira and Mary. Another daughter, Olive M., came the following year.

Lewis Miller was an orphan, left alone to make his way in the world. His birthplace was Waterloo, Canada West; the date of his birth, September 11, 1824. The year 1839 found him in Chicago. From that city, in 1840, he made his way to Mackinac. Here he became acquainted with the Dames. A strong friendship grew up between him and Mr. and Mrs. Dame. When, in 1841, Deacon Dame received his appointment as Indian farmer and commenced preparations for removal to his new field of labor, Miller, then 17 years of age, resolved to accompany him, more for the novelty of the thing than from any definite purpose with reference to the future. Except the children who came with their parents, he was the first white settler in the Grand Traverse country who did not come in consequence of an appointment from the Presbyterian board or the Mackinac Indian agency.

Eusebius and Almira Dame were in their teens; Mary was younger. During some portion of the time for the next year or two, the three, with young Miller, were pupils in the mission school. A true picture of that school, could one have been handed down to us, would be a picture of absorbing interest. Except the Catholic mission school at Little Traverse, it was the first in the Grand Traverse country.

Imperfectly we may picture to ourselves the small, roughly-built, log schoolhouse, with its covering of cedar bark; a few Indian children, half dressed, according to civilized notions, looking with wondering eyes upon the mysterious characters of the books put into their hands; the four white pupils, conscious of the disadvantage of isolation from the great world of learning and refinement, yet ambitious to excel; the patient, hopeful teacher, sowing the seeds of truth according to the divine injunction, not knowing "whether shall prosper either this or that, or whether both shall be alike good." Then we may picture the surroundings—the scattered group of log houses and Indian wigwams; the forest, lovely in the tender green of early summer or gorgeous in gay autumn colors; the bay, placid and shimmering in the golden sunlight or lashed into foam by the furious north wind; the Indians, idle and listless, arrayed in scanty costume or decked with a profusion of savage finery; the few white people, intent on the labors of their several stations and apparently content in the discharge of duty, yet sometimes casting regretful glances backward to other days and other homes. And we may wonder how, when the Indians had gone to their hunting grounds, and winter had come down from the north in all his fury, shutting them up within the limits of their little settlement almost as effectively as locking them in a prison, they managed to keep cheerful during the dreary, monotonous months, till the opening spring permitted the re-establishment of communication with the outside world.

About 1842 the construction of a more commodious dwelling and a mission church was commenced by Mr. Dougherty. The dwelling, since known as the mission house, was the first frame building erected in the Grand Traverse country. The church had solid walls, of hewn cedar timbers laid one upon another and kept in place by the ends being fitted into grooves in upright posts. The timbers were brought from the east side of the bay in a huge log canoe, or dug-out, called the Pe-to-be-go, which was 30 feet long, and, it is said, was capable of carrying 20 barrels of flour. At the present writing, 40 years after the completion of these structures, the mission house, enlarged and improved, is occupied as a dwelling by Mr. D. Rushmore. The church is owned by the Methodist

Episcopal society of Old Mission, and is still used as a house of worship. The little log schoolhouse in which Mr. Bradley taught Miller and the young Dames, in connection with his classes of Indian boys and girls, was accidentally burned several years ago.

During the next ten years some changes occurred at the mission. Mr. Bradley as teacher was succeeded by a gentleman by the name of Whiteside. Not liking the position, Mr. Whiteside soon resigned, and was followed by Mr. Andrew Porter.

Changes were also made from time to time, among the employés of the Indian agency. Some of them remained in the country after their connection with the agency had terminated, and turned their attention to farming or other pursuits. Among such appear the names of John Campbell, Robert Campbell, Wm. R. Stone, and J. M. Pratt. Among the earlier settlers not connected with the mission or the agency, were H. K. Coles, John Swaney, and Martin S. Wait. O. P. Ladd and his brother-in-law, Orlin Hughson, settled on the peninsula as early as 1850, but remained only two or three years. E. P. Ladd, having come on a visit to his sister, Mrs. Hughson, in May, 1852, was so well pleased with the country that he at once determined to make his home here. G. A. Craker arrived in April of the same year, and immediately hired out to Mr. Dougherty.

The little group of wigwams and log cabins at the harbor had grown to a village of considerable size. The Indians had generally abandoned their early style of wigwams, and were living in houses built of hewn logs and whitewashed on the outside. Seen from a distance, the village presented a pretty and inviting appearance; a closer inspection did not always confirm first impressions. According to their original custom, the Indians lived in the village and cultivated gardens some distance away.

The gardens, or patches of cultivated ground, were of all sizes from one acre to six. The Indians had no legal title to the soil. By the terms of treaty, the peninsula had been reserved for their exclusive occupation for a period of five years, and after that they were to be permitted to remain during the pleasure of the government. The period of five years had long since expired. Their landed property was held by sufferance, and was liable at any moment to be taken away. The project of removing them beyond the Mississippi was at one time seriously entertained by the government, or at least it was so understood. The prospect was not pleasing to the Indians. A deputation sent to examine their proposed new home in the west, reported unfavorably. They determined not to be removed, preferring to take refuge in Canada, as a

large part of the Indian population of Emmet county had done several years before.

At this juncture the adoption of the revised State constitution of 1850 made citizens of all civilized persons of Indian descent, not members of any tribe. Here was a way out of the difficulty. They could purchase land of the government, settle down upon it, and claim the protection of the State and the general government as citizens. The land on the peninsula was not yet in market; that on the west shore of the bay was. By the advice of Mr. Dougherty, several families agreed to set apart a certain amount, out of their next annual payment, for the purchase of land. A list of names was made, and the chief was authorized to receive the money from the agent at Mackinac, which he brought to Mr. Dougherty for safe keeping. Having made their selections on the west side of the bay, some of their most trusted men were sent to the land office at Ionia the following spring to make the purchase.

If the general government ever seriously entertained the project of removing the Indians of the Grand Traverse country beyond the Mississippi it was abandoned, and several townships, in which are now the counties of Leelanau, Charlevoix, and Emmet, were withdrawn from market and set apart as reservations for their benefit. Within the limits of these reservations, each head of a family and each single person of mature age was permitted to select a parcel of land, to be held for his own use, and eventually to become his property in fee simple.

As already indicated, the lands on the peninsula were not yet in market. The Indians held possession of considerable portions, but could give no legal title to the soil. They could, however, sell their possessory rights, and white men, recognizing the eligibility of the location for agricultural pursuits, were not backward in becoming purchasers, taking the chance of obtaining a title from the government at a future time.

The combined effect of the several circumstances narrated above was to cause a gradual scattering of the Indians of the mission settlement. Those who had purchased land on the west side of the bay removed to their new homes. Others removed to the lands they had selected in the reserved townships. Seeing that the Indian community at the mission would finally be broken up, Mr. Dougherty wisely concluded to change the location of the mission itself. Accordingly, purchase was made of an eligible tract of land, suitable for a farm and manual labor school, on Mission Point, near the place now called Omena, in Leelanau county, to which he removed early in the spring of 1852.

Considering the scattered condition and migratory habits of the Indians, it was thought that the most effective work for their Christiani-

zation and civilization could be done by gathering the youth into one family, where they would be constantly and for a term of years under the direct supervision and influence of teachers. And then a well-managed industrial school, it was thought, could not fail to exert, in some degree, a beneficial influence on the parents and youth of the vicinity who did not attend, by a practical exhibition of the advantages of education and industry. In this respect the new location of the mission was well chosen, being in the vicinity of those families who had purchased land of the government, and who, it might reasonably be expected, would profit by its example.

Mission Point had been occupied by a band of Indians, called, from the name of their chief, Shawb-wah-sun's band, some of whose gardens were included in the tract purchased by Mr. Dougherty. There were apple trees growing there, at the time of the purchase, as large as a man's body. Tradition says that the band had inhabited the western shore of the bay for a long time, and had once been numerous and powerful.

The manual labor school was opened in the fall following the removal. The number of pupils was limited to 50—25 of each sex. Young children were not received, except in one instance, when the rule was suspended in favor of two homeless orphans.

When received into the school, the pupils were first washed and clothed. The common clothing of both sexes consisted of coarse but decent and serviceable material. The boys were employed on the farm; the girls in housework and sewing. At five o'clock in the morning the bell rang for all to rise. At six it called all together for worship. Soon after worship breakfast was served, the boys sitting at one table, the girls at another. After breakfast all repaired to their daily labor and worked till half-past eight, when the school bell gave warning to assemble at the school-room. The boys worked under the supervision of Mr. Craker. Every boy had suitable tools assigned him, which he was required to care for and keep in their proper places. Mr. Craker kept the tools in order, so that they were always ready for use, and each boy could go to his work promptly. A considerable portion of the mission farm was cleared, and afterwards cultivated, by the labor of the boys. The girls were divided into classes or companies, to each of which was assigned some particular department of domestic labor, changes being made weekly so that all could be instructed in every department.

In the school-room were two teachers—one for the boys and another for the girls. Miss Isabella Morrison of New Haven, Ct., was for many

years the girls' teacher. After her resignation the place was filled by Miss Catherine Gibson, till the mission was discontinued. Miss Gibson was from Pennsylvania. In the boys' department, the teachers were successively Miss Harriet Cowles, Miss Beach, Mr. John Porter, and Miss Henrietta Dougherty. Miss Cowles came from near Batavia, N. Y., Miss Beach from White Lake, N. Y., and Mr. Porter from Pennsylvania.

Concerning the mission, it only remains to mention that the financial embarrassment of the board, growing out of the war of the rebellion, necessitated the discontinuance of the work. The school was finally broken up, and the mission farm passed into other hands.

Looked at from the Christian standpoint, the mission seems to have been moderately successful. A good understanding was always maintained between the missionaries and the Indians. Mr. Dougherty testifies that the latter were uniformly kind. Both at Old Mission and Mission Point a considerable number were hopefully converted.

CHAPTER VII.

Personal Incidents and Reminiscences—Wading the Boardman—A New Way to Dry a Shirt—Sleeping in Barrels—A Tribute to Mr. Dougherty—The Dougherty Family—Romance of the Early Days—The First Wedding—Bridal Trip in a Birch Canoe—Lewis Miller as an Indian Trader—Marriage at Mackinac and Tempestuous Voyage Home—"Where is the Town?"

During the period of Mr. Dougherty's residence at Old Mission, there being no physician in the country, he was often applied to for medicine and advice for the sick. On one occasion, after Mr. Boardman had established himself at the head of the bay, at the place where Traverse City now stands, he was called to prescribe for Mrs. Duncan, who was keeping the boarding-house at that place. He found Mrs. Duncan very sick. Two or three days after, not having heard from his patient in the interval, he became anxious for her safety, and resolved to get some information in regard to her condition, and to send a further supply of medicine, or repeat his visit.

There were some men from Boardman's establishment getting out timber at the harbor on the west side of the peninsula (Bowers' Harbor), which they were conveying home in a boat. Hoping to get the desired information from them, and to send the necessary medicine by them,

he walked across the peninsula to their place of labor. The men had gone home with a cargo. Thinking he might get to Boardman's in time to return with them on their next trip, he started for the head of the bay on foot, making his way as rapidly as possible along the beach. There was no bridge over Boardman river near the boarding-house, and, on his arrival, the skiff used for crossing was on the other side. There was no time to lose. Not to be delayed, he quickly entered the stream, and waded across, the cold water coming up to his chin. Fortunately, he found his patient much improved; unfortunately, the boat in which he had hoped to return was already nearly out of sight, on its way back to the peninsula.

Mr. Dougherty would have been hospitably entertained, could he have been persuaded to remain, but he felt that he must return home. Not stopping to put on a dry suit that was offered him, he partook of a hasty lunch, and set out on his return. Some one set him across the river in the skiff. As soon as he was out of sight in the woods he resolved to dry his clothes without hindering himself in the journey. Taking off his shirt, he hung it on a stick carried in the hand, spreading it to the sun and air, as he walked rapidly along. The day was warm, and the sun shone brightly. When the shirt was partly dry, he exchanged it for his flannel, putting on the shirt, and hanging the flannel on the stick. It was near sundown when he reached home, thoroughly fatigued, but happy in the thought that his patient was getting well. The next day he was so sore and stiff as to be scarcely able to move.

Some years later, after the removal of the mission to the west side of the bay, Mr. Dougherty had an adventure that may serve to illustrate the wild character of the country, and the shifts to which the settlers were sometimes reduced.

While seeking supplies for his school one spring he heard that a vessel carrying a cargo of provisions, had been wrecked on the shore of Lake Michigan, somewhere south of Sleeping Bear Point, and that consequently there was flour for sale there at a reasonable price. In those days the wrecking on the shore of a vessel with such a cargo, while it was, as now, a misfortune to the owners and underwriters, was not infrequently a blessing of no small magnitude to the inhabitants. The captain of the unfortunate craft was usually willing and even anxious to sell, at a moderate price, such provisions as could be saved from the wreck, and the people were only too glad to buy.

Starting early one morning, Mr. Dougherty walked across the country, to the Indian village of Che-ma-go-bing, near the site of the present vil-

lage of Leland. From Che-ma-go-bing he followed the shore round the bay, since marked on the maps as Good Harbor, passed the place afterwards called North Unity, and round the point separating Good Harbor from what was then known as Sleeping Bear bay, but since called Glen Arbor bay, his point of destination being the residence of John Lerue, who he knew lived on the shore somewhere in that region.

The walk was long and fatiguing. When the shades of evening fell upon the landscape he had not reached Mr. Lerue's cabin. At ten o'clock he came to a small shed on the beach, where some cooper had been making barrels for the fishermen on the coast. It was now too dark to travel, and he resolved to pass the night there. The air was chilly, but everything was very dry, and he feared to make a fire lest the shed should be burned. One less conscientious than Mr. Dougherty, and less careful of the rights of others, would not have hesitated for such a reason, but he preferred a night of discomfort to the risk of injuring a fellow being. A backwoodsman of more experience would, no doubt, have found a method to make everything safe, while enjoying the luxury of a camp fire.

Looking about for the best means of protection from the cold, he found two empty barrels, each with a head out. It occurred to him that these might be converted into a sleeping apartment. It required some little ingenuity to get into both at once, but after considerable effort he succeeded. Bringing the second barrel so near that he could reach the open end, he worked his head and shoulders into the first, and placing his feet and legs in the second, drew it up as close to the first as possible. In telling the story years afterwards, Mr. Dougherty declared that he slept, and could not recollect his dreams, but, as his business was urgent, the luxury of his bed did not keep him long the next morning. He was out early, and soon found Mr. Lerue's house, which was not far off. He now learned, what would have saved him a toilsome journey had he known it a day earlier, that the flour had been removed to Northport, which was only a few miles from the mission. After breakfast Mr. Lerue guided him across the point that separates the bays, and he set out for Northport. Arriving there after dark, he was disappointed with the information that the flour had all been sold. After a night's rest, not in barrels, on the beach, he had no alternative but to return home empty handed.

Mr. Dougherty was a graduate of Princeton theological seminary. He was a person of strong convictions, energetic and persevering in labor, in manner gentle and pleasing. His life work was well done. Blest with a companion of superior natural and educational endowments, and the sincerity, sweet disposition, and polished manners of the ideal Christian

lady, the social atmosphere of his home produced a healthful moral effect on all who came within the sphere of its influence. Mr. and Mrs. Dougherty were fortunate in their children, of whom there were nine—one son and eight daughters. Two of the daughters died in childhood. The other children grew up to be an honor to their parents and a blessing to the communities in which their lots were cast. At the proper age most of them were sent east for a few years for the sake of the educational advantages that could not be had at home. The society of the early days of the Grand Traverse country was largely indebted to the Doughertys for the refinement that distinguished it from the coarseness too often found in border settlements.

Those early days had their romance, as well as their stern realities of hardship and endurance. The first wedding in the Grand Traverse country would, no doubt, form a pleasing episode in the history we are tracing, were all the incidents of the affair placed at the disposal of some one capable of weaving them into shape with an artistic hand.

It has already been mentioned that Deacon Dame's oldest daughter, Olive M., came to Old Mission the next summer following the arrival of the family. She had passed the winter in Wisconsin, where she had been betrothed to Mr. Ansel Salisbury. In the fall after her arrival Mr. Salisbury came to Old Mission to claim his bride.

Mr. Dougherty was anxious that the Indians of his flock should profit by acquaintance with the institutions of Christian civilization. The opportunity to show them a form of marriage recognized by the white man's law and the church was too important to let slip; consequently, by the consent of all parties, it was arranged that the ceremony should take place in public.

At a convenient hour in the morning the little schoolhouse was filled with a mixed company of whites and Indians. There was no newspaper reporter present to describe the trousseau of the bride or the costumes of distinguished guests. We must draw upon the imagination for a picture of the same. We see the bride in simple attire, as became the occasion and the surroundings. There are the Indian women, in their brightest shawls and elaborately beaded moccasins, and the Indian men, some of them clothed in a style only a degree or two removed from the most primitive undress, all looking gravely on, apparently unmoved, yet keenly observant of all that passes. The whites are dressed in their Sunday best, which, to tell the truth, is in most cases somewhat rusty, their hilarity scarcely veiled by the gravity inspired by the solemnity of the occasion. The hymeneal rite is simple and impressive—the more impressive from

the simple earnestness of its administration. Then we see the group of friends on the shore, waving adieus amid smiles and tears, as the newly-married couple float away in their canoe, on the bridal tour.

Mrs. Dame accompanied her daughter as far as Mackinac. The craft in which the company embarked was a large birch-bark canoe, navigated by four Indians. They proceeded directly across the bay to the east shore. There the Indians got out a long line manufactured from basswood bark, and running along the beach, towed the canoe rapidly after them. At night they had reached the mouth of Pine river, where they made their camp. The next morning the Indians hoisted a large, square sail, and, running before a fair wind, they reached Mackinac at night. Mrs. Dame returned in the canoe, with the Indians, to Old Mission. Mr. and Mrs. Salisbury remained a few days at Mackinac, and then embarked on a steamboat for their home in Wisconsin.

It has already been stated that Lewis Miller came to Old Mission in company with the Dame family, more for the novelty of the thing than because of any definite plan for the future. At that time the fur trade, having its center at Mackinac, was still profitable. When young Miller had been at the mission about a year, he entered into an arrangement with Mr. Merrick, a merchant of Mackinac, to open trade with the Indians on the bay. Mr. Merrick was to furnish the goods, Miller to conduct the business. A wigwam, rented of an Indian, served for a storehouse at the mission.

To carry on trade with the Indians successfully and profitably, involved a great deal of hard labor. Frequent journeys had to be made to Mackinac and to various points along the shore, at all seasons of the year. When the lake was open, Indian canoes or Mackinaw boats were used; when it was closed, there was no way but to travel on snowshoes on the ice along the beach. The winter journeys were always attended with hardship; sometimes with danger. Mr. Miller was usually accompanied by a man in his employ, and not infrequently by two—half-breeds or Indians. When overtaken by night, a camping place was selected on the shore, where there was plenty of fuel at hand, and where some thicket would, in a measure, break the fury of the wintry wind. With their snowshoes for shovels the travelers cleared away the snow down to the surface of the ground—not an easy task when, as was sometimes the case, it was three feet or more in depth. Then evergreen boughs were set up around the cleared space, as a further protection from the wind, and a thick carpet of twigs was spread on the ground. A fire was built, the kettle hung above it, and tea made. After supper the tired wanderers, each wrapped

in two or three Mackinaw blankets, lay down to rest. On one of his journeys to Mackinac, in the depth of winter, Mr. Miller and his companions waded Pine river, where Charlevoix is now situated, both going and returning. Stopping over at Little Traverse, when on a boat journey in December, Mr. Miller was informed by the Indians that a vessel had gone ashore near the "Big Stone," on the south side of Little Traverse bay. It was already dark, but, procuring a boat and two Indians to row, he lost no time in crossing the bay to the scene of the disaster. He found the vessel without difficulty. There was no one remaining on board, but a light could be seen among the trees some distance back from the beach. Making his way to it, he found gathered round a camp-fire the crew of the vessel, which proved to be the Champion, and 18 passengers. Had he dropped from the clouds into their midst, the company would have been scarcely more surprised. He was immediately overwhelmed with questions as to who he was, where he came from, and especially where *they* were. Neither captain, crew, nor passengers had any definite notion of the locality they were in. Learning their exact position, they set about making arrangements to get out of the wilderness. The captain willingly sold to Mr. Miller, at a low price, such supplies as the latter wished to purchase. Some of them bought boats of the Indians and made their way to Mackinac. A party, led by the captain, crossed Grand Traverse bay, landing in the vicinity of Omena, and proceeded south on foot along the shore of Lake Michigan. As far as known, crew and passengers all eventually reached their homes, but not without undergoing considerable hardship. Fortunately there were no women or children on board the Champion.

The first bride who came to the Grand Traverse country on her wedding tour was Mrs. Lewis Miller, whose maiden name was Catherine Kiley. She was a native of London, Eng., and, like her husband, had been left an orphan. Somehow she had found her way to America, and then to the outpost of civilization at Mackinac. During Mr. Miller's frequent visits to that place, an attachment had grown up between them, which finally resulted in marriage. The wedding took place in September, 1845. Immediately after the marriage they set sail in the little sloop Lady of the Lake, for their home in the wilderness. Mr. Miller had chartered the vessel for the occasion, and had loaded her with goods for the Indian trade, furniture, and supplies for housekeeping. The Lady was but a bit of a craft, but she was a perfect duck on the water, and fleet before anything like a favorable wind. The Fates, however, if the Fates have anything to do with regulating wedding trips, decreed a long and tempes-

tuous voyage. It was the season when the god of the winds, on the northern lakes, delights to ornament their surface with foam-capped waves, and tantalize the impatient mariner with variable breezes and the most disappointing kinds of weather. The first day they made the island of St. Helena, where they were compelled to seek the shelter of the harbor. There were a dozen sail or more there, waiting for a favorable change. Several times the Lady ventured out, but was as often compelled to put back. Finally seizing the most favorable opportunity, she was able to reach Little Traverse. Here she was compelled to remain four days. The newly-married couple went on shore and found comfortable quarters in an Indian house. The woman of the house had been brought up in a white family at Mackinac, and, being able to understand the wants of her guests, was in a degree successful in her kind endeavors to make their stay pleasant. Leaving Little Traverse, the vessel reached the mouth of Grand Traverse bay, when she was again driven back. At the second attempt she was obliged to heave to, in the mouth of the bay, the captain remaining all night at the helm. As Miller came on deck in the morning, dull, leaden clouds obscured the sky, and the air was filled with snow flakes. He proposed to take the captain's place at the helm, while the latter should turn in for a little rest. The captain gladly consented. Once installed in authority, Miller made sail, and let the captain sleep till the Lady was safely moored in the harbor at Old Mission.

A young bride, coming for the first time to the home of her husband, naturally looks with a great deal of interest at the surroundings. Sometimes there is disappointment. There was probably no serious disappointment in this case, but it is a part of the traditional family history that as Mrs. Miller came on deck that gloomy September morning, and looked anxiously out upon the scene, beautiful in its gloominess, and saw only the forest-skirted shore and the smoke curling upward from the log houses of the whites and a few Indian wigwams, the first question she asked her husband was, "Where is the tôwn?"

Mr. Miller's oldest son, Henry L., was the first white child born in the Grand Traverse country.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Site of Traverse City as it Was—First Purchase of Land—Arrival of Horace Boardman—First House Built—The Lady of the Lake and her Passengers—Women of the Colony—Visited by Indians—Homesickness—Saw-mill built.

Not far south of the shore of Grand Traverse bay, at the head of its western arm, lies Boardman lake, a sheet of water a square mile or more in extent. From its northwestern angle issues the Boardman river, which flows for some distance in a northwesterly direction, then turns sharply around towards the east, and, after running along nearly parallel with the bay shore, enters the bay at a point nearly opposite that at which it issues from the lake. Its course from the lake to the bay is not unlike the letter V, with its sharp angle turned towards the west. The site of Traverse City lies between the lake and the bay, extending some distance to the south and west, and including within its limits that part of the river already described.

All accounts agree in the statement that, before the so-called improvements of civilization had marred the adornments of nature, this was a most beautiful spot. The waters of Boardman lake were clear as crystal. The river, without drift-wood or the unsightly obstruction of fallen trees, ran with a swift current through an open forest of pines, which occupied all the space between the lake and the bay. There was no underbrush nor herbage—only a brown carpet of dead pine leaves upon the ground. So open and park-like was the forest that one could ride through it in all directions on horseback at a rapid pace. On the right bank of the river, a few rods below its exit from the lake, just where the land slopes gently down to the water, there was a little open space covered with grass, where the Indians sometimes landed from their canoes. On the higher land above were some Indian graves, of no great age, each with a stake at the head and foot. Not far away were other graves, of a circular, mound-like form, the work, probably, of a more ancient people. On the northeastern shore of the lake were a few bark wigwams, where the women and children of some Indian families usually passed the winter, while the men were absent on their annual hunt. With these exceptions there was no mark to indicate that the foot of man had ever trod these solitudes, or that his voice had ever been heard above the rippling music of

the river or the singing of the north wind in the tops of the pine trees. However, it was not the beauty of the place, nor its attractive solitudes, so near to nature's heart, but its promised advantages for gain, that brought the first adventurous settler to fix his abode here.

In 1847 Captain Boardman, a thrifty farmer living near Napierville, Ill., purchased of the United States government a small tract of land at the mouth of the river, and furnished means to his son, Horace Boardman, to build a saw-mill. The latter, with two or three men in his employ, arrived at the river in the early part of June of that year, and immediately commenced the construction of a dwelling. The place selected was on the right bank of the stream, a little way below where it issues from Boardman lake, but a few steps from the grass plat and canoe landing above alluded to. The exact location of the building was in what is now East Eighth street, between the center of the street and its southern boundary, just east of the eastern boundary of Boardman avenue. It was a house of modest pretensions as to size, being only 16 feet by 24, and one story high. The material for the walls was pine logs hewn square with the broad ax. In after years it was known to the inhabitants of the village as the "old blockhouse." It was eventually destroyed by fire.

On the 20th of June, a week or more after Mr. Boardman's arrival, the Lady of the Lake, owned by him and sailed by Michael Gay, one of his employés, arrived in the mouth of the river with supplies. There came with Gay a man by the name of Dunham, who, having been in the bay on a previous occasion, acted as pilot.

The Lady of the Lake, a craft of only a few tons burthen, had originally been a pleasure yacht. She was sharp built, sloop rigged, and a fast sailer. Having become old and rotten, and therefore undesirable for the purpose for which she was originally intended, Mr. Boardman had been able to purchase her cheaply, as a vessel to answer his present convenience. Her only fault was that, on account of her decayed condition, she was unsafe in a storm.

After assisting for a few days in the building of the house, Gay was dispatched with the little vessel to the Manitou islands, to bring on a party of employés, who, it had been arranged, should come as far as the islands by steamer. Returning, the Lady entered the river on the 5th of July. There came in her as passengers, Mr. Gay's young wife, then only about 15 or 16 years of age, and her four-months-old baby; Mr. and Mrs. Duncan, a hired girl named Ann Van Amburg, and several carpenters.

Only the walls of the house had as yet been erected. The building was without roof, floors, doors, or windows. A sort of lean-to, or open

shed, with a floor of hewn planks, had been built for a temporary kitchen, against one side of the house, in which a cook stove had been set up. A tent was now constructed of some spare sails, inside the unfinished building, for the accommodation of the two married couples and the girl. The single men shifted for themselves as best they could. The company lived in this manner during the remainder of the summer. The house was not finished until the saw-mill was so far completed as to saw lumber with which to finish it.

It was only a day or two after their arrival that the women, being alone, were alarmed by the sound of the trampling of horses, followed by a confusion of discordant yells, which their excited imaginations magnified into the terrific war-whoop of a multitude of bloodthirsty savages hankering after scalps. Mrs. Duncan and Ann cowered within the tent. Mrs. Gay, though scarcely less frightened, thought it policy to put on a semblance of bravery. She accordingly went out and spoke to the Indians in their own language, a few words of which she had learned, while living near Grand Rapids. To the relief of the women the Indians proved to be friendly. They had seen the Lady of the Lake sailing up the bay, and had come to visit the white man's camp, prompted mainly by curiosity, but had brought for traffic sugar and fish, which they were glad to exchange for such commodities as the whites had to dispose of. They were particularly fond of pork, and were especially glad to give any of their own food in return for it. The trade with the Indians became afterwards an important source of supply, when the failure of provisions threatened the little colony with famine. Mrs. Gay had some acquaintance with the French language, and one of the Indian women spoke it fluently. In future transactions the two acted as interpreters, Mrs. Gay translating the English into French and the Indian woman the French into Indian, the response being conveyed back in a similar manner, through a double translation.

How much of homesickness there was in the little colony, we are left in a great measure to conjecture. It may be related on Mrs. Gay's own authority that, as for herself, she time and again sat for hours by the little grass plot at the canoe landing, the only place she could find that had a look of civilization, shedding tears over her separation from the associations of her former home. Mrs. Duncan was fortunate enough to pay a visit to the ladies at Old Mission the fall succeeding her arrival at the river, but Mrs. Gay was here more than two years before she had the pleasure of looking upon the face of a civilized woman other than the two with whom she came.

It had been Mr. Boardman's intention to throw a dam across the Boardman river, at some point not far below the lake, and build a saw-mill on that stream. The convenience of residing near the mill had been the main consideration that determined the location of the block-house. After a more thorough exploration of the country, however, and an estimate of the probable difficulties in the way of building, he was led to modify his plan. Mill creek, a small stream that has its sources in the hills to the south and west of the bay, and enters the Boardman at the western angle of its bend, seemed to offer facilities for cheaply building a small mill, that should answer present purposes. He therefore determined to build on that stream, with the intention of erecting afterwards a larger and more permanent structure on the Boardman. By that plan he would have the advantage of the smaller mill for making boards, planks, and timbers for the larger, thus avoiding the difficulty of obtaining from a distance the lumber it would be necessary to have before a large mill could be put in a condition for service. There was no place nearer than Manistee where lumber could be obtained, and the Lady of the Lake was too small and too unsafe to be relied on for bringing any large quantity such a distance. It was not easy at that time to induce vessel masters to enter the bay, which to them was an unexplored sea.

Immediately after the arrival of the carpenters all hands were set to work upon the mill. The Lady of the Lake made a trip to Manistee after plank for the flume. When the frame was ready all the white men at Old Mission and several Indians came to help raise it. It took three days to get it up. It was finally got into condition to be set running about the 1st of October. Then some of the first boards made were used to complete the block-house, which up to that time had remained unfinished.

It was a long walk from the house to the mill. The path from one to the other ran along the southwestern bank of the Boardman. For convenience of reaching it from the house, a foot-bridge of poles was thrown across the river at the canoe landing. This slight structure was afterwards replaced by a broader and firmer bridge, on which wagons could cross.

CHAPTER IX.

The Lady of the Lake Wrecked at the Manitous—Mr. Boardman's Journey Home—Anxiety of the People at the River—A Relief Expedition —Getting Dinner Under Difficulties—Removal From the Block-house —Mrs. Gay Turns Shoemaker— Another Woman in the Settlement.

The mill having been completed, and there no longer being suitable employment for the mechanics who had been engaged upon it, it became necessary to provide for their conveyance home. It was arranged that Mr. Boardman should take them in the Lady of the Lake to the Manitous, where they could get passage on one of the steamers that were in the habit of touching there. He would then freight his vessel with supplies, which he expected to find waiting there, and return.

It was about the 10th of October that the Lady of the Lake sailed on this her last voyage. While waiting for the supplies, which had not arrived, after landing her passengers, the little vessel was caught in a storm, driven upon the beach, and totally wrecked. The supplies came, but Mr. Boardman searched in vain for means to transport them to Grand Traverse bay. Convinced at last that he could accomplish nothing by remaining at the islands, he took passage on a steamer for Mackinac. Here he found means to cross to the mainland, and then set out on foot on his toilsome journey home. His route lay for more than a hundred miles along the beach, most of the way without even the semblance of a foot-path, and without a civilized dwelling, except at the missions of Cross Village and Little Traverse, at which he could ask for a night's shelter or a morsel of food.

In the meantime the people at home became alarmed at his long absence. Then information reached them, through the agency of some fishermen that the vessel was lost. It was late in the season. Navigation would soon be closed. Something must be done, and done quickly. A consultation was held, the result of which was an agreement that Mr. Gay should go to Old Mission, get a boat there, if possible, and endeavor to reach the Manitous and bring away such supplies as he might be able to find.

Mrs. Duncan accompanied Mr. Gay to Old Mission for a visit to the ladies there. The day after their departure, Mrs. Gay and Ann, perhaps not having the fear of famine before their eyes, or perhaps expecting to

perish with hunger but believing in the maxim, "live while you live," resolved to have one more good dinner. An examination of the larder showed, on hand a small supply of musty flour, some sour yeast a little maple sugar, and fish enough for a meal—not a very promising stock, to be sure, out of which to prepare a tempting dinner. Among the men was one named Joe Mead. Joe had a contract with Mr. Boardman to cut logs the next winter. To make sure of provisions for his hands he had scoured the country—that is, he had been to Old Mission, the only settlement in the region, and brought back all the supplies he could get, the chief item of which was a barrel of hogs' heads. It was known, too, that Joe had some saleratus among his stores. A dinner without meat would be lacking, and sour yeast without an alkali would not raise musty flour. The women applied for a hog's head and a bit of saleratus, but Joe would give them neither, so they were fain to make the best of it. Lye made of ashes, with the sour yeast, served to make the dough light, and some of the sugar was converted into syrup; so they had, after all, a respectable dinner for the time and place—pancakes of musty flour, maple syrup, and fish.

The meal was scarcely ready when they were agreeably surprised by the arrival of Mr. Boardman, foot-sore and exhausted and glad to be again at home. At table tears of thankfulness ran down his cheeks, as he partook with a keen relish of the homely fare they had unintentionally prepared for him in their efforts to get up a "good dinner."

Mr. Gay was successful in his expedition. At Old Mission he obtained the little schooner Arrow, her owner, H. K. Cowles, with Robert Campbell and several others, volunteering to accompany him to the Manitous. Having loaded with the supplies at the latter place, he returned in safety, reaching Old Mission on Thanksgiving day and the river on the day following.

It was found that the block-house was too far from the mill for convenience. After Mr. Gay's return from the Manitous, he built a small log house, for the use of his own family, near the mill. Both families, however, and all the hands, were accommodated in it for a short time, till a small plank house could be built for Mr. and Mrs. Duncan and the men.

On examining the stores brought in by the Arrow, it was found that a box of boots and shoes intended for winter use had been left behind. Only one pair of shoes had come, which had been ordered expressly for Mrs. Gay, and these proved to be not a pair, both of them being shaped for one foot. We are not informed how the men managed for the winter, but Mrs. Gay resolved that the women should not go barefoot. Applying to Mr.

Boardman, she obtained permission to use some spare belt leather belonging to the machinery of the mill for soles, and some heavy gray cloth found among the stores for vamps and quarters. One of the men made her a last. Then ripping to pieces one of the useless odd shoes to obtain patterns, she made a pair each for Mrs. Duncan, Ann, and herself. Though not remarkable for beauty, they proved serviceable, and much more comfortable than the narrow, high-heeled things called shoes, that cramp the feet and deform the limbs of fashionable belles and make graceful motions in walking an impossibility.

And now the little community was shut in for the winter. All connection with the great world outside was severed, except an irregular and uncertain communication by way of Old Mission and Mackinac. Many were the incidents, however, novel, sad, cheerful and ludicrous, that occurred to break the monotony of their hermit-like existence. The changes of the weather, the peculiarities of the climate, the ever-varying phases of the landscape, the wonders of the forest, the strange beasts and birds that visited their dwellings or were captured in the woods, the thousand and one little things attendant on wilderness life in winter, many of them of special interest because of their relations to the character of this new and interesting country, kept the attention engaged and helped to make the time pass lightly. Still they were glad when, at the approach of spring, the snow slowly melted away, and there were indications that the face of nature was about to put on a more cheerful aspect.

In the summer of 1848 a small wharf was commenced at the shore of the bay, and a tram-way built for the purpose of transporting lumber to it from the mill. The next winter a beginning was made towards getting out timber for the construction of the contemplated large mill on the river. Mr. Boardman from time to time varied his business by getting out shingle bolts, and hemlock bark for tanning purposes, for the Chicago market. He cleared three or four acres of land, and was successful in the cultivation of garden vegetables.

The summer of 1849 was marked by several incidents that added interest to the life of the settlement. A man by the name of Freeman came, and got out a considerable quantity of hemlock bark for shipment, employing Indians to perform most of the labor. The bark, of course, was stripped from trees growing upon government land. There was no one in this remote region whose interest it was, or who considered it his duty, to prevent spoliations of the public property.

The government had found it necessary to order a re-survey of the lands in the vicinity of the bay. For some time the surveyors' camps

were pitched in the vicinity, the settlement being for them a sort of headquarters and base of supplies.

In the employ of Risdon, one of the surveyors, was Henry Rutherford, afterwards well known in the settlement, having his wife with him. Word was brought to the women at the mill one evening that there was a woman in Risdon's camp. The announcement was sufficient to produce a flutter of excitement. Mrs. Duncan had visited the ladies at Old Mission, but Mrs. Gay, since her arrival at the river, had not seen the face of a civilized person of her own sex, except the two who had come with her. Setting out alone the next morning, she found her way to the surveyors' camp, and spent the forenoon with Mrs. Rutherford, remaining to dinner in response to a cordial invitation from the latter. The cloth was spread on the ground, where there was a bit of clean grass outside the tent, the company sitting round it in oriental fashion. The viands consisted of pork and potatoes, fried, with huckleberries for dessert. The next day Mrs. Rutherford returned the visit, dining with Mrs. Gay. Mrs. Rutherford was partly of Indian descent, nevertheless she was regarded as an important acquisition to the society of the colony.

CHAPTER X.

Hannah, Lay & Co.—Mr. Hannah's Voyage to Grand Traverse Bay—The Vessel Stuck Fast on a Rock—Mill Men Playing Old Sledge—Explorations—A Hundred Millions of Pine—Purchase Made—Clearing the Boardman—Steam Saw-mill Built—Lumber Camps—Running Logs.

In the month of May, 1850, three enterprising young men in the city of Chicago entered into partnership, under the firm name of Hannah, Lay & Co., for the purpose of carrying on the lumber trade. The names of the partners were Perry Hannah, Albert Tracy Lay, and James Morgan. The firm opened business on the corner of Jackson and Canal streets, buying their stock by the cargo, in the harbor.

Early in 1851 they conceived the project of having somewhere a saw-mill of their own for making lumber, thus saving to themselves the profit they were now paying to the manufacturer. Falling in with a man by the name of Curtis, one of the mechanics who had built Mr. Boardman's mill, they obtained from him their first knowledge of the country on Grand Traverse bay. In the meantime the price of lumber

had gone down to a very low figure. Captain Boardman found that his mill, as managed by his son, was not profitable. Concluding that it would be wise to dispose of the property, he proposed to sell it to the new firm.

In the spring, Mr. Hannah, accompanied by William Morgan and Captain Boardman, took passage in the little schooner Venus, bound for the bay, for the purpose of viewing the property. The Venus was commanded by Capt. Peter Nelson, a Dane by birth, afterwards well known in the Grand Traverse country, for many years keeper of the light-house near Northport and now a resident of that village.

The voyage was tempestuous. After riding out a gale of three days' duration on Lake Michigan, they finally entered the bay, and made Old Mission harbor in pleasant weather.

The scene before them, as the vessel rounded to in the harbor, appeared to the tempest-tossed voyagers the loveliest ever beheld by mortal eyes. The sun was just sinking behind the western hills, the whitewashed houses of the Indian village gleaming brightly in his parting rays, while the tops of the forest trees seemed bathed in a floating mist of gold. On the bank sat a picturesque group of Indian men, enjoying the fragrant fumes of the pipe. The women were seen engaged in the feminine avocations pertaining to their simple mode of life. The shouting of a company of children in gleeful play, mingled with the sound of tinkling bells from a herd of ponies feeding on the hill-side beyond, made music in harmony with the quiet beauty of the scene. The restless spirit of the white man had not yet brought discontent to these simple children of the forest—the baleful effects of the destroying fire-water were yet comparatively unknown.

After remaining two hours at Old Mission, the Venus set sail for her destination, the head of the west arm of the bay. The night was beautiful, with a glorious moon shining brightly in the heavens. When a mile out, with the vessel's prow turned towards the north, and a gentle breeze from the south filling her sails, Captain Nelson, who had been worn out with labor and watching during the gale, gave directions to the man at the helm, wrapped himself in a blanket, and lay down on the quarter deck to get a little rest. Fatigued as he was, he seemed to have scarcely more than touched the deck when a loud snoring indicated that he was in a sound sleep. The instructions given to the man at the helm were to hold a north course till well down past the point of the peninsula, and then call the captain, before tacking to the west. The kind-hearted sailor, knowing how hard a time the captain had had, and de-

siring to give him all possible opportunity to rest, could see no reason why he should not guide the vessel around the point, as there was but little wind and all looked clear. As he brought her round, at a sufficient distance beyond the point, as he supposed, sailing not more than a mile an hour, the sudden thumping of her bottom on the rocks alarmed all hands, and brought the captain quickly to his feet. Then such a chiding as the poor sailor received for his disobedience of orders, is seldom heard in any dialect of the Scandinavian tongue. The vessel lay quiet, but was stuck fast. Sounding revealed the curious fact that her keel rested on a sunken rock, with not less than 20 feet of water all round. On making further soundings from the boat, which was got out for the purpose, it was found that the rock on which she rested was situated in a pool of clear, deep water, surrounded by rocks on all sides, and that the only way of escape was to draw her back, by means of the kedge anchor, through the narrow and shallow passage by which she had entered. Several hours of tedious labor were required to liberate her from her perilous position. The captain slept no more till his vessel was moored to the slab wharf at the head of the bay.

The only opening in the forest visible to the party, as they landed, was the narrow clearing which had been made for the tram-road. Following this, Captain Boardman keeping well in advance, they soon arrived at the mill. The mill was not running. On entering the house, the hands were all found there, amusing themselves with the game of old sledge. After shaking hands all round, Capt. Boardman said to his son, "Horace, how is this, that you are not running the mill?" The reply was, "Father, it was a little rainy today; the boys outside couldn't work very well, and they wanted the men in the mill to make up the number for the game; so I concluded to shut down for a time, in order that they might have a little fun." This easy way of doing business did not suit the energetic old farmer, Capt. Boardman, who was now more fully convinced that the property had best be sold.

After looking over the premises for a day, a party consisting of Mr. Hannah, Horace Boardman, Mr. Morgan, and a man named Whitcher, with packs of blankets and provisions, set out to explore the country and examine the timber along the Boardman river. At the end of a week, Mr. Hannah estimated that they had seen at least a hundred million feet of pine on government land, open to sale. This was a sufficient inducement to the firm to accept Capt. Boardman's proposition to sell them his entire interest in the property, consisting of the saw-mill, the cheap buildings that had been erected, and about two hundred acres of land, on which the village plat was afterwards located, for $4,500.

The first work done by the new owners was to construct a tram-road from the bend of the Boardman to the mill, so that logs floated down the stream could be hauled out at the bend and transported over land to the mill, whence the lumber, as formerly, could be run down to the slab wharf for shipment.

The next task performed, which proved to be one of no small magnitude, was the clearing of the river, so that logs could be floated down from the immense tracts of pine on the upper waters. It was not merely here and there a fallen tree that had to be removed. In some places the stream was so completely covered and hidden with a mass of fallen trees, and the vegetation which had taken root and was flourishing on their decaying trunks, that no water could be seen. Ten long miles of the channel had to be cleared before the first pine was reached. With an energy and a steadfastness of purpose that ever after marked the transactions of the firm, the work was pushed on till logs could be run down the stream.

The saw-mill had only a single muley saw. Finding from a few months' experience that it was too small and too slow for their purpose, Hannah, Lay & Co. determined to construct a new one, to be run by steam power. A site was selected on the narrow tongue of land lying between the lower part of the river and the bay, where, on one hand, logs could be floated in the stream directly to the mill, and, on the other, the lumber could be loaded on vessels by being conveyed only a short distance on trucks. The project was executed in 1852, and the next year the mill went into successful operation.

About the first work done in the steam mill was to saw up the pine timber on the tract of land now occupied by the village. It was cut into bridge timber for the Illinois Central Railroad Company, who used it for constructing a bridge over the Illinois river at La Salle.

In those days the lumber was all carried across the lake in sail craft. The first vessel that carried for the firm, and brought in the boilers for the steam mill, was the Maria Hilliard. No lake surveys had been made in the region of Grand Traverse bay, and the masters of vessels were guided more by guess than by charts. Amusing anecdotes are told of their experiences, one of which we repeat. The Richmond, one very dark night, was beating up the bay against a light head wind. On attempting to tack, for some unaccountable reason she would not come in stays, and, as she seemed to be fast, the captain was forced reluctantly to let her remain. When daylight revealed the situation, what was his surprise to find his vessel lying close to a bold, wooded shore with her bowsprit entangled among the trees.

When the pine in the immediate vicinity of the mill had been worked up, Hannah, Lay & Co. commenced the system of lumbering common on the streams of northern Michigan, which they have successfully pursued up to the present time, giving employment, both summer and winter, to a large number of men.

The Boardman river had been cleared as far up as the pine forests. At the beginning of winter gangs of men were sent into the woods to establish camps. A gang consisted of 20 men, more or less, a foreman or boss, a cook, a stable-boss, and perhaps a chore-boy. A number of teams, either horses or oxen, were kept at the camp. A house was built of pine logs large enough to accommodate the company. A part of the interior, perhaps separated from the rest only by a simple railing, constituted the special domain of the cook, upon which no one was allowed to trespass. Another part was devoted to the accommodation of the men. Bunks were arranged in tiers, one above another, against the wall, for sleeping places. A huge stove made the apartment comfortable in the coldest weather. Rough benches for seats, and, a long table, with the plainest and most durable kinds of dishes, constituted the bulk of the furniture. A large stable, built also of logs, afforded shelter for the animals. Provisions for the men and forage for the animals were brought to the camp from time to time during the winter by teams employed for the purpose.

The first faint gleam of day usually found the men at their work, and, except for dinner, there was no cessation of labor till night had again spread her dark mantle over the scene. Some cut down the pine trees, others divided them with the saw into logs of suitable length, and others again loaded the logs on huge sleds and drew them to the river bank, where they were tumbled into the stream. When the work of the day was done, the teamsters took care of their animals, receiving from the stable-boss the rations to which they were entitled. In the house, wet garments were hung up to dry, and every man made himself as comfortable as he might without intruding on his neighbor. When supper was over, various amusements served to while away the time till the hour for retiring. Some read, by the light of a lamp, such books and papers as they could get, some played cards, chess, or checkers, and sometimes a song enlivened the spirits of those who sang, if not of those who heard. Joke, raillery, and repartee passed freely round. If a visitor called he was made welcome and hospitably entertained. If a minister of the gospel paid them a visit sometime in the course of the winter, all amusement was laid aside to listen to a sermon in the evening, and when he

departed the following morning he was not allowed to go away empty handed.

When spring opened, the camp was deserted. The men, except the log-drivers, returned to work in the mill, which was now put in operation for the season, or went to their several homes.

It was the business of the log-drivers, or river-drivers, as they were sometimes called, to run the logs down the river to the mill. Not infrequently, at the place where the logs had been put into the stream, the channel was filled with them from bank to bank to a great height. To break this "jam," or loosen the logs so that they would be carried away by the current, which was usually strong from the melting of the snow at this season, involved no small amount of labor, and was sometimes dangerous. When the logs were all finally afloat in the stream, the drivers followed them down, pushing off those that stranded on the shore, and breaking the temporary "jams" that formed wherever obstructions were met with. Frequently the men rode considerable distances on the floating logs, keeping their position by the aid of sharp spikes in the thick soles of their boots, and by balancing themselves with their long pike poles. At night they slept in temporary camps on the bank of the river, to which supplies were conveyed for their use.

CHAPTER XI.

New Partners in the Firm of Hannah, Lay & Co.—Mr. Lay and Mr. Hannah Live at the Bay Alternately—The First Store—Boarding-house Built—Names of Early Settlers—Mill Built at East Bay—First Road Opened—Postoffice Established—How Ann Dakin Carried the Mail—Amusements—Henrietta Baxter's Adventures—First Marriages.

In 1852 a fourth partner, Mr. William Morgan, who had accompanied Mr. Hannah on his prospecting tour, was received into the firm of Hannah, Lay & Co. Afterwards, in 1859, Mr. Smith Barnes, a former resident of Port Huron, was admitted to partnership in the mercantile department, but without any connection with the lumber trade.

Mr. Francis Hannah, a brother of the member of the firm, came to the bay in the fall of 1851, with a view to becoming a partner. After spending the winter in the settlement, he concluded that the financial advantages of a connection with the firm would not be a sufficient compensa-

tion for the seclusion of a life in the wilderness, and finally declined the proffered partnership. While there he had charge of the business of the firm.

After Francis Hannah retired from the employ of the firm, Mr. Lay and Mr. Hannah for several years took turns in the management of the business at the bay and in Chicago, Mr. Lay remaining at the former place during the summer and Mr. Hannah in Chicago, the two changing places for the winter. Finally the oversight of their interests was permanently divided between them, Mr. Hannah residing constantly in Traverse City and Mr. Lay in Chicago.

From the commencement of their business at the bay they kept a small stock of goods for supplying the wants of persons in their employ. Their first store was kept in a log building, 16 feet long and 12 wide, that stood by the side of the old Boardman boarding-house, near the water mill on Mill creek. From that they removed to a small frame building, erected for the purpose, on the north side of the river, just east of what is now the corner of Bay and Union streets. In order to make room for a larger structure, as business increased, the building was afterward moved to the north side of Bay street, opposite the Bay House, and was for many years used as a tin shop. A lady who went shopping to this building in 1853 described the stock as consisting of "a few pieces of calico, and just dry goods enough to supply the little community."

After the erection of the steam saw-mill, it was found convenient to have some place near it where those employés of the firm who were without families could be accommodated with board and lodging. Accordingly a boarding-house was commenced in the spring of 1854, and by the last of August was so far advanced as to be habitable. The original building with its subsequent additions occupied a site on the south side of Bay street, a short distance west of the corner of Bay and Union streets, and, at the time of the present writing, is kept as a hotel by William Fowle and known as the Bay House.

A saw-mill in the depths of a wilderness previously unbroken, built only with a view to the profit arising from the manufacture of lumber where land and timber were cheap, has often turned out to be the nucleus around which thriving settlements have grown up. In the case before us, the modest enterprise undertaken by Capt. Boardman and his son, and afterwards greatly enlarged and energetically pushed by Hannah, Lay & Co., proved to be the laying of the foundation for a populous and thrifty community.

The names of all who came to the new settlement in an early day have not been preserved. Some remained only a short time, and then returned to the places whence they came, or wandered to other parts; others identified themselves with the interests of the community and became permanent citizens.

At the setting in of winter, in 1851, the following families are known to have been in the settlement; Michael Gay's, John Lake's, Henry Rutherford's, Benjamin Austin's, T. D. Hillery's, William Voice's, Seth Norris's, Robert Potts's, a family named Barnes, a German family whose name has been forgotten, and an old couple by the name of Lowery. The following names of unmarried persons, residents at that time, have been preserved: Henrietta Baxter, who afterwards became Mrs. J. K. Gunton, Catherine Carmichael, sister to Mrs. Hillery and afterwards wife of H. D. Campbell, Dominic Dunn, William Rennie, Cuyler Germaine, Dougald Carmichael, brother to Mrs. Hillery and Catherine, James K. Gunton, and Richard Meagher. Francis Hannah was also there, having charge of the business of Hannah, Lay & Co., D. C. Curtis, foreman in the employ of the firm, Thomas Cutler, who had come out as engineer to take charge of the engine of the steam saw-mill about to be built, and John B. Spencer who was getting out saw-logs for the mill and timber for building a dock, and who soon afterwards removed to Elk Rapids. Thomas Cutler's family arrived the following year. There arrived, also, in 1852, John Garland and two men by the name of Evans, with families, and unmarried, Henry D. Campbell, Thomas A. Hitchcock, R. McLellan, and Hugh McGinnis. Dr. Charles Holton and wife came either in the spring of 1852 or the fall previous. Dr. D. C. Goodale, with his family, arrived in April, 1853.

Many of the persons named came for the purpose of entering the employ of Hannah, Lay & Co., and most of them were at one time or another, engaged in some capacity in the service of the firm. Mr. Voice, who had been in the country before, contemplated, in connection with his partner, Luther Scofield, the building of a saw-mill at East Bay, a project which was soon after carried into successful execution.

The population of the settlement was yet small. They were surrounded and shut in by an almost impenetrable wilderness. But few improvements not demanded by the immediate exigencies of the lumber trade had been attempted. Only one public road—that from the head of the bay to Old Mission—had been opened. This road had been made in fulfillment of an agreement between the inhabitants of the two places, entered into, probably, at the raising of Boardman's saw-mill. The people

at Old Mission were pleased to have a mill so conveniently near, and all could see that connection of the settlements by means of a passable road would be a public advantage. The inhabitants of each settlement, by voluntary contributions of labor, built the half of the road nearest themselves.

Up to 1853 the postoffice at Old Mission was the only one in a vast region of country around the bay. In the winter of 1852-53, Mr. Lay while in Washington, was successful in his effort to get one established in the new settlement. The name of the one at Old Mission was Grand Traverse. The new settlement at the head of the bay was beginning to be known as Grand Traverse City. When Mr. Lay proposed the latter name for the new postoffice, the clerk with whom he was transacting the business suggested that "Grand" be dropped, and it be called simply Traverse City, as the name would have less resemblance to that of the office at Old Mission, to which Mr. Lay acceded. Thus originated the name subsequently given to a thriving village.

The mail was carried once a week, coming to Traverse City from Manistee. Mr. Lay was the first contractor, his compensation being $400 per year. At first it was carried by an Indian, called Old Joe, in a pack upon his shoulders. Before the expiration of Mr. Lay's contract, however, the quantity of mail matter had so increased that a horse had to be employed. Hugh McGinnis was then engaged as carrier, who cut out a trail as far as Herring creek, the first move in road-making between Traverse City and the lake shore.

Dr. Goodale was appointed postmaster, and chose H. D. Campbell as assistant. Dr. Goodale continued to hold the office till after Lincoln's election to the presidency, when, in the course of events incident to a change of administration, he was removed.*

Previous to the establishment of the postoffice at Traverse City, whenever any one had occasion to visit Old Mission he was expected to bring, on his return, whatever mail matter was found waiting in the postoffice there. Ann Dakin, a woman employed in the boarding-house, had relatives at that place whom she frequently visited. Being strong of frame and a pedestrian of great endurance, she thought nothing of walking to Old Mission at the end of a week's labor, returning in time to enter

*Dr. David C. Goodale was born in Waybridge, Vt., November 10, 1809. In June, 1835, he graduated in the medical college at Castleton, which at that time stood in the front rank of the medical schools of the country. Soon after graduating he married Miss Charlotte Isabella Cheney, and commenced practice in Panton. He was for many years secretary of the Addison county medical society, and took an honorable place in the ranks of the profession. During the political campaign of 1839-40 he published the *Green Mountain Argus*. He came west in the fall of 1852. On removing to the Grand Traverse country, he determined to give up practice, but the needs of the settlement induced him to reconsider his determination. For many years he was the only physician in the vicinity of Traverse City. His death occurred November 13, 1878.

promptly upon the duties of the following week. On these visits to her friends she was accustomed to carry a satchel slung over her shoulder, in which she brought back the mail for the settlement.

The society of the settlement was peculiar. Most of the married people were young. The unmarried men were intelligent, moral, and well disposed, but bent on having their full share of sport. As not infrequently happens in border settlements, where the male population is apt to greatly outnumber that of the gentler sex, their recreation sometimes assumed a somewhat mischievous character.

On New Year's night, in the winter of 1851-52, "the boys" determined to amuse themselves by waking up, in a startling manner, the more sedate citizens. Secretly collecting all the firearms, they found they could muster 13 guns. With these they went round to several of the houses, firing volleys under the windows, to the utter consternation of the more timid inmates, who, living in constant fear of a hostile visit from the Mormons, thought their dreaded enemy was upon them.

Card-playing and the habits of negligence and idleness to which it leads, had been among the causes that made Mr. Boardman's enterprise unsuccessful. In the boarding-house of Hannah, Lay & Co. it was strictly prohibited. Some of the young men, however, were not to be easily deprived of a favorite pastime. At Austin's they found a convenient rendezvous, where card-playing and general hilarity, though the latter was sometimes a little boisterous, were not considered out of order. Michael Gay could play the fiddle, after a fashion. Usually as often as once in two weeks his services were put in requisition, the ladies, married and single, were invited, and music and dancing neither of them, perhaps, of the most polished kind, served to while away an evening.

It is not to be supposed that flirtations, love-makings, and courtships, generally understood to be normal accompaniments of social parties in fashionable life, flourished in a society where the men outnumbered the women three or four to one, and where nearly all of the latter were married, yet the meetings at Austin's were not without their romance. Jim Gunton, as he was familiarly called, seems to have been the sly dog of the pack. Henrietta Baxter lived at Austin's. While his companions, deep in the attractions of euchre or old sledge, were oblivious of all things around them, Jim, fully awake to the main chance, found opportunities to whisper, unobserved, in the maiden's ear, that which sometimes deepened the blush on her cheek. Ere the winter had passed, it became known that there was an engagement of marriage.

Henrietta was the daughter of a Mormon lady, who was a widow. Mrs. Baxter had been inveigled into joining her fortunes with those of

the Mormons of Beaver island, only to find, in a short time, her property held fast in the clutches of the authorities of the Mormon church. The situation on the island for young, unmarried women, not in full sympathy with the peculiar doctrines and practices taught by Strang and his associates, was far from pleasant. Henrietta found employment in the family of James Cable, a "Gentile" living on the island, between whom and the Mormons there existed a strong dislike, if not a bitter hatred. In common with some of the "Gentiles" with whom she was associated, she at length became alarmed for her personal safety. Her fears, in their full extent may not have been well-founded. Be that as it may, she resolved to take advantage of the first opportunity to escape. One day a vessel touched at the wharf. Though its destination was to her unknown, she determined, if possible, to get on board, and take the chances of reaching a desirable haven. As the vessel was about to sail, she took in her hand a bundle of such personal effects as she could carry, and started on a run towards it. Before reaching it, however, she was intercepted by some of the Mormons, who took away her bundle, after which she was allowed to proceed, glad to get off the island, even with nothing but the garments upon her person. The next port at which the vessel touched was Old Mission, where the fugitive was set on shore. Living in the vicinity of Old Mission was a family of Mormons of the name of Bowers, who, it was understood, had in some way incurred the displeasure of Strang and his associates, and had consequently been compelled to leave the island. In this family Henrietta found a home. From Bowers' she came to the head of the bay, where she found employment in the family of Austin, who also was known as a Mormon exile.

As Henrietta regarded Bowers' house as her home, it was arranged that the marriage rite should be performed there, Rev. Mr. Dougherty to officiate. For a wedding party to get there in the depth of winter, was not easy. The best preparation Mr. Gunton could make, was to procure from the Indians of Old Mission two roughly-made pungs, each drawn by a diminutive, shaggy, half-starved Indian pony. One pung was intended for the conveyance of himself and bride; the other for Mr. and Mrs. Austin. It was the intention to return to Austin's at night, but the ponies were slow, the roads in places were almost impassable from drifted snow, and it proved to be all they could do to reach Bowers' in the course of the day, not to think of returning. In the meantime, the "boys" at the head of the bay prepared to give the newly-married couple a rousing *charivari* on their return, watching for them in vain till late into the night. When they finally did return, the next day, the issuing

of a general invitation to a party at Austin's in the evening turned the contemplated *charivari* into a more civil and more enjoyable affair, the first ever held in what is now Traverse City.

The first marriage in which the ceremony was performed within the limits of the settlement, was that of James Lee* and Ann Dakin, which took place, probably, in 1853. William M. McKellip, a justice of the peace, officiated.

The first white child born at Traverse City was Josephine Gay, daughter of Michael Gay, afterwards Mrs. Neil Morrison. The date of her birth was May 15, 1849.

CHAPTER XII.

First Deaths—Forgotten Graves—First Religious Services—Rev. D. R. Latham—Methodist Work—First Methodist Class at Old Mission—Class Organized at Traverse City—Privations and Hardships of Early Pioneer Preachers—A Friendly Owl.

There is something peculiarly sad in the contemplation of death occurring in a small and isolated community, cut off from the sympathy of the great, kindly, throbbing heart of the world of humanity, and separated, it may be, from the religious consolations that come through the agency of those noble institutions of our Christian civilization, the church and the Christian ministry.

In the winter of 1852-53 a young man was accidentally killed at the camp on the Boardman. Early in the following summer another young man was taken sick in the boarding-house. He was kindly cared for, under the supervision of Mr. Lay, and attended by young Dr. Holton, who, though employed in the store of Hannah, Lay & Co., gave his attention, when called on, to the few cases of sickness occurring in the settlement. Comfortable quarters were provided for the sick man in the old Boardman boarding-house at Mill creek, where, after lingering for a few days, he passed away. A little later in the season a vessel came into the harbor, having on board a family, in destitute circumstances, by the name of Churchill. Mrs. Churchill was taken ashore dangerously sick, and, though everything that kindness could suggest was done by the women as nurses and Dr. Goodale as physician, she lived only a few days. The

*This was not Hon. James Lee, now living in Traverse City. The James Lee here spoken of left the country with his wife soon after their marriage.

three early victims of death were buried on the sandy plain, not far from the margin of the bay. A thriving village has extended its streets and buildings above their forgotten graves, all traces of which have long since disappeared. Unconscious of the daily tread of the busy throng above their humble resting place, they await, we may hope in peace, the summons that shall bid them, like Lazarus, come forth to a new and a higher life.

At the burial of the unfortunate young man accidentally killed, there was no funeral service. At the burial of the one who died of disease, religious services were conducted by Rev. H. C. Scofield, a young Baptist minister, who was residing for a time at East Bay, in charge of the business in which his brother, Mr. Luther Scofield, was a partner. At the funeral of Mrs. Churchill, Mr. Lay read the Episcopal burial service at the grave. There is a tradition, not well authenticated, that Mr. Whitcher, who was early in the employ of Mr. Boardman, sometimes conducted religious services for the benefit of the men, but the funeral of the young man at the old boarding-house is the earliest occasion, so far as we have reliable proof, on which such services were ever had in Traverse City.

The several deaths, occurring so near together, produced, perhaps, a feeling of solemnity in the community, and a desire on the part of some at least for regular religious services. Mr. Scofield consented to preach. An appointment was made for a certain Sunday at the log house which had been fitted up for a schoolhouse. Mrs. Goodale, who took an active interest in the matter, went around and gave notice to the people.

To some of the residents a religious meeting was a novelty. The children who attended went to it with something of the feeling of expectant curiosity with which they would have visited a traveling show. An amusing incident, preserved in memory by some who were present, illustrates this fact. While Mr. Scofield was offering an earnest opening prayer, two boys watched him very attentively. As he pronounced the amen, one of them, with a comical look, gave his companion a punch, and said, so loud that all in the house could hear, "There, didn't I tell you amen would be the last word he would say?"

Mr. Scofield preached a few times during the summer of 1853. After that there was no stated religious service at any point in the Grand Traverse region till June, 1857, except at the several Indian mission stations.

A letter written by some person in the vicinity of Old Mission to a friend in northern New York, saying that there was no clergyman in

northern Michigan, and asking where one could be obtained, attracted the attention of Rev. D. R. Latham, a young local preacher recently licensed by the Methodist Episcopal church. Mr. Latham had just determined to go to Kansas. Thinking that now was perhaps the last opportunity he might have of seeing the great lakes, he resolved to go by the lake route, and visit on his way the destitute communities referred to in the letter. Finding encouragement at Old Mission, he resolved to remain there, and accordingly sent for Mrs. Latham, who joined her husband early in October.

Mr. Latham began to preach regularly at Old Mission on the 21st of June, 1857. The services were held in the mission church, which had been occupied by Mr. Dougherty previous to his removal to the west side of the bay. The first class-meeting was held on the 19th of July, and the first class was organized on the following Sunday. This first church organization for white people on Grand Traverse bay consisted of the following persons: Roxana Pratt, Eliza Merrill, Mary A. Wait, Jane Chandler, Myron Chandler, Peter Stewart, and Joanna Stewart. The next Sunday two others were added—Charles Avery and Catherine McCluskey. The same day on which the class was formed a Sunday school was organized, of which Jerome M. Pratt was superintendent. The teachers were Miss Louisa Colburn (who was afterwards Mrs. S. E. Wait), and Mr. Latham.

The congregation sometimes presented the scene of a curious mixture of races and classes of people, and of an assortment of costumes that to one having a keen sense of the ludicrous might have been sufficient to banish all thoughts of devotion. The United States revenue cutter Michigan sometimes anchored in the harbor and remained over Sunday, when some of the sailors and marines would attend service in the church. Old Mission still had a considerable Indian population. One Indian used to attend, wearing a large silver ornament suspended from the cartilage of the nose. Another, Asa-bun, who was credited with having been seen eating a human heart torn from one of the victims who fell in the unfortunate attempt of the Americans to recapture Mackinac, in the war of 1812, was sometimes present. Another, the chief Aish-qua-gwon-a-ba, who was supposed to have a number of white scalps safely hidden away in a certain old trunk, used to come, in warm weather, clad in only a shirt and breech-cloth, and sit through the service as stiff and sober as an old-time deacon.

In the course of the summer, Rev. W. H. Brockway, on some sort of expedition, found his way from the southern part of the State up through

the woods to Old Mission, and, falling in with Mr. Latham, persuaded him to join the Michigan conference. As there was no quarterly conference at Old Mission to give the necessary recommendation, Mr. Brockway took his church letter to some Indian mission farther south, probably the one in Isabella county, where he was formally recommended to the annual conference. As he had not been examined, however, he could not be admitted. The next year, 1858, he attended in person, and, passing the preliminary examination, was received into the conference on trial.

At the annual conference of 1857 two circuits were formed on Grand Traverse bay, Old Mission and Elk Rapids, and Northport and Traverse City. Mr. Latham was to supply the former, and Rev. L. J. Griffin was appointed to the latter. On learning the relative situations of Northport and Traverse City—40 miles apart by water—Mr. Griffin wrote Mr. Latham, asking him to take Traverse City off his hands, which he consented to do. Mr. Griffin labored at Northport and Carp River, forming classes at those places, and Mr. Latham at Old Mission, Traverse City, and Elk Rapids.

The first quarterly meeting of the circuit of which Mr. Latham was now the regularly-appointed pastor, was held at Old Mission, the presiding elder, Rev. H. Penfield, being present. J. M. Pratt had been appointed class leader, and was the only official member on the circuit; the quarterly conference therefore consisted of only three—the presiding elder, the pastor, and the class leader. It is said that in making out the official list Mr. Latham made the nominations, Mr. Pratt did the voting, and the presiding elder declared the result.

The first Methodist class in Traverse City was organized by Mr. Latham on the 11th day of April, 1858, consisting of William Fowle, Mrs. Goodale, and five others. The meetings were held in the district schoolhouse, which had recently been built.

At that time Mr. Latham taught school at Old Mission during the week, preached there on Sunday morning, walked to Traverse City and preached in the evening, and then walked back to Old Mission in the night. A circumstantial account of one of those night journeys will illustrate the hardships and dangers that attended the labors of the pioneer preachers of those early days.

On the evening of the 14th of March, 1858, Mr. Latham preached at Traverse City as usual, going home with Mr. Hannah, at the close of the service, for refreshments. After partaking of a lunch, he started for Old Mission. As a considerable distance could be saved by going diagonally

across the bay on the ice to Bowers' Harbor, he determined to take that route. Mr. Hannah walked with him to the beach, and at parting cautioned him to keep away from the shore, as the ice near it was becoming rotten and dangerous. When about two miles on his way a dense fog came on, hiding the shore from view. Some Indians were having a dance near the mouth of the river, in Traverse City, and the sound of their drum could be distinctly heard. Taking it for a guide, he went forward, walking in the direction opposite the sound. In due time he reached the island. Finding himself near the shore, he recollected Mr. Hannah's caution, and kept away, hoping that by taking a circuitous route through the harbor he could strike the shore at Mr. Bowers' house. In making the attempt he became completely bewildered, and, to make matters worse, the density of the fog increased till all objects were hidden from view. He knew that there were several dangerous fissures in the ice in that part of the bay, and that farther down, in the vicinity of New Mission, there was open water. It is not a cause of wonder that his anxiety to get on shore rapidly increased. After traveling a long time, he heard what he took to be the barking of a dog, and turned his steps in the direction of the sound. As he came nearer the place whence the sound proceeded, the barking of the dog gradually changed to the hooting of an owl. But even the hooting of an owl had a cheering influence. He knew that the owl must be on land, and, anxious to get on shore anywhere, he took him for a guide, and pressed forward. It now began to rain, but there was this relief—as the rain began to fall, the fog began to clear away. In a little while he could discern the faint outline of the shore. Fatigued with his toilsome walk, he stopped to rest a moment and survey the situation, when, glancing over his shoulder, he discovered a light in the distance. Thanking God, he moved with new courage towards the light. But now a new danger presented itself. Suddenly, while still a quarter of a mile from the shore, he came into water two feet deep, on the surface of the ice. Shouting loudly for help, he was cheered by answering shouts and the firing of guns from an Indian camp on shore, some distance from the light, while the faithful owl, as if cognizant of the situation and desirous of rendering assistance, kept up his hooting. With the Indians, the owl, and the light for guides, and with the dim and shadowy outline of the shore in view, he moved slowly and cautiously forward, carefully feeling his way, till he found himself on solid ground, and was received within the hospitable walls of a human habitation.

CHAPTER XIII.

The First Sunday School in Traverse City—The Children After Huckleberries—Further Sunday School History—The First Schoolhouse and the First Schoolma'am—Later Schools—A School on Board a Vessel.

The first Sunday school in Traverse City was begun in June, 1853, in the little log schoolhouse to be hereafter described. It was under the supervision of Mr. Scofield, assisted by Mrs. Goodale. Mr. Lay encouraged the enterprise by his presence and approval, and Miss Scofield, afterwards Mrs. John Black, usually came with her brother, though all the teaching was done by Mr. Scofield and Mrs. Goodale. There was no necessity, however, for a numerous corps of teachers, as there were only eight pupils in the school. Only two of these had ever been in Sunday school before. There were no Sunday school books or papers or singing-books—nothing but the bible. It is related that on one occasion the four persons assembled at the schoolhouse, and waited in vain for the children, who failed to appear. At length, Mrs. Goodale, perhaps having a correct suspicion of the cause of their absence, proposed that her companions should wait, while she should go out and look for them. She found them not far off, picking and eating huckleberries, their hands and faces all stained with the purple juice, in which condition she managed to gather them into the schoolhouse. On questioning the children as to what the parents knew concerning their doings, it came out that the latter had all gone out for a boat ride.

At the approach of cold weather in the fall the Sunday school was closed. The next summer it was re-opened, but lacking the support of Mr. Lay and Mr. Scofield, neither of whom was in the settlement, it was soon abandoned. Sometime afterwards Mr. Lay's mother sent 80 volumes of Sunday school books to Traverse City.

The next attempt at Sunday school work was made in the fall of 1858, and proved successful. The sessions of the school were held in the new district schoolhouse. It does not appear that there was a regular superintendent, but Rev. W. W. Johnson, successor of Rev. D. R. Latham as pastor of the Methodist Episcopal church at Old Mission and Traverse City, and presiding elder of the newly-formed Grand Traverse district, who preached in the schoolhouse every alternate Sunday morning, took

charge of the school when present. The teachers were Mrs. Oscar Stevens, Mrs. Jacob Barns, Mrs. Hathaway, Mrs. Goodale, and, later, Miss Belle Hannah. At the opening session Mr. Johnson prayed, "Lord, send some one to help the women." To those engaged in the work, it was a pleasing circumstance that among the children gathered into the school were all of the eight pupils who had constituted the classes in the log schoolhouse five years before.

In 1859 the school was prosperous. Mr. E. L. Sprague was superintendent. In the spring Mrs. Goodale and Miss Hannah collected, in four hours' time, partly from the men employed in the mill, about $30, for the purchase of books. That year the school took four Sunday school papers, published by four different denominations. Three were paid for by the school, and Mr. Sprague donated the fourth. As at that time the postage on papers had to be paid at the office of delivery, Dr. Goodale relieved the school of that item of expense by assuming it himself.

This Sunday school seems to have been truly non-sectarian and undenominational, members of several churches and persons not members of any church working harmoniously together. It was the parent of the several denominational Sunday schools that have since graced Traverse City.

Dr. Goodale, recently from Vermont, whose arrival at Traverse City in the spring of 1853 has already been noticed, had come to keep the boarding-house of Hannah, Lay & Co. It was a part of the contract between the doctor and the firm, that his elder daughter, Helen, then in the 15th year of her age, should teach school. Her compensation was to be a dollar a week and board, and the firm promised that if the people failed to pay the full amount they would make up the deficiency.

As yet there had been no legal organization of a school district. There was no vacant house suitable for the accommodation of a school. The best that could be done was to put in order an abandoned and dilapidated log building, which had been constructed by Mr. Spencer and used by him for a table, while getting out logs and timber, in the winter of 1851-52. It stood in a wild locality, some distance from the main part of the settlement, in what is now the eastern part of the village. The exact location is lot 3, of block 12, on the south side of Front street, a short distance east of Boardman avenue. Under the supervision of Mr. Lay, who manifested much personal interest in the enterprise, the house was repaired, and furnished with such appliances as circumstances would admit of, at the expense of the firm. The door was in the west side. There was a small window near the door, and another at the east side of

the room. A stove stood in the middle. The teacher's desk was near the west window. A blackboard hung against the wall. The desks were neatly made, but not painted. The floor was loose and open, and on one occasion teacher and girls suddenly gathered their skirts closely about them and sprang upon the seats for safety, as a snake, with threatening looks but harmless intent, was seen leisurely coming up through one of the chinks. The books were such as the pupils happened to have. Reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, and geography were taught, in the old-fashioned way.

While teaching, Miss Helen lived with her father's family in the boarding-house, the expense of her board being defrayed by the patrons of the school or assumed by Hannah, Lay & Co., according to the contract. It was something of a walk to the schoolhouse. On the direct route, there was no bridge over the river, except the timbers of the boom, near the saw-mill, which served as a narrow foot-bridge, not very safe or pleasant for a timid woman to cross, but we are told that the men in the mill, with respectful gallantry, were always on the alert to lead the schoolma'am over.

The following list comprises the names of the pupils who attended this first school: George, John, Thomas, and Elizabeth Cutler; Almond and Ellen Rutherford; Augusta, Clarissa, and Lucius Smith; Elizabeth Whitney; an adopted son of the Mrs. Churchill who had recently been buried; Albert Norris. The next summer the school was increased by the addition of James, William, John, and Richard Garland; Mellissa, Emma, and Anna Rice, and a girl whose name has been forgotten. Elizabeth Cutler was the youngest pupil; Albert Norris was the oldest, being about a year older than the teacher.*

After the close of her first term of school in the fall, Miss Helen went to Chicago, where she spent the winter in study. Returning the following spring, she was again employed to teach in the log schoolhouse, at an advance of 50 cents per week on the former wages.

At this point we take leave of Miss Helen Goodale, the first schoolma'am of Traverse City, with the statement that she afterwards became Mrs. T. A. Hitchcock, and, respected by a large circle of acquaintances, has lived to see her humble schoolhouse swept away by the onward march of improvement, and a populous and thriving town occupying the locality of the scene of her youthful labors.

During Miss Goodale's absence in Chicago, in the winter of 1853-54, Miss Helen Gamon, an experienced teacher, who was visiting her sister,

*Undoubtedly this was the first school ever taught in the lower peninsula north of Manistee, except those connected with the Indian missions, and Mr. Wait's on board the schooner Madeline.

Mrs. Holton, taught the school. It was kept that winter in the old Boardman boarding-house, it being more easily reached by the children than the log schoolhouse, when the snows were deep. In the winter of 1854-55 the teacher was Farwell Campbell, the old boarding-house being again occupied by the school. A school district had been organized, and Mr. Campbell was employed by the legal authorities. It does not appear who was the teacher in the summer of 1855. The following winter the school was taught by a Mr. Enos, in a building which, at the time of the present writing, constitutes a part of the hotel known as the Front Street House. In the winter of 1856-57 the school was kept in a new district schoolhouse which had been built, Theron Bostwick being the teacher.

Before dismissing the subject of the early schools in the vicinity of the head of the bay, it is proper to mention one other, so unique in its inception and execution as to stand as a curiosity in the history of educational institutions.

In November, 1851, five young men arrived at Old Mission, in the schooner Madeline, with the intention of wintering in the vicinity. Three of them were brothers, named Fitzgerald. A fourth was called William Bryce. The name of the fifth, who was employed by the others as cook, has been forgotten. The five were all good sailors, and three of them had been masters of vessels during the past season, but all were deficient in education. None of them was even a tolerable reader, and one of the number was unable to write his name. An eager desire to learn was the occasion of their coming. Here in the wilderness they would be removed from the allurements that might distract the attention in a populous port. It is probable, also, that diffidence arising from a consciousness of their own deficiencies made them unwilling to enter a public school, where their limited attainments would be displayed in painful contrast with those of younger pupils.

At Old Mission, the man who had been engaged as teacher failing to meet the contract, Mr. S. E. Wait, then only 19 years of age, was employed, at $20 per month and board. Bryce and the Fitzgeralds were to pay the bill, the cook receiving his tuition in compensation for his services. The Madeline was brought around to Bowers' Harbor, and securely anchored for the winter. The after-hold was converted into a kitchen and dining-room, and the cabin used for a school room. Regular hours of study were observed, and the men voluntarily submitted to strict school discipline. Out of school hours they had plenty of exercise in cutting wood and bringing it on board, to say nothing of the recreation of snowballing, in which they sometimes engaged with the delight

of genuine school boys. The bay that year did not freeze over till March. Previous to the freezing the wood was brought on board in the yawl; afterwards it was conveyed over the ice. Except by way of Old Mission, to which occasional visits were made, the party was entirely cut off from communication with the outside world.

The progress of Mr. Wait's pupils in their studies was a credit to themselves and their youthful teacher. Their after history is not known, except that four of them were captains of vessels the following season.

CHAPTER XIV.

First Settlement of Leelanau County—John Lerue—Rev. George N. Smith—The Colony at Northport—First Fourth of July Celebration—How to Make a Flag—Scant Supplies—Glen Arbor—Leland—Going to Mill.

While the events narrated in the preceding chapters were occurring in the vicinity of Old Mission and Traverse City, men were beginning to penetrate the wilderness and establish homes at other points in the Grand Traverse country.

In 1847 John Lerue came from Chicago to the Manitou islands in search of health. At that time there was a pier, or wharf, on each of the two islands, where passing steamers used to call for wood, the one on the north island being owned by Mr. Pickard, that on the south by Mr. Barton. On the north Manitou were two fishermen, without families. The light-house was kept by a man named Clark.

There were no white men at that time in Leelanau county. Farther south, at the mouth of the Betsey river, there was living a white man named Joseph Oliver, with an Indian wife, who supported his family by trapping and fishing. There were no Indians living on the Manitous, but they frequently came there to trade.

Finding the climate favorable to his health, Mr. Lerue commenced trading with the Indians, and the next year moved his establishment over to the mainland, locating at what was then called Sleeping Bear bay, but now Glen Arbor, thus becoming the first white inhabitant of Leelanau county.

Rev. George N. Smith, a minister of the Congregational church, had spent ten years in missionary work among the Indians of Black river, in Ottawa county. A colony of Hollanders had recently settled in the

vicinity of the mission. What was the real nature of the trouble does not appear, but the proximity of the newcomers made it in some way unpleasant for Mr. Smith and the Indians. Perhaps the action of the government with regard to the Indians also had an influence in determining Mr. Smith's future course. At all events, he made arrangements to remove the mission to the Grand Traverse country. Visiting the bay in the summer of 1848, in company with some of the mission Indians, he selected a location on the shore, some distance north of the site of the present village of Northport.

In the meantime the government gave orders to James McLaughlin, Indian farmer for the Waukazoo band of Ottawas, at Old Wing, Allegan county, to remove to Grand Traverse bay. In obedience to these orders, Mr. McLaughlin left the mouth of the Kalamazoo river on the 27th day of May, 1849, in the schooner H. Merrill, of which he was owner. There were on board his own family, consisting of six persons counting himself, and that of his brother-in-law, William H. Case, consisting of three persons. Entering Black lake, the vessel proceeded up to the place where the village of Holland is now situated, and received on board Mr. Smith and family, increasing the number of passengers to 15. After a tempestuous voyage, the vessel passed Cat Head Point on the morning of the 11th of June, and entered the bay.

Mr. Smith and family were landed, in a drenching rain, at the place previously selected. The prospect was gloomy enough to dismay the stoutest heart. There were no whites in the vicinity, and only a few Indians. A little way back from the beach rose a barrier of interlaced cedars and hemlocks, apparently impenetrable, and they knew that beyond it there stretched away an unbroken forest to the lake shore on the west, and to the distant settlements of the lumbermen at the mouth of the Manistee and on the Muskegon in the south. Both Mr. Smith and his wife were much depressed by the influence of their unpropitious surroundings, even doubting for a while whether they had really been acting under divine guidance. But the die was cast. There was no opportunity for retreat.

Mr. McLaughlin not liking the location chosen by Mr. Smith, sailed along the shore to the mouth of the little creek that runs through the village of Northport. Here the vessel was anchored, and preparations were made for building a house. It was a common log house, 19 feet square on the outside. The logs were hauled to their place and hoisted to their positions in the building by the aid of a tackle brought on shore from the vessel. This first house in what is now the village of Northport,

stood on the bank of the creek, about six rods back from the beach. At a later period it was used for several years as a store by White & Burbeck.

After a little time spent in exploring, Mr. Smith concluded to change his location. Accordingly, a tent was erected on the spot which, from that time, became the permanent home of the family, within the present village limits, in which they lived while Mr. Smith was building a log house. Mr. Case built a log house east of the creek, also within the village limits.

A considerable number of Indians, some say 40 or 50 families, followed their missionary to the Grand Traverse bay. A log schoolhouse was built, and an Indian village, called Waukazooville in honor of a noted chief, was established on the present site of Northport. During the first years of his residence here, Mr. Smith gave his time and talents to mission work among the Indians. Afterwards he organized a Congregational church among the whites, of which for many years he was the pastor. His death occurred on the 5th day of April, 1881, after a brief illness caused by long-continued physical exposure. His remains lie buried near the home he hewed out of the forest, on the shore of the beautiful Grand Traverse bay.

The little colony at Northport were scarcely settled in their new home when they were reminded that the anniversary of the nation's birthday was close at hand. They determined to celebrate it in a becoming manner. They had no cannon or flag. An old sailor on board the vessel undertook to supply the latter. Cutting up a red flannel shirt and a white cotton sheet, he manufactured of the two a flag that was deemed respectable for the occasion. The morning of the Fourth was ushered in with a salute from all the guns that could be mustered. Then all the party, young and old, repaired to the little island in the bay, where the day was passed pleasantly. We may well believe what we are told by one who was present, that this first Fourth of July celebration in the Grand Traverse country was as full of patriotism and love of country as any that has ever been held since.

Early in autumn the settlers began to make preparations for a long and tedious winter. They were agreeably disappointed, however, as the fall months passed away, to find the weather remaining pleasant. The winter proved to be exceptionally mild. There was no snow till the 12th of December. Very little ice formed in the bay. By the 1st of April every vestige of snow and ice had disappeared, and the ground was in good condition for tillage.

At the setting in of the second winter (1850-51), the prospect was not cheering. The vessel that was expected to bring supplies was wrecked on the voyage. A son of Mr. McLaughlin has put on record a description of the provisions on hand for his father's family of six persons. The supply consisted of half a barrel of damaged flour, 50 pounds of pork, a barrel of whitefish, a little tea, potatoes enough to last through the winter, and a small quantity of corn, of home production, which they ground in a hand-mill. It is not probable that the other families were better supplied.

In the summer of 1851 a second settler, John Dorsey, located at Glen Arbor. In the fall of that year Mr. Lerue brought his family into the country, spending the following winter at Northport. Soon after Mr. Lerue's arrival Mr. McLaughlin, who had previously been engaged in building A. S. Wadsworth's saw-mill at Elk Rapids, removed from Northport to that place, leaving the original number of three families at Northport—Smith's, Case's, and Lerue's. In the spring of 1852 Mr. Lerue returned to his former location, at Glen Arbor.

In 1853 Mr. A. Manseau, still a resident of Leelanau county, settled at Carp river, where the village of Leland is now situated. He was followed in 1854 by J. I. Miller, John Porter, H. V. Buckman, John Bryant, Sr., and Frederick Cook. Plans were laid by some of the newcomers looking towards the building of a pier at the mouth of the river, and a saw-mill.

In the spring of 1854 John E. Fisher came to Glen Arbor, looking for a location. Having made a selection, he brought his brother-in-law Cogshell's family from the State of New York, and, later in the season, his own, from Fond du Lac, Wis. The next year was marked by the arrival of Dr. W. H. Walker, of Fond du Lac, George Ray, and a man from Ohio named Nutt. The three last named built a pier, where the one owned by Charles Rossman is now standing.

Soon after the removal of Messrs. McLaughlin and Lerue from Northport, other settlers began to arrive at that place. Deacon Dame, having removed thither from Old Mission, was the first to open business. He commenced the construction of a wharf in 1853 or '54, which was afterwards completed by H. O. Rose. At the opening of navigation in 1855 it was still in an unfinished condition, a part of it, for want of planks, being covered with poles. A list of residents of the settlement in 1855 and '56 contains the following names: Joseph Dame, H. O. Rose, Amos Fox, William Voice, Capt. Peter Nelson, A. B. Page, S. W. Wilson, Thomas Retford, J. M. Burbeck, O. L. White, Henry Boyes, A. C. Stevens,

Theodore Woodruff, Hiram Beckwith, Jesse Morgan, William Gill, and William Thomas. Of these the greater number were heads of families, but a few were unmarried men. In 1855 there was not a frame house in the place—only a part of one, a structure in size about 14 feet by 20, which now constitutes a part of the dwelling occupied by W. F. Steele. The first one complete was built by Mr. Thomas for Mr. Woodruff in 1856. Mr. Voice commenced in 1855 the construction of a saw-mill, which was started running in the summer of the following year. In 1855 no roads had been opened, except one leading to the Indian settlement called Cat Head Village, some three miles distant. There was not a horse team in the settlement, and only two or three yoke of oxen. During that year only one propeller, running between Grand Haven and Buffalo, made calls at the half-built wharf.

For a few years, many of the settlers in Leelanau county endured great privations. An authentic incident will illustrate the extremity to which they were sometimes pushed, and the shifts they were obliged to make for the purpose of securing the necessaries of life.

On one occasion, in winter, Mr. Timblin, having left of his supplies a bushel and a half of corn and a dollar and a half in money, proposed to divide with his needy neighbor, Mr. Cook, on condition that the latter should go to Traverse City, get the corn ground, and invest the money in groceries. Mr. Cook was only too glad to accept the proposition. A single ox, which Mr. Timblin had taught to work alone, was the only team the two men could muster. Placing the bag of corn on the ox's back, Mr. Cook drove him across the country by an Indian trail, from the vicinity of Leland to Peshawbatown, the scattered Indian settlement on the shore south of Omena. Procuring a pony and sled of the Indians, he left the ox in their care, and proceeded up the bay on the ice to Traverse City. Having gotten the corn ground, and the money invested in groceries, he started on the homeward journey. Before he reached Peshawbatown a snowstorm came on, which completely hid the shores of the bay from view. Coming to a crack in the ice so wide as to be difficult to cross, he was at a loss which way to follow it, but after some hesitation took the direction which seemed to lead down the bay. Some Indians whom he fell in with advised him by signs to go in another direction, but having little confidence in their ability to direct, he continued his course some distance farther. Finally concluding that the Indians were probably right, he decided to change his course. He thought it would perhaps save travel if he could get on the other side of the crack. It may or may not have been a foolish attempt, but it resulted in a disheartening failure.

The pony jumped just far enough to get his fore feet on the solid ice of the farther side, but, failing to get his hind feet on a firm foundation, both pony and sled went into the water. To prevent the pony from sinking, Mr. Cook seized him by the ears. As he did so, his own feet slipped, and he came down in a sitting posture, in the shallow water that covered the edge of the ice. Holding on still to the pony's ears, he called loudly for help. Fortunately the Indians he had met were yet within hearing, and promptly came to his assistance. When relieved, Mr. Cook was so thoroughly chilled as to be almost helpless. Some of the Indians drew him on a hand sled to Peshawbatown, while others cared for the half-dead pony. The meal and the groceries had gone to the bottom of the bay. There was a scene of sorrow when Mr. Cook reached home. Mrs. Cook wept freely for the loss of the little that had seemed to promise a short respite from starvation.

The early business interests of Northport were developed mainly by the enterprise of Messrs. Fox & Rose. Mr. H. O. Rose came to the place in June, 1854, and, as already intimated, purchased the wharf privilege owned by Deacon Dame, pushing to completion the wharf already commenced. In September, 1855, he sold a half interest in the property to Mr. Amos Fox, the two entering into partnership under the firm name above mentioned, their principal business being dealing in wood. At that time the steamers running on the lakes depended almost wholly on wood for fuel. The wharf built by Mr. Rose, and afterwards twice enlarged by the firm, was the first in Grand Traverse bay at which a propeller could stop. It was easy of access, and not far off the route of steamers plying between the ports on the lower lakes and those on the western shore of Lake Michigan. In 1856 the firm supplied by contract the Northern Transportation Company's line of boats plying between Ogdensburgh and Chicago, handling that season about 5,000 cords of wood. Afterwards contracts were made with other lines of steamers. In 1858 the firm handled from 13,000 to 15,000 cords, and for several years after the amount of wood annually sold did not materially diminish.

In the winter of 1856-57, Messrs. White & Burbeck built a wharf three miles north of the present village of Northport, and engaged in selling wood and shipping hemlock bark and cedar posts.

Mr. Rose was the first treasurer of Leland township, which at that time embraced the whole of Leelanau and Benzie counties. He relates having traveled over nearly the whole of it, going as far as Glen Arbor, to collect the annual tax, the amount of which did not exceed $600.

CHAPTER XV.

The Pioneer Family of Elk Rapids—Mill Built—More Settlers—Hard Times—A Trip on the Ice—About to Freeze to Death—Old Joe's Remedy—Relief—The Village of Elk Rapids Laid Out—Driving in Cattle—The First Funeral—Changes—James Rankin & Son—M. Craw & Co.—Dexter & Noble.

Mr. A. S. Wadsworth, the pioneer of Elk Rapids, first visited Grand Traverse bay in 1846, stopping a few days at Old Mission. On that occasion he came from his home in Portland, Ionia county, in a small boat, passing down Grand river to its mouth, and then coasting along the eastern shore of Lake Michigan. The next year, in August, accompanied by his brother-in-law, Samuel K. Northam, he took his family to Detroit, where the party embarked on a propeller for Mackinac. From the latter place they found passage on a schooner as far as Cross Village. There, after camping for several days on the beach, waiting for a storm to subside, they embarked in a small boat for Old Mission.

At Middle Village they again went into camp, and waited two days on account of rain. The next stop was made at Little Traverse, where they hoped to obtain provisions of the Indians. They only succeeded, however, in getting a few potatoes and a single loaf of bread. The party had lived on fish till that food had ceased to tempt the appetite. The children, especially, were suffering for want of their accustomed diet. After leaving Little Traverse they were favored with pleasant weather and got on rapidly. The last day the bay was rough, and they had some fears about crossing to Old Mission from the eastern shore, along which they had been coasting. Seeing a smoke on the shore near Elk river, they ran to it. Fortunately they found there some Indians, with an excellent sea boat, who were about to cross. As a matter of precaution, Mrs. Wadsworth and the children were put into the Indians' boat, which was navigated by Mr. Wadsworth and one of the Indians, while Mr. Northam and the remaining Indians occupied Mr. Wadsworth's boat. In a short time the party landed at Old Mission in safety. They had been nearly two weeks coming from Mackinac.

Mr. Wadsworth remained about two years at Old Mission. In the meantime he conceived the project of improving the excellent water power at Elk river, which seemed to promise generous returns for investment.

Accordingly, in the spring of 1849 he commenced building a house at what is now Elk Rapids. With the exception of the log house built by Mr. Dougherty during his temporary residence on the east side of the bay, the material of which had already been removed to Old Mission, this was the first building erected by a white man in Antrim county,* unless the log school house noted below was the work of white men. In October the family moved into it while it was yet in an unfinished state. Mr. Wadsworth soon after commenced building a mill for the manufacture of pickets and laths, which was got to running in the spring of 1851. The following winter it was rebuilt as a saw-mill. Both house and mill have disappeared before later improvements, not a vestige of either remaining to mark the place where it stood.

Until 1851 Mr. Wadsworth's family, including his hired help, all of which lived in his own house, was the only one in Elk Rapids. In July of that year Mrs. Wadsworth and the children went east to spend the winter, Mr. Wadsworth remaining at home. The fall was marked by the arrival of four families—those of Amos Wood, Alexander McVicar, James McLaughlin, and a Mormon family named Barnes. The Mormons remained but a short time. McVicar removed to a lumber camp on Round lake, leaving only two families—Wood's and McLaughlin's—in the settlement during the winter. Mr. McLaughlin, as we have already seen, had come from Northport, to be near his work on the new saw-mill.

The winter of 1851-52 set in early and proved to be severe. The ice on the bay formed nearly three feet thick, and the snow was three feet deep in the woods. By the middle of January the two families found themselves nearly out of provisions. Twice some of their number went across the bay with hand sleds, to Hannah, Lay & Co's establishment, after flour. Towards spring the supply of flour gave out, no more being obtainable at that place. Hulled corn was used for a while as a substitute for bread, but at last the store of corn was exhausted. Some fishermen had left a quantity of whitefish in his shanty, near where the village of Torch Lake now stands. The trips were made to that place after some of the fish.

*Rev. J. J. McLaughlin informs me that in 1854 he discovered the remains of a log house on the shore of Elk lake, about four rods south of the county line, between Grand Traverse and Antrim counties. It had been built of cedar logs. Mr. McLaughlin thinks from appearances that the logs had not been removed, but that the building had settled down where it stood. There was nothing to show of what materials the roof had been constructed. The door-way was in the south end, and there had been a stone chimney, or fireplace, in the northeast corner. That it had been inhabited was evident from the ashes and coals found in the fireplace.

That this structure was not the work of Indians, is evident from the fact that the fireplace was built of stones and was in the corner of the building. If built by white men, and if, as Mr. McLaughlin thinks, time enough had elapsed for it to rot down previous to 1854, there must have been white men on Elk lake a generation or two earlier than Mr. Dougherty's arrival at Old Mission, for cedar timber does not rot readily. Who they were, and why they were here, is a mystery that perhaps will never be solved.

On one of these trips to the fisherman's shanty, James J. McLaughlin, then but a youth, came near losing his life. His companion was the Indian, Old Joe. Having opened a half barrel to pour off the brine, in order to make their load lighter, they took out one of the salt fish and roasted it by the fire while resting. James ate heartily of it, notwithstanding the caution of his more prudent companion. Starting on their return, they found that drawing their loaded hand sled against a head wind, with two or three inches of snow on the ice, was no child's play. James soon began to suffer with a terrible thirst, which could be only partially allayed by drinking at every crevice in the ice. The day was bitterly cold. The fatigue, the extreme severity of the weather, and the large quantity of cold water taken into the stomach, all, perhaps, had their influence in producing that condition of somnolency which often precedes death by freezing. Only by the watchfulness of the Indian was he prevented from deliberately lying down to sleep. Old Joe had finally to relieve him from the load, drawing it himself. Darkness came on while they were yet several miles from home. James could no longer control himself. Lying down upon the ice, he was asleep in a moment. In a moment more he was roused to wakefulness by a tingling sensation on the less protected parts of the body, that reminded him of the schoolmaster and the birch of his early school days. Old Joe had detached from the sled the leather strap used for drawing it, and was laying it on to his companion with a will. Not satisfied with making him regain his feet in a lively manner, he left the sled, and drove him in advance all the way home. The next day Old Joe went back alone after the load of fish.

By the 16th of April their seed corn and seed beans, intended for planting the following season, had been consumed. For some time the ice in the bay had been so rotten as to make traveling upon it unsafe, and they had been anxiously waiting for it to break up, so as to permit them to cross in boats to Old Mission, where they hoped to get a little corn and a few potatoes of the Indians. About three o'clock in the afternoon of that day, the ice began to move. With the dawn of the 17th, all were astir. Looking out upon the bay, a belt of open water was seen, and, to their great joy, not far off was a vessel working her way up through it. She proved to be the schooner Liberty, of Racine, Wis., Captain Miller, loaded with provisions. She was soon boarded by the men. Hearing their story, Capt. Miller at once hoisted out a barrel of flour and another of pork, with which they returned to their half famished but now happy families.

In the spring of 1852 Mr. Wadsworth laid out the village of Elk Rapids. Lots were sold for $25 each. The employment furnished by the mill

was an inducement for new-comers to settle in the vicinity. Among those who came that season were Michael Gay, John Lake, Jared Stocking, John B. Spencer and their families. Messrs. Gay and Spencer, it will be remembered, have already been mentioned as among the early settlers at Traverse City.

Up to 1852 there were no cattle in the vicinity of Elk Rapids, except a yoke of oxen at the lumber camp on Round lake. In July Mr. McLaughlin went to the south part of the State, and on returning brought with him a yoke of oxen and a cow. At Grand Rapids he was joined by William Slawson and Perry Stocking, each with a cow. From Grand Rapids the party struck north, their route from the Muskegon river to Traverse City being through an unbroken wilderness, with only the section lines for guides. The first day out from Grand Rapids Mr. Slawson's cow broke away and was lost. The party were 13 days in accomplishing the distance to Elk Rapids. Not a little excitement was caused in the settlement by the sound of a cow-bell, worn by one of the animals, as the party approached, it being the first ever heard there. Soon afterwards Mr. McVicar moved his father's family in from Canada, bringing two cows, making altogether a herd of eight head of cattle in the settlement.

About the 1st of November, 1852, a cloud settled over the community, caused by the death of Charlie, youngest son of James McLaughlin, a bright boy of 13. It was the first death. There was no clergyman on the east side of the bay, but appropriate funeral services were conducted by a layman, Mr. John McDonald. The grave was made in a grove of pines, in a beautiful spot, on the terrace above the bay. For several years afterwards the place was used as a burying-ground by the inhabitants. The remains of the first occupant were removed at a later date to Maple Grove cemetery.

The year 1853 brought many changes. Large additions of immigrants were made to the population. Among those who became residents of the village or settled in the vicinity, were John Denahy, E. L. Sprague, J. W. Arnold, David F. Parks, Alexander Campbell, and Hiram Robinson. The clearings of farmers began to dot the shores of Elk lake.

Within the next few years the settlements spread in all directions. A. T. Allen, Orrin Page, and Edwin Pulcipher located near the shore of the bay, south of Elk Rapids, and were followed a little later by Joseph Sours, Riel Johnson, and others. William Copeland, William Merrill, Almon Young, and several others, attracted by the choice lands on Round lake, founded what has since been favorably known in the history of Grand Traverse agriculture as the Round lake settlement.

In 1853 Mr. Wadsworth sold his mill to James Rankin & Sons, who built a store and brought in a stock of goods. Jared Stocking opened a hotel. In the fall and following winter Mr. Wadsworth built another saw-mill, on the site of the mill since owned by Dexter & Noble, Mr. Northam having charge of the business. The mill was scercely completed when he sold it to M. Craw & Co., of which firm Mr. Wirt Dexter was the principal partner.

In September, 1855, Mr. Henry H. Noble came to Elk Rapids as an employe of M. Craw & Co. In the fall of the following year (1856) that firm was dissolved, and a new one was organized, under the name of Dexter & Noble, Wirt Dexter and Henry H. Noble being the only partners. The stock of goods and the saw-mill of the former firm passed into the hands of the latter. In the course of the winter the saw-mill was rebuilt, and in the spring the new firm commenced the manufacture of lumber with facilities for making three millions of feet annually. The business was continued on this very moderate scale till 1861, when a gang-saw mill was built, with a capacity of ten millions.

To the enterprise and energy and the far-seeing and wisely-conducted, liberal business policy of Dexter & Noble, the prosperity of Elk Rapids and the surrounding country is largely due. The only change ever made in the *personnel* of the firm was the admission of Mr. E. S. Noble as a partner, in 1869. Of the immense business enterprises of later years, successfully built on the modest foundation of their first little saw-mill and small store, it would be out of place to speak at this stage of our narrative.

To return to earlier dates: A notable event of the year 1853 was the opening of the first school. The house in which it was kept is still standing, not far from the brick schoolhouse that has since been built. The young teacher, George W. Ladd, of the peninsula, has long since passed to his reward, having fallen a victim to that dread disease, consumption. Several of his pupils are still living in the country, looking back, no doubt, with fond remembrance to their association with that school as a pleasing and important event in the history of their lives.

CHAPTER XVI.

Early Church Work at Elk Rapids—A Minister Builds a Raft—What Happened to the Raft and the Minister—Rev. J. W. Miller—Potatoes and Salt—Scolding the Lord—A Friend in Need—"The Lord is my Shepherd."

Until 1857 there had been no stated religious services anywhere on the east side of the bay. On the 2d of August, in that year, Rev. D. R. Latham crossed from Old Mission and preached at Elk Rapids. He attempted to include that point in his round of regular appointments, but often found it difficult to cross the bay. When, in the fall of 1858, the Michigan conference detached Elk Rapids from Old Mission and Traverse City, and erected it, with the adjacent territory, into what was known as Whitewater circuit, Mr. Latham was assigned to it as preacher in charge, and removed from Old Mission to his new work.

It seems to have been Mr. Latham's fortune to meet with many of those adventures and mishaps, some dangerous, some ludicrous, that fall to the lot of the pioneer, especially if the pioneer, like the subject of our sketch, is courageous, confident, careless of the cost, and inexperienced in the wild life of a new country. We have given one to the reader; another may not be out of place:

On one occasion, when going to fill an appointment to preach in Mr. Allen's house, in Whitewater, he resolved to save time and distance by following the beach instead of the usual route by the road. Between Elk Rapids and Whitewater there is a little lake, called by the Indians Petobego, separated from Grand Traverse bay by only a narrow sand bar. Sometimes the outlet of Petobego is a shallow brook, that one can easily wade through. Sometimes it is entirely filled up with the shifting sand, so that one may walk across it dry shod. Sometimes, again, a large part of the bar is washed away, and the channel between the little lake and the bay is broad and deep. Of the uncertain character of the bar, however, Mr. Latham was ignorant. On arriving at Petobego, he found the outlet about ten rods wide and several feet deep, and, what to him was a mystery, instead of Petobego running into the bay there was a strong current from the bay into Petobego. The mystery would have been no mystery to one familiar with the phenomena of the lake shore—there was a strong west wind blowing, driving the waters of the bay into the little

lake. Here was a dilemma. He must either go back by way of Elk Rapids or cross the stream. There was not time for the former, besides he was now more than half way to his appointment. There was plenty of drift-wood on the beach. He resolved to build a raft. Laying off his overcoat and gloves, he brought it together, till he supposed he had collected material sufficient for a raft large enough to carry him over. Putting into the water a layer of poles and slabs, arranged side by side, he covered them with a second layer, placed crosswise. Then putting on his overcoat, he took a long piece of edging for a setting pole, and pushed off. The current was stronger than he had supposed. In pushing off, he stood on one edge of the raft. The poles of the opposite edge being left loose, were washed away by the current, and he soon saw a row of them chasing each other into Petobego. Next he discovered that he was drifting out of his course. To regain it, he gave an extra push with all his might. The edge of the raft on which he stood settled down into the water, while the poles of the portion opposite floated away in a body. At the same time the setting pole snapped in two, leaving a piece only three or four feet long in his hands. There followed a moment of anxiety. He could not swim. He knew that the remaining fragment of the raft would not hold together a minute longer. He was standing on two slabs, which lay side by side, with their flat surfaces uppermost. A thought came like a flash of inspiration. Stooping down, he turned one of them over, placing it atop of the other with their flat surfaces together, and quickly jumped astride of them. The water was unpleasantly cold, for it was in November, but he felt safe and happy. With the fragment of edging he paddled ashore, climbed up the bank, emptied the water out of his boots, and went on to Mr. Allen's. But Mr. Latham's troubles were not over. The congregation was waiting. There was a good fire in the stove, and the big family bible had been placed on a stand near it. He was not proud of his adventure, and did not desire to have it known. It was fortunate, he thought, that the stand and bible were so near the stove. He would quietly dry himself while conducting the services, and nobody should be the wiser. As he knelt down to pray, he purposely pushed his feet under the stove. The action disturbed an overgrown puppy that was sleeping there, which came out, and, after smelling at him till satisfied of his friendly character, began to lick his face. Mr. Latham shut his eyes tightly, and tried to endure it while he went on with his prayer, but the performances of the puppy at length became too much for the patience of one of the men. Seizing the poor dog by the skin of the neck, he hurled him across the room to the door, where a boy caught him by

the feet and threw him yelping outside. In after years Mr. Latham asserted that he could not remember how he preached or what was the subject of his sermon on that occasion.

It is understood that at the conference in the fall of 1859, Mr. Latham was assigned to Whitewater circuit for another year. He had labored faithfully, enduring hardships and battling with difficulties such as the ministers of more favored localities know nothing of by experience. He had been literally starved out. Seeing an opportunity to get an appointment as teacher in a government Indian school, he thought it his duty to take advantage of it, and accordingly, in November, left the Grand Traverse country for his new field of labor.

The Whitewater circuit was without a pastor till April of the following year, when Rev. J. W. Miller arrived and took charge of the work.

Mr. Miller had been converted about a year previously. He was a young lawyer, just admitted to the bar, and had been appointed by Judge Littlejohn as circuit court commissioner. He was in love with his profession and his worldly prospects were bright, but the call to the ministry was imperative. He promised the Lord of the harvest that if he would open a door for him, he would enter in, regardless of consequences. Soon afterwards Rev. S. Steele, who had succeeded Rev. W. W. Johnson as presiding elder of the Grand Traverse district, called on him and proposed that he should take the abandoned field at Whitewater. The proposal was promptly accepted, and Mr. Steele, with the approval of the quarterly conference, gave him a local preacher's license.

Mr. Miller had no great amount of funds. It cost between $40 and $50 to move, besides the misfortune of breaking and spoiling a large proportion of his furniture. For some time he and his young wife lived on their own means, but they were at length exhausted, and then many a meal was made on only potatoes and salt. No wonder if they became discouraged, and if their faith in God's care of his servants began to waver.

One day, before going to his appointment, Mr. Miller went out into the woods in front of his house, as he has since related, "to give the Lord a scolding for getting them into such a fix," after they had trusted to His guidance and relied on His aid. Hes could not understand or appreciate the situation, but while talking with God—"praying and scolding by turns"—the good Father was pleased to open his eyes. He saw his own unworthiness as never before, and the goodness of God in even giving them potatoes. He was conscious of receiving a wonderful blessing. Then and there he promised God that if he would furnish potatoes, he would remain in the ministry, and never murmur again. Returning to

the house, he put the saddle on old Jack, his Indian pony, and started for his appointment at Elk lake. On his way, he called on Mr. Hill, an unconverted man, and talked and prayed with the family. As he left the house, Mr. Hill walked with him across the fields to the road. The latter seemed nervous, evidently having something on his mind that caused him much distress. Finally he burst into tears, as he said, "Elder, I suppose you will be offended and say it is none of my business, but for over a week I have been thinking about you; not only in the daytime, but I wake in the night and wonder if you have anything to eat, and there is such a pressure on me I must out with it, regardless of consequences." Mr. Miller told him all, and Mr. Hill insisted on dividing with him what he had, and then went round to the neighbors and collected what they could give. "Thus," says Mr. Miller, "while I was fretting and complaining, the good Lord was working and caring for us. It is a lesson I have never forgotten and never wish to forget. From that day to the present, I have never murmured at the work of the ministry or for a single moment wished myself out of it. Another thing—from that day to the present, I have never asked, either as pastor or presiding elder, for a single dollar. After 25 years, I can still say, with the Psalmist, 'The Lord is my shepherd.' My only regret is that I have not been more faithful and more efficient in the great work."

Mr. Miller remained on Whitewater circuit till the fall of 1861, when, by the action of the annual conference, he was transferred to Northport. He usually preached three times on Sunday and once during the week, the appointments being Elk Rapids, Elk Lake, Round Lake, Williamsburg, Acme, and Yuba.

CHAPTER XVII.

Richard Cooper—Little Traverse—Fishing and Fishermen—Captain Kirtland—Mission at Bear Creek—Helpfulness of the Indians—An Indian Mother and her Boy—Progress of the Pupils—Indian Farming.

The first white settler at Little Traverse, now called Harbor Springs, except those connected with the Catholic mission, was Richard Cooper.

Mr. Cooper came from Genesee county, N. Y., to the Beaver islands in 1848, to engage in fishing. In the fall of 1850 he returned home. In the spring of 1851 he came back on the trading schooner Eliza Caroline, owned and commanded by Capt. Kirtland. Touching at Pine river, now Char-

levoix, the Caroline landed several fishermen and a quantity of salt. Stopping next at Old Mission and then at Northport, she sailed for Gull island, where Mr. Cooper remained during the summer, buying fish for Kirtland. In the fall he removed to Little Traverse, where he opened a store for Kirtland, in whose employ he still remained.

At the time of Mr. Cooper's settlement at Little Traverse, the fishermen had already established themselves at several points on the northern part of Lake Michigan, but there were none at that place. That same fall, however, was marked by the arrival of Charles R. Wright, Albert Cable, James Moore, Harrison Miller, Thomas Smith and Patrick Sullivan. Wright and Cable at first stopped at the point; the others in the village. All of them were in some way connected with the fishing interest.

Fishing at that time was perhaps more profitable than it has been during a later period; at all events, the testimony of those of the early fishermen who still remain agrees as to the fact that fish were much more plentiful then than now. Pound nets were not used. After they came into common use, there was a sensible and rapid diminution in the quantity of fish.

Some who came to the country in those early days to fish remained as permanent citizens; but generally the fisherman was a transient person, establishing himself anywhere on the shore where there was a promise of success in his pursuit, and readily changing his location as immediate interest seemed to dictate. Associated with the fishermen, wherever they were numerous, were always a number of coopers, who found employment in making barrels for the fish. Sometimes the cooper's shop was in the immediate vicinity of the fish shanties; sometimes, for the convenience of obtaining material, it was located at a distance. The material for barrels was derived from timber growing on the public lands, which was looked upon as lawful plunder. Small trading establishments, like that of Capt. Kirtland under the management of Mr. Cooper at Little Traverse, sprang up at various points, drawing their custom from both the fishermen and the Indians. A few small vessels, or "hookers," found a lucrative business in trading from place to place, selling supplies and purchasing fish. Not infrequently whiskey was a principal article of trade. It is remembered to the credit of Capt. Kirtland that he never sold whiskey to the Indians or took advantage of them in business transactions.

At the time referred to the Indians were much more numerous in the vicinity of Little Traverse than at a later date, and that place remained

for many years to all intents and purposes an Indian village, the only white inhabitants being a few fishermen and traders. In the meantime an enterprise grew up on the opposite side of the bay, almost within the present limits of the village of Petoskey, that is worthy of an extended notice.

When Mr. Dougherty's flock began to scatter from Old Mission, some Indian families from that place removed to the vicinity of Bear creek, where a band of Ottawas and Chippewas were already living. It was perhaps, through the influence of the new-comers that a request was made to Mr. Dougherty by the Indians that a school be established among them. By order of the Presbyterian board, under whose authority he was acting, Mr. Dougherty visited them in the winter of 1851-52 and made so favorable a report that the board determined to accede to their request, and Mr. Andrew Porter, who had previously spent some time as teacher at Old Mission, was appointed for the work.

Mr. Porter, with his family, left his home in Pennsylvania early in May, 1852, arriving at his destination the 1st of June. From Mackinac he came in Capt. Kirtland's vessel, the Eliza Caroline, the captain bringing him for a very small sum. Mr. Dougherty had previously sent a vessel with a cargo of lumber for the construction of the necessary buildings. The pile of lumber on the beach served to guide Capt. Kirtland to the proper landing. On leaving the vessel the party were kindly received by the head man, Daniel Wells, or Mwa-ke-we-nah, whom the band afterwards elected chief, and who, a few years later, laid down his life for the country in the war of the rebellion. He placed his best room at the disposal of Mr. Porter, till the mission house could be built.

The place selected for the Mission was on the high land west of Bear creek, half a mile back from the bay. How to get the lumber to the spot, was a problem that caused some anxiety. The only domestic animal in the settlement that could be put to such work was a single pony, and the only vehicle was a cart, and then the new road which had recently been cut through the forest by the Indians was too rough and uneven for a wheel carriage of any kind. The anxiety, however, was soon removed by the announcement that the Indians of Little Traverse were offering their assistance. Soon after, on a set day, about 70 men, and seven ponies with "sled cars" were found to have come together on the beach, ready for work. The ponies did very well, but more than half the lumber was carried up the hill to the site of the proposed buildings on the shoulders of the men.

Mr. Porter found the Indians uniformly kind. He never failed to secure their services when the services of a friend were needed. On first coming among them, he and his family threw themselves upon their honor and honesty, never turning a key to prevent them from stealing, and, though they were then poor and often hungry, the confidence reposed in them was not betrayed.

The mission board adopted the plan of giving to the pupils in the school a generous lunch every day at noon. There seemed to be a necessity for this, as the corn soup (min-dah min-ah-boo), which was the principal food of the Indians, could not be conveniently carried with them; and then it was found by experience that if they were allowed to go home for dinner, which was not generally practicable, as most of them lived too far away, they were not likely to return the same day.

For a long time the Indians took a deep interest in the school. This statement is illustrated by a touching incident, related by Mr. Porter. Joseph Na-bah-na-yah-sung, or, as he named himself, Gibson, a boy about ten years old, while the school was suspended for sugar-making one spring, had the misfortune to break both bones of the leg between the ankle and the knee. When the school opened again, he was still unable to walk. With a womanly devotion that stands as a living argument against the doctrine of the total depravity of human nature even in those we call savages, his mother and sister alternately carried him three quarters of a mile to school every day on their shoulders. If inquiry be made as to the life and fate of the boy thus highly favored, it only remains to write—and let it be written among the records of the honorable dead—that he died, as many other noble men died, by cruel starvation in Andersonville prison.

There were many hindrances to success which it seemed impossible to remove or entirely overcome. Some of them were incident to the Indian mode of life. There was of necessity a long vacation in the season of sugar-making, during which the village was deserted. In planting time the school was small, though never entirely closed. At the proper season for peeling cedar bark, collecting rushes for mats, or picking strawberries, raspberries, or huckleberries, the Indians would leave by boat loads, taking their children with them. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, the children made commendable progress, considering that they had to learn a new language, the teaching being done in English. Many learned to read and write very well, and some made more or less advancement in arithmentic and geography. The success, however, was scarcely what the parents had anticipated, and some degree of discouragement was the

result. Add to this the fact that influences adverse to the education of the masses, emanating from the Catholic missions at Little Traverse and Cross Village, at length began to be felt by the whole Indian population of the vicinity, and it is no wonder that the interest in the school fell to a lower degree of intensity than that manifested at the beginning.

A church was organized at the mission. Mr. Porter was a layman. On the occasions of Mr. Dougherty's visits there was preaching and the communion service. At one time Rev. H. W. Guthrie, a young minister, resided for two years at the mission, preaching there and at Middle Village. Except when Mr. Dougherty or Mr. Guthrie was present, the Sabbath services, in which some of the Indians always took part, consisted of singing, prayer, and the reading of the scriptures with remarks on the portion read.

During the continuance of the mission, the Indians made steady improvement in the art and practice of farming. In 1852 there was only one pony and one plow among them. The surface of the ground in their small fields was strewn with the trunks of fallen trees, among which cultivation was carried on with no implement but the hoe. Afterwards, when they had to some extent been provided with teams and farming utensils by the government, according to treaty stipulations, their fields were cleared and plowed. Oats, wheat, corn and potatoes were the principal crops. Of the last two enough was usually raised to supply their own wants and leave a surplus for sale. Unfortunately, the men sent to that locality by the agents of the government as Indian farmers, whose duty it was to instruct them in the art and practice of farming, were frequently too shiftless to do anything but draw their own salaries. A well-remembered case will illustrate the statement. The Indians had become dissatisfied with one of this kind, and resolved, if possible, to get rid of him. Accordingly an old chief was delegated to present a complaint to the agent, which he did in the following brief terms: "For the first year or two he would sometimes come out to the field where we were plowing, take hold of the plow handles and go half across the field, and then would say, 'I am hungry,' and return to the village and remain there the rest of the day; but now he never comes near us at all." As the so-called farmer, who was sitting by and heard the complaint, had no defense to make, he was promptly discharged.

For the first two or three years the expense of the mission was borne wholly by the Presbyterian board. After the establishment of Indian schools by the government, the one at the mission was adopted by the agent as a government school, and the usual salary was paid to Mr. Por-

ter as teacher. About 1871 the government funds set apart by treaty for the benefit of the Indians being exhausted, and the board finding itself straitened for means, the mission was discontinued. The landed property of the establishment passed into other hands, and Mr. Porter returned to his Pennsylvania home. The place is now occupied by Mr. N. Jarmin, and is still known among the older residents of Petoskey as the mission farm.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Mormons—Settlement on Beaver Island—Strang is Prophet, Priest and King—Several Kinds of Subjects—Polygamy—"Consecration"—Religion and Robbery—Destroying Angels—Forts—Society of the Illuminati—The Covenant—Mormon Worship.

After the death of Joseph Smith, the founder of the sect of Mormons, at Nauvoo, in 1844, several aspirants for the honor of being his successor as head of the Mormon church sprang up among his followers. The most successful of these was Brigham Young, whose history is familiar to all readers of current literature. Only one other seems to have been successful in getting and retaining any considerable number of adherents. That one was James J. Strang, whose adventurous project of establishing an independent kingdom in northern Michigan is so closely interwoven with the history of the Grand Traverse country as to require a somewhat extended notice.

In February, 1844, Strang went from his home in Voree, Wisconsin, to Nauvoo, for the purpose, it is said, of hearing Smith preach. Within a week after his arrival he professed to be converted to the Mormon faith, and was received into the church. There were already a considerable number of Mormons at Voree. Strang returned home a zealous advocate of the doctrines he had espoused.

On the 24th of May, in the same year, he wrote to Smith, "proposing the planting of a stake in Zion in Wisconsin, and the gathering of the saints there." Smith replied on the 18th of June following, saying that at first he had disapproved Strang's scheme, but Brother Hyrum thought otherwise, and also that God had since made a revelation in favor of it. The letter contained what purported to be the revelation alluded to, which clearly authorized Strang to proceed with his scheme, and promised that the flock should find rest with him, and that God would reveal

to him his will concerning them. The letter closed with an intimation that Strang's duty was made plain, and that, if evil should befall Smith, Strang should lead the flock to pleasant pastures.

Smith was killed on the 27th of June, nine days after the letter was written. Strang claimed to have had a vision at the very hour of Smith's death, in which the angel of the Lord informed him that God had anointed him and set him above his fellows, and, in substance, that he should be their teacher, prophet, ruler, and protector, but there is no evidence, except his own subsequent statement, that he mentioned this vision to any of his followers till after the news of Smith's death had been received at Voree. On Smith's letter and his own pretended vision, Strang rested his claim to the leadership of the Mormon church.

After the death of Smith, the Mormon community at Nauvoo was broken up. A large body of the people, under the leadership of Brigham Young, eventually found their way to Utah. Smaller parties sought refuge in other places. Some who started for Utah, becoming dissatisfied with their leaders or discouraged, returned, wandered from place to place for several years, literally seeking rest and finding none. Gradually a considerable number collected at Voree, who acknowledged Strang to be the legitimate successor of Joseph Smith and the divinely-appointed head of the Mormon church.

Whatever may have been at this time Strang's ultimate aim and object, he was shrewd enough to see that his plans could be carried out to better advantage if his community were farther removed from the influence of those Mormons who disputed his authority, and from the interference of the "Gentiles," as all were called who were living outside the pale of the Mormon church. It was for this reason, probably, that he determined to remove to some locality better situated in this respect. The Beaver islands, in the northern part of Lake Michigan, seemed well suited to his purpose, and he resolved to remove thither. The harbor at the north end of the largest island was selected as the central point for the colony, and the future village named St. James.

We are not informed at what time the first Mormons were transferred to their new home. A lady, whose father was a Mormon preacher and afterwards became one of the Twelve Apostles under Strang, who came to the island with her father's family in June, 1849, gives it as her opinion that there were not more than 15 families there at that time. Another, who had been brought up a Mormon, and who came with her mother in the fall of 1850, estimates the number of families at that time at 25 or 30. From the founding of the colony till the breaking up of the settlement

and dispersion of the Mormons, in 1856, there seems to have been a gradual and steady increase of population. It is not probable that there were more than 1,300 persons on the island at any one time, including several "Gentile" fishermen, nor that more than 370 of them were legal voters. Strang was publicly crowned king on the 8th of July, 1850.

It might be interesting to inquire whether Strang was sincere in his profession of conversion to the Mormon faith, in 1844, or whether dim visions of future self aggrandizement did not at that time influence his conduct. Be that as it may, his course of action, from the time of Smith's death up to his own assassination, at Beaver island, 12 years afterwards, reveals a settled purpose to make himself the absolute ruler of the faction of Mormons over whom he had gained an influence. To accomplish this he appealed to both the best and worst instincts of human nature.

His subjects consisted of several classes. The most numerous class, but not the most influential in the affairs of the church or the commonwealth, were the sincere believers in the original and fundamental doctrines of Mormonism, and in his divine mission and office as the successor of Joseph Smith. To them he was really prophet, priest, and king. His advice was sought and followed in all matters, temporal and spiritual. His word was law. No sacrifice was too great to be made if the prophet advised it; no crime too revolting to be committed if the king commanded it. In their view it was no crime. Not only could the king do no wrong, but an act in obedience to his authority could not be wrong, no matter how cruel or unjust it might be to a "Gentile," or how wicked, judged by "Gentile" standards of morality.

Another class, comparatively small in numbers but in influence more potent than the former, consisted of unprincipled men, whose adherence to Mormonism arose, not from conviction of its truth as a religious system, but from the opportunities it afforded for unbridled license under the pretended sanction of religion. These men were the willing tools of Strang. Without being themselves deceived by his profession of having a divine commission, they helped to fasten the deception upon others. The most important trusts were sometimes committed to persons of this sort, and they were usually chosen for leaders in the execution of projects likely to be distasteful to persons of tender conscience and large philanthrophy.

A third class, neither numerous nor influential, consisted of those who were at first sincere believers in Mormonism, but whose faith had been shaken or wholly destroyed by the doctrines and practices taught by Strang and his followers, and who remained upon the island from inabil-

ity to get away. An apostatizing or dissatisfied Mormon might leave, but he was not allowed to take away his property. That was "consecrated," that is, confiscated, for the benefit of the church.

That polygamy is right, was a doctrine of the Mormon church. It was an object of ambition to be the father of many children. In eternity a man would be crowned king over all his descendants. Marriage by the civil law was not held to be binding, but only the marriage ordained by the church. In the ceremony of the marriage of the first wife, the officiating church officer said to each of the parties, "You take this woman (or man) to be your lawful wife (or husband) in this life, and in the life to come, and in life everlasting, so help you God." The parties having signified their assent, he then added, "By virtue of authority vested in me by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I seal you husband and wife in the indissoluble bonds of matrimony." The marriage of the first wife was public; that of a succeeding wife was not. If there was any ceremony connected with the latter, its nature is known only to the initiated. The marriage bond could be broken only by the crime of adultery.

Lawful concubinage was this: If a man died leaving no children, his brother should take his wife, according to the Mosaic law. If a man died leaving children, the widow might choose the man with whom she preferred to cohabit, and the offspring of the union were to be the children of her deceased husband and his subjects in eternity. If a woman loved her departed husband, and desired to honor his memory, she could do so in no more effective way than to raise up children in his name.

Strang himself was the first to set the example of polygamous practices. In the early period of the settlement of the island, many conscientious Mormons were assured, at Voree, that he did not approve of polygamy or the "consecrating" of property, but on arriving at the island they found him preaching both. His lawful wife came with him to St. James, but returned to Voree when his open association with other women made her position no longer endurable. His second wife was openly acknowledged as such only after the birth of her first child. After that three others were openly taken. Of the number of concubines falling to his share by the voluntary choice of dutiful widows, we have no authentic record, but it is reasonable to conclude that, from the regard in which he was held by all good Mormons, male and female, he enjoyed a monopoly of that luxury.

The number of practical polygamists was not large, owing to the fact that the supply of available women was limited. Young girls, averse to taking the place of second or third wife, found themselves continually har-

assed with urgent offers of polygamous marriages, sometimes seconded by the authority of their parents. So unendurable did this sort of persecution become in some cases, that desperate but unsuccessful efforts were made to escape from the island. In one instance, a girl managed to get on board a steamboat that called at the wharf, and was locked in a state room, but the boat was detained by the Mormons till she was given up. A young, unmarried woman did not really have her liberty.

The "consecrating" of "Gentile" property, or, in other words, the robbing of those who were not Mormons, was a recognized and established practice, from the earliest settlement of the island till the time of Strang's death. It was the natural and legitimate sequence of the doctrine that the Mormons were God's peculiar people, who alone had a right to the earth and were eventually to possess it, and that the "Gentiles" were to be "stricken with a continual stroke." The plundering operations were conducted with the utmost system. They were under the control of a class of officers called in the church destroying angels, but known to the outside world by the harmless name of deacons. Brothers were generally chosen for destroying angels, as being more likely to stand by each other in times of danger. Every Mormon was under obligation to go on a thieving or marauding expedition when ordered to do so by a destroying angel. The destroying angels were under the immediate direction of Strang himself, and the expeditions were always organized under his supervision. When any party or individual discovered a good opportunity for obtaining plunder it was reported to him, but nothing was done without his approval. When booty was brought in it was usually taken to the residence of some one participating in the expedition, where a division was made, one-tenth being set apart for the use of the church. The remaining nine-tenths became the property of the plunderers. It was the usual practice, however, to sell it, so that those in whose possession it should be found, if accused of theft, could claim the immunity from punishment accorded to innocent purchasers. In some cases the greater part of the booty was given to the church. In order that the practice of plundering the "Gentiles" might be carried on with ease and safety, stations called "forts," were established in many of the towns, both large and small, on the borders of the lakes. A "fort" was usually the home of a family who professed to have renounced Mormonism, and to have been driven from the island by the incensed Mormons in consequence of forsaking the faith. Having secured the sympathy and confidence of the people among whom they seemed to have found refuge, their house became a safe retreat for the spies and emis-

saries of the deacons when engaged in their work, and especially in times of danger. At one time there were not less than a dozen of these "forts" in the city of Chicago.

There was an organization called the Society of the Illuminati, which regulated all the affairs of the church, in which were discussed such matters as it was not thought prudent to bring before the people. Women were not admitted to membership, and only such men as could be trusted. It was a truly secret society, bound together by the most terrible oaths. Of its internal working we know but little—its secrets have been faithfully kept by the initiated.

There was another society called the Covenant, to which all good Mormons, men and women, were expected to belong. The initiatory ceremony was conducted in an evening meeting, called a conference. The candidate for membership laid his hand upon a cross, which rested on the bible, and swore to stand by the king and all the rulers, viz., the apostles, high priest, elders, teachers, and deacons, and to stand by all the ordinances of the church, even to the shedding of his blood. In case he should divulge the secrets of the Covenant to any one who had not taken the oath, or to any person outside of the church, he should suffer the penalty known only to the Illuminati. The Covenant had a system of grips, used for the recognition of members, and for giving warning of the presence of traitors or unsafe persons.

A school was opened in a log schoolhouse at St. James while there were only a few families in the settlement. Education was encouraged. A house of worship, called the tabernacle, was commenced at an early day, but was never finished. A room in the basement was completed, in which religious services were held. Saturday was the Mormon Sabbath. The manner of conducting religious services was similar to that prevailing in orthodox churches. The Mormons took pride in the excellence of their singing. Their hymns were all such as had been composed by Mormons. The Book of Mormon was generally used, instead of the bible, though sometimes the preacher selected his text from the latter. Strang generally preached when at home, though he had around him and under his direction a number of other preachers, many of whom were young men, corresponding in position and office to the Twelve Apostles and the Seventy. He always appeared at church plainly dressed, sometimes even going there barefooted.

CHAPTER XIX.

Pretended Loyalty to the State—Mormon Depredations—Horses and Cattle Stolen—Tannery Robbed and Burned—Piracy—Men Robbed on the Island and Set Adrift in a Boat—Gentile Fishermen—Strang and Gen. Miller on an Expedition—Fishermen and Refugees at Pine River —A Battle.

While it was understood by all good Mormons that allegiance was due only to the king, an outward appearance of loyalty to the State of Michigan was carefully maintained. County and township officers were elected according to the State constitution, courts were held, and the forms of State law observed. But even the machinery of legal government was converted into an instrument for the aggrandizement of Strang, the protection of Mormons in their villainies, and the harassing of the "Gentiles." Strang was elected a member of the State legislature by fraudulent votes. Care was taken that courts, juries, and civil officers should always be under Mormon influence. Vexatious lawsuits were a favorite means of making troublesome "Gentiles" and pseudo-Mormons feel the displeasure of the king and the church. The destroying angels and their emissaries, if arrested abroad, might be in some danger of having justice meted out to them; within Mormon jurisdiction they were safe.

So complete and perfect were the arrangements for carrying on an extensive system of thieving and robbery, that immense quantities of "consecrated" goods were, from time to time, brought to the island, and converted to Mormon use. On this point the concurrent testimony of persons who lived there from the early days of the colony up to the time of Strang's death, and who were in positions to know the facts, is conclusive. The plunder seen by them, and portions of which some of them used, consisted of dry goods, leather, fishing nets, horses, cattle—anything, in short, of practical value, that could be purloined with comparative safety.

Horses were stolen at a distance and brought home on the steamboats which sometimes touched at St. James. At one time several head of cattle were stolen from lumbermen on the mainland and conveyed to the island. A tannery near Grand Haven was robbed of its stock of leather, a part of which was in a half-tanned condition, and the building

burned to hide the theft. The newspapers reported the fire was a case of supposed incendiarism, but the Mormons were not suspected at the time. A small vessel, or "hooker," loaded with whitefish, was robbed, scuttled, and sunk. The fate of the vessel was for a long time a matter of conjecture to the outside world. As she never returned to port she was supposed to have been lost. The fate of the unfortunate crew has remained a secret with those who authorized and executed the robbery. Those immediately concerned in the act, on returning to St. James with their own boat loaded with as much of the booty as it could carry, reported that they had set them on shore. The wives of the robbers believed they had murdered them.

It is not probable that the Mormons were guilty of every case of wrong charged to them. On the other hand, it is not probable that their worst deeds, in all their enormity, have been brought to light. To what extent piracy was carried on is not known. "Dead men tell no tales." During a considerable period previous to Strang's death several vessels were lost, none of the crews ever returning to tell their fate. It was generally believed that they had been plunderd by the Mormons, the crews murdered, and the vessels sunk. Some captains were so certain of the piratical character of the Mormons that they feared to become becalmed in the vicinity of the islands, and would lie to and wait for a good sailing breeze, before approaching them.

Persons visiting the island against the wishes of the Mormon authorities were not sure of coming off unharmed. The following incident, related by an old gentleman still living on the island, illustrates the point. It is proper to mention that our informant went to St. James a true Mormon, in an early day. At Voree Strang had said to him that polygamy and the "consecrating" of property were of the devil, but on arriving at St. James he was astonished to find him teaching the legality of both. He lost faith in him immediately, but could see no way to get off. A Mormon might leave, but his property could not be taken away; that must remain, to be "consecrated." He had a large family, and could not afford to lose all his means of support, so he remained. He continued to pass for a Mormon, and was recognized by them as one of themselves. He thinks, however, that they had little confidence in him. We give the account nearly in his own words:

"Some men by the name of Martin were compelled by stress of weather to land on the island. A watch was always kept to report the approach of strangers. The arrival of the Martins being reported, Strang, with a party of men, went to interview them. Chris Scott, who was a secret

friend of mine, was one of the party, and gave me an account of what was done. On arriving at the place where the Martins were, some of the party proposed putting them to death, but the measure was strongly opposed by Strang. It was finally decided by vote that they should be robbed of everything and sent adrift. Accordingly, everything valuable was taken out of the boat, the men were forced into it, and it was shoved off. As it was shoved off, Chris threw into it a pair of oars."

The "Gentile" fishermen, of whom there were a considerable number on the islands and the adjacent shores, suffered more or less from the depredations of the Mormons. Not being strong enough to resist successfully, they were often compelled to submit to such exactions as were put upon them. A characteristic incident, related by the gentleman quoted above, will illustrate the relation that existed between the "Gentile" residents of the Mormon kingdom and the Mormons. It may also serve to show how those Mormons, or those who passed for Mormons, whose sense of right would not permit them to engage in the current unlawful practices enjoined by the church, were compelled to perform the parts assigned them. As before, we give the narrative nearly in his own words:

"A man named Martin (not one of the Martins mentioned in a preceding paragraph) was fishing at the head of the island. At the beginning of winter he packed up his property, hauled his boats out on the beach, and left all in the care of one of his men. One Saturday Strang preached a very able sermon, advocating the right and duty of "consecrating," and declaring he would not ask others to do what he would not do himself. The next day Silas Miller, who was a 'Gentile,' and myself went to Sand bay after hay. There we found one of Martin's boats, loaded with his own property, stuck in the ice, near the shore, and Strang and old Gen. Miller drying themselves by a fire, in a shanty. They appeared to have been in the water. On returning to the village, Strang and Gen. Miller sent out teams to bring in the goods, but boat and goods were missing. The man in whose care they had been left, discovering the theft, had followed to Sand bay, and, arriving after the departure of Strang and Miller, had taken the property back home. The next day a party was organized, under Gen. Miller, to go to Martin's and recover salvage on the goods, Strang and Miller pretending that they had found the boat abandoned in the ice. I was ordered to accompany the party with my team, to bring home the goods. I made excuses, but was given to understand I must go. Thinking to get rid of it, I hid my harness, and started with my horses for the interior of the island. A

party of 10 or 12 men pursued me. Finding that I should be overtaken, and concluding that final escape was impossible, I turned back and met them, saying if they would not force me, I would go. They replied that that was all they wanted. A strong party went to Martin's. We found there 10 or 12 fishermen, some of whom seemed to be putting their guns in order. Our party was received in a friendly manner. After a little time Gen. Miller announced our business—to get salvage on the goods. The man in whose charge Martin had left them, but whose name I have forgotten, asked how much. Miller said they would look over the goods and see. The goods were accordingly looked over, and Miller took what he pleased, which we carried back to the village. The fishermen were well aware that resistance must, in the end, result disastrously to themselves."

In the difficulties between the fishermen and the Mormons, the latter, though numerically much the stronger and generally successful, did not in every case get the best of it. At Pine river, on one occasion, they met with a serious repulse.

Pine river seems to have been a favorite resort for the fishermen, and a community respectable for numbers had collected there. Capt. T. D. Smith had an establishment in the bay, southwest of the mouth of the river, between it and Pine River Point. There were four more west of Smith, between him and the point, three at the mouth of the river, and one-half a mile farther north. These were not simply bachelors' homes, but contained families of women and children. There were also two other families who had been Mormons, but had renounced Mormonism and escaped from the island. Their names were Hull and Savage. They had made their escape by pretending to embark, with Strang's approval, for Drummond's island, where he proposed to plant a colony. Once on the lake, they had laid their course for Pine river, and asked the protection of the fishermen. The fishermen had promised protection, provided the fugitives would help to protect themselves.

One of the fisherman, named Moon, had had a serious difficulty with the Mormons. To get Hull, Savage, and Moon into their power, seems to have been thought important by the Morman leaders. Knowing that either stratagem or force would have to be employed, they still thought it prudent to proceed under color of law. The time of the sitting of the circuit court at St. James was chosen for the execution of the project. An armed party, accompanied by an officer with a subpœna for the three men, embarked for Pine river.

There was a quilting at the house of a fisherman named Morrison, at the mouth of the river, on the south side, at which all the women of the

settlement were assembled. Some of the men had gone up Pine lake. Nearly all of the others were in the "other end of the town," as the westernmost houses in the settlement were called. Two boats were seen approaching, heading for the mouth of the river. It was noticed that they seemed careful to keep close together. One of the fishermen had a spy-glass, by the aid of which he was able to count the strangers. There were nine men in each boat. The circumstances looked suspicious, and the fishermen determined to ascertain at once the object of the visit.

Between them and the river there was a stretch of beach where it was difficult to pass between the water and the bank. Launching a boat, 10 or 12 men, seizing their weapons, sprang into it, and rowed past the difficult place. Then they landed and proceeded on foot, following the beach till they reached the sand hillocks, when they turned into the woods, where they struck a path that led over the bluff and down to Morrison's house. The Mormons had arrived before them, and had been blustering about, declaring they would have what they came after or they would wade in blood. The women were terribly frightened. On the arrival of the fishermen the Mormons ceased their threats, and said they had not come to make any trouble, but insisted on having the three men for whom they claimed to have subpœnas. They were at once distinctly told they could not have them. This was followed, as the fishermen learned from the women the purport of the Mormons' threats, by an intimation that the best thing they could do was to leave immediately, and that if they did not go voluntarily they would be made to go. The Mormons prudently consented to leave, and went to their boats. Among the fishermen was a young man named Louis Geboo, who had lived a year or two on the island, and who recognized some of his former acquaintances in the Mormon party. Thinking the danger of a collision was over, young Geboo started for the beach, where the Mormons were embarking, for the purpose of speaking to those he had formerly known. When half way to the beach it occurred to him that, as a matter of precaution, he ought to know that his gun was ready for effective use. Stopping a moment to examine it, he heard the sound of a gun, and felt the bullet strike his leg. He learned afterwards, from his acquaintances in the Mormon party, that the shot was fired from a horse-pistol by Jonathan Pierce, one of Strang's "hard-fisted men," who accompanied the act with the exclamation, "We are running away like a set of d—d cowards; I'll let them know that I'm not afraid." As Geboo started to limp back to his own party, the latter opened fire on the Mormons, who got away with the utmost haste, and were soon beyond gunshot. There is no evidence that

they returned the fire. Three of their number were severely wounded. The fishermen manned a boat and went in pursuit. As they again got within rifle range, seven or eight miles out on the lake, the Mormons took refuge on board a vessel, which, fortunately, was lying there becalmed.

A few days afterward a rumor reached the fishermen that an expedition of a hundred men was fitting out at the island, to come over and punish them. There could be no hope of successfully resisting such a force. There was no other way than to fly. Fortunately, the little steamer Columbia came in. The fishermen put on board their families and effects, and left, only Alvah Cable remaining a short time longer. When he went away the Pine river region was left without a white inhabitant. Most of the fishermen went to Washington island, at the mouth of Green bay, but some of them to other places.

CHAPTER XX.

Mr. Dixon and Family at Pine River—The Mormons Already There—Reorganization of Emmet County—The First Township Meeting—County Election Controlled by Mormons From Beaver Island—Property Stolen—Mormon Picnic on Holy Island—Intimidation—Mr. and Mrs. Sterling—The Women Left Alone—A Mormon Plundering Party—Preparation for Defense—A Night of Watching.

Mr. John S. Dixon, with his family, arrived at the mouth of Pine river, where the village of Charlevoix is now situated, on the 11th day of May, 1855, in the little schooner Emeline, which had been chartered to bring him from Old Mission. The party consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Dixon and their three children, Mr. Wolcott, who had come with a view to a business partnership with Mr. Dixon, and Frank May, a young man who had been hired at Northport.

Mr. Dixon's purchase of a considerable tract of land, lying on Pine river and Round and Pine lakes, had been consummated a year before, and he had left Lansing with the intention of occupying it; but receiving at Mackinac information, which he deemed reliable, of the depredations of the Mormons and the danger he would incur by attempting to settle in the territory over which they claimed jurisdiction, he had been induced to defer his project, and had passed the year at Old Mission. Within that time he had visited Lansing, while the legislature was in session, and procured the passage of an act for the reorganization of Emmet

county. By the terms of the act the islands in Lake Michigan, which had been a part of Emmet, were detached from it, and organized into a new county called Manitou. The object of the move was to prevent all legal interference with the affairs of Emmet by Strang and his followers.

No sooner were Mr. Dixon's party and effects landed on the beach than the captain of the Emeline, who was in bad odor with the Mormons, fearing an attack, set sail, and the schooner soon disappeared in the distance. Mr. Dixon had brought with him a considerable amount of supplies, including a small boat and a quantity of lumber. Of the latter a temporary residence was built on the beach, in which the family remained for the next three days. The current of the river was so rapid that the boat, when loaded, could not be propelled against it, and the banks were so obstructed by overhanging trees, brushwood, and fallen timber as to make towing impossible. The three days were spent in clearing a path along the south margin of the stream. Then, by towing, the family and goods were transported up the river, and landed on the north shore, just where the stream leaves Round lake.

On his arrival at Pine river Mr. Dixon found five Mormon families living in the vicinity, who had settled there since the place was abandoned by the fishermen. If any of them were not Mormons they were at least under Mormon influence. On landing, he was met by some of the young men with the question, "What have you come here for?" accompanied by plain indications that he was not welcome. There had been several fishermen's shanties on his premises. One of them was still standing, and in a good state of preservation, when he landed from the Emeline, and he had hoped to occupy it, but before he succeeded in getting up the river with his goods, the Mormons had torn it down. However, he soon had it so rebuilt as to be able to occupy it as a temporary dwelling.

The act of the legislature reorganizing the county of Emmet divided it into several townships, and provided for holding the first township meetings and the first election of county officers. The township meetings in all the townships except Charlevoix were to be held on the first Tuesday in May; that in Charlevoix on the last Tuesday in May. The county election was to be held on the first Tuesday in June. Neither the township meeting nor the county election was observed in any township except Charlevoix. Mr. Dixon served as clerk of election at the township meeting in that township. There were eight legal voters present, five of whom belonged to the five Mormon families in the vicinity; the other three were Mr. Dixon, Mr. Wolcott, and Frank May. Several Mormons from the island were present, but did not

think it necessary to vote, as the legal vote stood five Mormons to three "Gentiles." Of course a Mormon township board was elected. At the time of the county election, which occurred one week afterward, about 50 Mormons came over to Charlevoix from Beaver island, and were allowed by the recently-elected township board to vote.

As there was no township meeting held in any township but Charlevoix, of course the supervisor elected in that township was the only one in the county. According to the view the Mormons chose to take of it, he constituted the board of supervisors. In the following autumn this board of one man, doubtless acting under instructions from Mormon headquarters, proceeded to construct several new townships in the county. The record, which looks innocent on the face of it, is found in the appendix to the session laws of 1857, where Galen B. Cole as chairman of the board, and George T. Preston as county clerk, certify that the several acts for the organization of the new townships were passed by a majority of votes of all the members elected to the board of supervisors, upon due notice and application according to law, at an adjourned sitting of the annual meeting of the board of supervisors, the 22d day of October, 1855. What ulterior measures the Mormon leaders had in view in this proceeding, can only be surmised. It it was a preparation for carrying out in the future a far-reaching scheme for keeping the county under the complete political control of their own party, which seems probable, the death of Strang and the breaking up of the Mormon kingdom the following year, put an end to it. Of the townships organized in this questionable manner, two, Evangeline and Eveline, retain their names, and one of them, Eveline, retains its original boundaries at the present day.

Mr. Wolcott, seeing there was likely to be continual trouble with the Mormons, threw up the project of a business partnership and left the place.

For a few weeks the current of events seemed to run smoothly, no ripple on the surface being caused by anything of greater importance than the loss of a new lumber wagon and three sugar kettles, stolen by the Mormons. The wagon had came on board a vessel, by way of Mackinac. It was not immediately put together for use, but, with the kettles, was stowed away in an old shanty used for an outhouse. Two weeks afterward, having occasion to use it, the theft was discovered. On mentioning the loss to some of the Mormons, they denied, with a calmness and self-control that was almost convincing, having any knowledge of it. Two of the women, however, when the subject was spoken of in their

presence, by their visible agitation convinced Mr. Dixon that they were in the secret. Careful inquiries, and the course of subsequent events, seemed to make it certain that nearly all the men in the vicinity were privy to the theft. Some of the women, particularly the two alluded to above, had strenuously opposed and denounced the proceeding. Mr. Dixon eventually recovered the wagon and two of the kettles, which were found on Beaver island, after the breaking up of the Mormon settlement.

The 8th of July was observed by the Mormons as their principal holiday, it being the anniversary of Strang's coronation. The present summer, a day or two after the general celebration at Beaver island, about 50 men and women, with Strang among them, came over to Pine river on a sort of picnic excursion. The real object of the expedition, probably, as would seem to appear from their proceedings, was to make an impression upon, and intimidate, the new "Gentile" settlers, who had had the temerity to locate within what they claimed as Mormon territory. Mr. Dixon had received from a friendly Mormon a hint that his oxen were to be "sacrificed," that is, they were to be slaughtered, to contribute to the dinner of the picnic party. Profiting by the hint, he had taken the precaution to send them to Mr. Porter, at Bear creek, for safety.

The party passed with their boats up Pine lake, entered the south arm, and spent the night on the little island, two miles beyond the entrance, to which they gave the name it has since borne of Holy island. When they returned the next day Mrs. Dixon noticed that some of the boats were towing long timbers. Mr. Dixon was absent. As the boats, with the timbers in tow, passed down the river in front of the house, in charge of a few of the men, the other members of the party filed along the path, back of the house, towards the mouth of the river, having landed from the boats at the residence of one of the Mormon families on the shore of Pine lake. Suspecting mischief, and being somewhat alarmed, Mrs. Dixon resolved to ascertain what was going forward. A Mormon neighbor to whom she applied declined to give her any information, but said if she wished to go and ascertain for herself she would not be harmed. Following the party down towards the mouth of the river, she found that they had crossed to the south side, and were standing in a group, on an elevation, with Strang in their midst. Some of the men were busying themselves with drawing the timbers out of the water, and one was bringing a spade. Asking what they were going to do, she received for reply that they were about to erect a gallows, on which should be hanged all who violated their laws. Frightened at what seemed impending danger, Mrs. Dixon returned to the house.

After the Mormons had gone, the gallows was found standing, with four roughly-carved wooden images of men hanging by the necks and another standing erect on top of the frame. On one of them was the figure of a coffin, drawn with red chalk, and three men walking away from it, with this inscription: "Dixon, successor to the Pine river murderers, in his dying hours abandoned by his friends." On another was the inscription, "May his days be few, and his name be lost and blasted from among men. God hear our prayers, and those of our wives and children for vengeance."

In the course of the summer, Mr. William Sterling, his wife, and infant child, arrived from Elk Rapids, and were received into the house occupied by the Dixons. There was also an addition of four families to the Mormon population, two of which settled at the mouth of the stream since called Porter's creek, where Advance is now situated, and the others on the opposite side of the lake, at Bay Springs.

Messrs. Dixon and Sterling conceived the project of building a sawmill on Pine river. It was proposed to build a dam on the lower river, at some point between Round lake and Lake Michigan. It was thought advisable that the margin of the stream and of Round lake should first be cleared of driftwood and fallen timber, which could be conveniently accomplished only by the aid of a scow. Accordingly, a quantity of clear stuff pine plank, for building a scow, was brought from Elk Rapids, and piled up on the bank of the river, ready for use.

Soon after the lumber was received, it happened that both men were absent on business, Mr. Dixon at the mission at Bear creek and Mr. Sterling at Mackinac. Frank May had left Mr. Dixon's employ some time before, so the women and children were alone. On a Saturday the Mormons held religious service at the house of one of their number, at which their preacher dilated upon and defended the practice of "consecrating" the property of "Gentiles." It does not appear that either Mrs. Dixon or Mrs. Sterling was present at the meeting, or that they knew till afterwards of the preacher's discourse. They were, however, in the absence of their husbands, sufficiently afraid of violence to provide for defense.

At a late hour on Saturday night they had barred the door and retired to bed, Mrs. Sterling in the garret and Mrs. Dixon below. Suddenly the latter was startled by the sound of what seemed to be the splashing of a paddle in the water. Springing from bed and peering cautiously out of the window, she saw three men landing from a canoe. They wore tall, pointed hats, such as she had seen worn by the men of the Mormon families that had gone up Pine lake. Believing they were bent on mis-

chief, she called Mrs. Sterling, and the two made such preparations as they could for defense. Mrs. Dixon had already learned to load and discharge a gun. Gathering up all the weapons at hand, they found themselves in possession of a double-barreled gun, a pistol, a carving knife, and two or three axes. Armed with these, they stationed themselves by the door, determined to give the invaders a warm reception, should they attempt to force an entrance. But the enemy had business elsewhere than at the house that night. It was the pile of valuable pine plank on the shore that was the object of their expedition. Watching stealthily from the window, the women saw them commence loading it into Mr. Dixon's boat. When they were seen taking the boat, Mrs. Dixon asked, not in the coolest manner imaginable, "Shall I shoot?" Mrs. Sterling advised her not to shoot, unless they came near the house, saying that if they were only after property and did not intend personal violence, it was better to let them go.

Mrs. Sterling was a spiritualist. While the danger seemed to be imminent, she held bravely to carnal weapons, but when it became evident that there was to be no immediate attack upon the house, she bethought herself of other means of defense than the ax and carving knife. Laying down the latter, she knelt by a chair, placing the tips of her fingers on the front edge of the seat, and called on God and the spirits for protection. In answer to the question asked of the latter whether she and her companion were safe from violence, the chair repeatedly tipped an affirmative response. Though Mrs. Dixon had no faith in the intervention of spirits, Mrs. Sterling's earnestness and the favorable responses indicated by the movements of the chair, as she many years afterwards confessed, went far towards reassuring her.

Finally, the men, having loaded the boat with all it could carry, threw the remainder of the plank into the river, and withdrew up the lake.

The women watched all night. Mrs. Sterling repeatedly declared that as soon as daylight appeared she would take her baby and endeavor to make her way to Bear creek, by following the beach. It was evident that both women could not go—with all the children they would never be able to get through. Mrs. Dixon, being a rapid and enduring pedestrian, proposed that Mrs. Sterling should remain with the children, while she should undertake the hazardous journey, promising that, if the Lord would let her go through, she would send help that should reach Mrs. Sterling by nine o'clock in the evening. Mrs. Sterling had the good sense to see the wisdom of the plan, and finally consented to the arrangement.

CHAPTER XXI.

Mrs. Dixon's Journey—Difficulties of the Way—Surprise at Bear Creek—Return to Pine River—A Courageous Woman's Stratagem—A Part of the Stolen Property Found—The Mormons Commence a Lawsuit—Sterling Leaves—Arrival of Pratt—A Consultation—Women and Children Sent Away—Arrival of Friends—Watching for Thieves—Pine River Abandoned by the "Gentiles."

In the morning, as soon as it was light enough to see to travel, Mrs. Dixon, armed with the pistol, set out on her journey to Bear creek. It was fully 18 miles from the point of starting, now Charlevoix village, to the mission farm at Bear creek, near the present site of Petoskey, by the nearest wagon road of modern times. At the time of which we write there was no road—not even an Indian trail that a woman could follow. Mrs. Dixon's only way was to go down to the mouth of the river, and then follow the beach, through all its sinuosities, to her destination.

Those who, in the primitive days of northern Michigan, performed long foot journeys on the beach, could tell, if they were to speak, how the bendings of the shore in and out add to the distance. They could tell, too, of difficulties attending that mode of travel, of which their descendants, never having been driven to it by necessity, have no just conception. Sometimes the traveler strikes a stretch of smooth sand, packed by the receding waves to the solidity of a pavement, that answers to his tread with a sharp, ringing, metallic sound, as he moves easily and rapidly forward. Then, for miles, loose sand, drifted about by the wind, in which his feet sink at every step, makes even the slowest progress toilsome. Piles of driftwood, fallen timber, and overhanging trees, gnarled and twisted into fantastic forms by the fury of the elements, obstruct his way. Jutting crags block up the passage. Perpendicular precipices rise from the very margin of the lake, leaving no room for even the narrowest path. Often he must take to the water or, if it is above his depth, leave the beach and force his way through thickets almost impenetrable, on the land. The beach, as a highway, however, has one excellence in advance of ordinary new-country roads—on it the traveler can not lose his way.

Once on the beach, Mrs. Dixon pressed rapidly forward, wading around obstructions where the water was shallow in preference to climbing over

them. It seemed to take less time, and time was precious. The prints of her husband's feet were seen in the sand, where he had passed along a day or two before. Finding the tracks was like meeting company on that lonely shore. At Kah-gah-che-wing there had formerly been an Indian settlement. It was now deserted. Here she lost her husband's tracks. Thinking he might have left the beach for a trail, she sought for them in vain in the intricate network of the grass-grown and almost obliterated paths of the village. Returning, she pursued her way along the beach, feeling more lonely than before. Beyond Kah-gah-che-wing a vessel had been lost. It was known that a company of men had been for some time at work there, trying to raise the wreck. She had hoped to find them, but their camp was deserted. Farther on, where perpendicular cliffs rise from the very margin of the water, she could no longer follow the beach. Ascending to the top of the bluff, she found the country covered with a dense, tangled swamp, which it seemed almost impossible to penetrate. No path could be found, but go through she must. For fully three hours, as she estimated the time, she struggled onward, being careful to keep within hearing of the sound of the waves dashing against the foot of the cliff. When, finally, she emerged into more open ground, her pistol was lost, her shoes were nearly torn off her feet, and her clothing hung in shreds about her person. When within three miles of Bear creek she came upon an inhabited wigwam. Making the old Indian, Pa-ma-saw, understand that she wished to go to Mr. Porter's, he kindly sent with her a little boy as guide. Path there was none, but only a blind trail, such as none but an Indian or an experienced backwoodsman could follow.

It was communion day at the Mission, Rev. Peter Dougherty being present to officiate. The congregation were just collecting at the chapel for afternoon service when Mrs. Dixon arrived. It was, perhaps, one or two o'clock p. m. The interest excited by her appearance and her story of the doings at Pine river broke up the meeting for the time. Mrs. Dixon was quickly provided with refreshments by the ladies of Mr. Porter's family. Mr. Porter held a consultation with the Indians as to what it was proper to do. The result was a decision that three Indians, well armed, should man one of their boats, and return with Mr. and Mrs. Dixon immediately. The party was not long in getting off. The wind was fair, and they arrived at Pine river a little before nine o'clock in the evening.

During Mrs. Dixon's absence, Mrs. Sterling, with an ingenuity and courage which, if she had been a man, might under favorable circum-

stances, have made her a leader in the devices and intrigues of war, had adopted an artifice to deceive the enemy with a false show of force. Disguising herself in her husband's clothes, she walked about where she would be likely to be seen by some of the Mormons, changing the suit several times in the course of the day to give the impression that there were several men stopping at the house.

The plank stolen or thrown into the river by the Mormons on Saturday night had been piled up on the south side of the river. There was another pile on the north side nearly in front of the house. Thinking that the marauders would return for it under cover of the night, Mr. Dixon and his Indian allies organized a watch. In the middle of the night a sound was heard, such as might have been made by carelessly moving the lumber. The Indians immediately gave the alarm. On going out Mr. Dixon saw several men near the pile of plank. Hailing them, he was answered in a voice which he recognized as Mr. Sterling's, notwithstanding the effort of the speaker to disguise it. Mr. Sterling, returning from Mackinac, had reached Bear creek a few hours after the departure of Mr. Dixon's party. Learning the state of affairs at home, and fearing, as Mr. Dixon had done, a return of the marauders, he had hired some Indians with a boat to bring him through. On landing, presuming that somebody would be on guard, he had ventured to indulge in the somewhat dangerous amusement of causing an alarm by pretending to move the lumber.

The next morning Messrs. Dixon and Sterling resolved to make an effort to recover the stolen property. One of the Indians was induced to accompany them with his boat in the proposed expedition up Pine lake. The others returned to Bear creek. The three men were well armed. On their way up the lake they met two Mormons coming down. On being questioned, they denied all knowledge of the missing property. At the mouth of Porter's creek the lumber was found on the beach, and near it the oars and one of the thwarts of the missing boat. The boat could not be found. Two Mormons who were present, like the two met on the lake, denied all knowledge of the theft, and asserted that the lumber was their own, brought by themselves from Beaver island. The boat in which the party had come was too small to carry away all the lumber. Taking a part of it, they prepared to return. When all was ready Mr. Sterling still lingered on the shore. In response to Mr. Dixon's earnest request to come on board, he proposed that Mr. Dixon and the Indian should proceed homeward in the boat, while he should walk along the shore. However, Mr. Dixon's earnest entreaties at last induced him to enter the boat.

He then confessed that his object in remaining was to kill the Mormons and recover the stolen boat. The plan he had contemplated was to shoot one of them, then threaten the other with death to make him reveal the place where the boat was concealed, and finally kill him also.

During Mr. Sterling's stay at Pine river he was inclined to resort to sanguinary measures in the contest with the Mormons, but was overruled by the milder counsels of Mr. Dixon. The latter insisted that personal violence should not be resorted to, except in case of necessary self-defense. Finally, convinced that the project of building the mill could not be carried out in peace, and his wife being unwilling to remain longer, Mr. Sterling dissolved his connection with Mr. Dixon, and left the place.

In the meantime, the Mormons at Porter's creek commenced a suit against Dixon and Sterling, before a Mormon justice of the peace at Pine river, for the value of the lumber they had seized and brought home from the former place. The defendants, knowing the plaintiffs would have everything their own way in the trial of the suit, thought it better to settle the claim by paying for their own property than to risk the result. The matter was accordingly arranged to the satisfaction of the Mormons.

While the project of building the mill was still entertained, a correspondence had been opened with Mrs. Dixon's brother, Mr. Charles Pratt, of Ashtabula, Ohio, who had some interest in the original purchase of the land, with a view to his becoming a partner in the undertaking. After Mr. Sterling's departure, and before Mr. Pratt's arrival, Mr. Dixon, having become thoroughly discouraged by the constant annoyance of the Mormons, and feeling his inability to successfully oppose force to force, or otherwise protect his property against their thieving depredations, reluctantly came to the determination to abandon the settlement. He accordingly wrote to Mr. Lewis Miller at Old Mission to send a vessel to carry him away.

One morning the family were awakened at an early hour by the shrill whistle of a steamboat. It came from the little steamer Stockman, which had arrived at the mouth of the river, having on board Mr. Pratt, his sister, and two hired men he had brought with him. Soon after the landing of Mr. Pratt's party, a small sloop appeared, commanded by Capt. Sheppard, and having on board Mr. Schetterly (a son of Dr. Schetterly) and one or two more, sent by Mr. Miller to Mr. Dixon's relief. In view of the additional strength brought by Mr. Pratt's party, the question now arose whether it would be better to go or stay. The day was spent in consultation. The conclusion arrived at was that Mr. and Miss Pratt, with Mrs. Dixon, the children, and one of the hired men, should

embark for Northport at once, while Mr. Dixon and the other man should remain, at least for the present. The plan was immediately put in execution. As much of the property as could be carried by the little sloop was placed on board, leaving little with Mr. Dixon except some growing crops and a valuable cow. Mrs. Dixon's silver spoons had already been sent to Mr. Porter's for safe-keeping. It was a part of the Mormons' policy to keep on good terms with the Indians. To accomplish that, it was necessary to keep on good terms with the missionaries; consequently Mr. Porter was never molested, and property in his hands was considered safe.

About two weeks after the departure of the party for Northport, Capt. T. D. Smith and his brother Thomas arrived at Pine River from Middle Village, having come for the purpose of rendering any assistance Mr. Dixon might need in his conflict with the Mormons. Some months before the Mormons had burned a cooper shop at Middle Village, belonging to the Smiths; they were therefore prepared to take advantage of any opportunity to avenge their own wrongs, while assisting others.

Before the settlement of the lawsuit mentioned above, an adjournment to a future day had been had. The arrival of the Smiths occurred just before the time that had been set for the trial. The Mormons of Beaver island, not knowing that the suit had been settled, sent over a force of eight or ten men, for the double purpose of securing a result of the suit in accordance with Mormon policy, and robbing Mr. Dixon of such remaining property as might pay for the trouble of carrying it away. The cow was particularly an object of their rapacity. Mr. Dixon's party, suspecting their designs, and possibly having received a hint from a friendly source, lay on their arms all night, keeping a sharp lookout. At least three of the party, Mr. Dixon and the two Smiths, were somewhat desirous that the Mormons should attempt to steal the cow, thus affording a plausible pretext for paying off old scores. There were now no women and children present, and it seemed a good time for a bloody and decisive battle; but the Mormons were wary. They had noted the number of their opponents, and perhaps, also, the thoroughness of their preparations and their apparent willingness to fight. At all events, they returned to Beaver island the next day, without any attempt at robbery. Fearing that the cow would be stolen at some future time, Mr. Dixon, assisted by his hired man, drove her to Bear creek, where he sold her to Mr. Porter.

The hired man did not return to Pine River, but went from Bear Creek to Ohio, by way of Mackinac. When Mr. Dixon got back to Pine River the Smiths had gone. There was no longer any necessity for them to

stay. Ever since Mr. Dixon's determination to leave the place had been made known, the Mormons in the vicinity had been more friendly. There was no longer any property remaining to tempt the marauders of Beaver island. Mr. Dixon remained alone for a few weeks, in tolerable security, till his crop of potatoes was dug and disposed of, when he joined his family at Northport.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Wheat and the Tares—Bitter Indignation Against the Mormons—The Conspirators—How to Enforce a Dress Reform—Strang Makes Enemies at Home—"Forty Stripes Save One"—Plans of the Conspirators—Assassination of Strang—The Assassins at Mackinac—General Rejoicing Among the "Gentiles."

No human being is so depraved that there are not in him some germs of good. No one has attained to such a degree of purity that the roots of evil within him, though apparently dead, may not be nursed into life. The actions of the bad are not all bad. The life work of the good has its beauty marred by stains of wrong. In societies and organizations we find the wheat and the tares growing together. Ethical systems are made up of truth and error.

The historian has to do with facts. It is not his province to discuss the truth or falsehood of systems of philosophy or religion, but simply to present them in a clear light, in their relations to the events of history.

The Mormons (we speak of the Beaver island branch of the Mormon sect) believed that Strang was the annointed of God—that he was really prophet, priest, and king. Strang taught that the spoiling of the "Gentiles" was right. The thefts, robberies, and persecutions described in the preceding pages were the natural and legitimate product of the people's belief and Strang's teaching. Those who deny the acts, in order to give the denial even a semblance of plausibility, must go down to the root of the matter, and deny Strang's teachings of the doctrine of "consecration," a denial that, as far as the writer is informed, has not, since the death of Strang, been put forward in Mormon defense.

What of good there was in the Beaver island community is so overshadowed by these acts of lawlessness as to be easily lost sight of by the student of Mormon history. Aside from the doctrines of polygamy

and "consecration," and the practices to which they naturally led, little can be said against the morality of the more numerous class of the residents of the island. Even these practices, unlawful when judged by the accepted standard of Christian ethics, but lawful as seen from the Mormon standpoint, were confined to a minority of the people. The practice of polygamy, as already stated, was limited by the scarcity of available women. The plundering of the "Gentiles" and other questionable work, was usually committed to those whose natural aptitude for crime made them willing instruments in the hands of the Mormon leaders. Doubtless there was many persons on the island, true believers in the Mormon faith, whose hands were never soiled by the touch of goods dishonestly obtained.

In the administration of the internal affairs of the kingdom, Strang sometimes exhibited a regard for the welfare of his subjects worthy of commendation. Intellectual culture was encouraged. A newspaper, published at St. James, under his immediate control, was ably conducted. Industry was enjoined as a cardinal virtue. Temperance was taught by precept and example, and enforced by the execution of stringent laws. The use of intoxicating drinks was prohibited. In the early years of the colony, a few "Gentiles" settled at a place called Whisky Point, at the northeast extremity of the island, where a store was opened for the sale of fishermen's supplies. Here a great deal of whisky was sold, not only to the fishermen, but to the Indians inhabiting the government reservation on Garden island. Sometimes Mormons visiting Whisky Point, came home drunk. Strang determined to break up the traffic, and so harassed the sellers that they were glad to leave the island. It was a good thing for the Indians, who from that time showed evidence of improvement in dress and manner of living. After Strang's death, however, the liquor-sellers returned, and the Indians soon fell into their old habits of drunkenness and squalor.

The depredations of the Mormons at last became so wide-spread and annoying as to arouse a general feeling of indignation throughout the region bordering on the northern part of Lake Michigan and the Straits of Mackinac. To punish the marauders at all hazards was fast becoming the settled purpose of the "Gentiles." A gentleman who visited Mackinac in the fall of 1855, and who, on his return home, published a short account of the state of affairs, says: "So frequent and so extensive have been these robberies, that the people at many points on the lake shore have become highly excited, so highly, indeed, that we should not be surprised to hear of serious conflicts and bloodshed. At Mackinac

and Grand Traverse, particularly, nothing but the cautious and constant absence of the suspected will prevent severe and fatal chastisement. Stopping recently for a few days at Mackinac, we had ample opportunity to feel the public pulse, and we must say that we were really surprised at the deep and determined feeling which has taken hold of every person in that community. We met several gentlemen from Grand Traverse and other places in that portion of the State, from whom we ascertained that the same spirit pervades that entire region of country."

While the storm of "Gentile" wrath was gathering without, rebellious elements were developing within the Mormon kingdom that eventually hastened its overthrow.

Among Strang's subjects were some who were not earnestly Mormons, if at heart they were really Mormons at all. Such were Thomas Bedford, Dr. McCullough, and Alexander Wentworth. Perhaps Bedford should not be called a Mormon, though they evidently counted him as one of themselves, to which he seems to have given his tacit consent. His principal business was fishing. Dr. McCullough, a person of some talent and a good education, was a Mormon outwardly. In addition to doing a limited professional business, he kept a store in the village of St. James. Wentworth was at first a Mormon, and was a ready and willing tool for Strang. He had no standing or influence. It was reported on the island that he had been in some rough scrapes before coming there. He married a woman who was not a Mormon, apostatized, and became one of the bitterest enemies of the Mormon church. It is not known that he had any personal grievances to redress.

A bitter antagonism seems to have grown up between Bedford and Strang. The former was a rebellious subject, outspoken, and doing as he pleased without regard to the wishes of the king. He was an unsafe person to be entrusted with the keeping of secrets that could not be hidden from him. Strang was persistent in the attempt to procure obedience by wily maneuvering and the system of harassing persecutions by which recusant Mormons were usually brought to see the wisdom of submission.

In the summer of 1855 repeated efforts were made to induce Bedford to assist in stealing the nets of "Gentile" fishermen, the object being, as he believed, to get him entangled with the Mormons in the crime of "consecrating," and so close his mouth as a witness. Failing in this, they endeavored to get him to commit himself by purchasing of them stolen nets, but he was too honest or too wary to be caught in that snare. Finding they could do nothing with him by persuasion, they stole a part

of his own goods, and then commenced a series of vexatious lawsuits, on claims for debt, real or pretended, attaching his fishing nets and other property. It was not their policy, however, to let the suits come to trial, and adjournments were had from time to time to vex and worry him, the attached property, meanwhile, remaining in their possession.

In the meantime a formidable rebellion sprang up among Strang's female subjects, which, as most of the witnesses agree in saying, had much to do with bringing about his overthrow. He had promulgated a law against the wearing of long dresses, and requiring the universal adoption of the bloomer style. Most of the women readily complied, but some, regarding it as an unwarranted interference with feminine affairs, indignantly refused acquiescence, among whom were Mrs. McCullough, Mrs. Bedford, Mrs. Johnson, Mrs. Wentworth, and Mrs. Orson Campbell. It was understood that those Mormons whose wives would not obey were to be treated as "Gentiles." After it became apparent that some of the women were not disposed to yield, Strang declared in public that the law should be obeyed if he had to wade ankle deep in blood. The leaders of the revolt threw defiance in his face. Eventually, however, most of them were compelled to submit. In the course of the vexatious lawsuits against Bedford, he had commenced a counter suit. On the morning of the day set for trial, the justice of the peace, one Whipple, came into Bedford's house. Mrs. Bedford was wearing a long dress and sewing on another. When the case was called for trial Whipple informed Bedford that he could not have the benefit of law, as he (Whipple) had that morning seen Mrs. Bedford wearing a long dress, and refused to allow the trial to proceed.

Mrs. McCullough, being one of the leaders of the dress rebellion, in keeping with the policy of reducing them to submission by harassing their husbands, a lawsuit was commenced by Strang against McCullough. When a constable was sent to levy on the goods of the latter, McCullough is reported to have said to Strang, "Now it is you and I for it; you will destroy me or I shall destroy you." Strang burst into a laugh, and said he had heard men talk before. From that time forward McCullough seems to have entertained a settled determination to work the overthrow of the Mormon power.

At what time, Bedford, McCullough, and Wentworth came to an understanding is uncertain. It was probably in the latter part of the winter of 1855-6, or early the following spring, when, after the whipping of Bedford, the latter had determined on Strang's death.

The losses and annoyances to which Bedford was subjected, instead of subduing him, roused his indignation, and he became more outspoken regarding the acts of the Mormons than before.

The Mormons had stolen a boat, for the recovery of which the owner had offered a reward of $50. On one occasion Bedford remarked to a young man, whom he met in McCullough's store, that if he wanted to make $50, he would go to Mackinac and give information of the whereabouts of the stolen boat. Bedford's friends were frightened at his temerity. Several persons were present, and the remark was no doubt reported to Strang. It is supposed that this was the immediate cause of the whipping that followed.

At eight or nine o'clock in the evening at man called at Bedford's house and induced him to go down to the printing office, on the pretext that some one wished to see him there. When near the place indicated he was met by several men, armed with whips—a rawhide, the teamster's whip popularly called a "black snake," and several beech switches, toughened by heating and twisted. Bedford was terribly whipped. The Mormon limit for whipping was "forty stripes save one." In this instance four more than the lawful number were given by some overzealous administrator of the law, but the excess was objected to as a grave wrong by the more scrupulous of the party, and it is said, when the fact was reported to Strang he expressed his decided disapproval.*

Bedford returned home, took down his gun, without telling his wife what had happened, and started to go out. Mrs. Bedford, fearing that he had finally been persuaded or driven to undertake some of Strang's unlawful work, said interrogatively, "You are not going to do anything for Strang?" He replied, "I'll do for Strang if I get hold of him." He watched that and the two following nights for Strang, leaning on a fence, where he could see a light in his window, for the purpose of shooting him, but without getting an opportunity. For some time after the whipping Strang was constantly attended by a guard. An interview between the parties ended with mutual expressions of defiance, Strang bidding Bedford do his worst. The latter, however, prudently replied that he should not do his worst. He well knew that an open attempt to punish the king would result in immediate destruction to himself. By the advice of McCullough, the project of shooting Strang was finally deferred till after navigation should open in the spring, as there was no means of escape from the island.

*The statement has been widely circulated that Bedford was whipped as a punishment for unlawful intimacy with another man's wife. A careful investigation of the facts has convinced me that there is not a shadow of truth in it.

In the spring, McCullough, intent on carrying out his resolution to do what was possible to be done to overthrow the Mormon power, took passage on the first steamboat that touched at the island, proceeding by way of Chicago to Lansing. There he laid before Governor Bingham a full statement of the condition of affairs on the island, exposing the false census reports, fraudulent voting, false election returns, and false school reports, and solicited the aid of the executive in suppressing the Mormon power. The governor had already had a secret agent for sometime on the island. In consequence of the information furnished by this agent, seconded by the representations of McCullough, $1,500 of primary school money that had been apportioned to Manitou county was withheld. The governor was not adverse to doing what he lawfully could, but the matter was surrounded with difficulties. McCullough found in the action of the State authorities, as he himself expressed it, a practical illustration of the saying that heavy bodies move slowly. He returned to Beaver island, fully resolved to bring about the overthrow of the Mormon kingdom without State aid.

In the meantime Bedford and Wentworth had gone to Mackinac and procured a boat with which they returned to the island, in order to have means of escape at hand. For five days after their return both the boat and themselves were kept concealed, during which time they watched for Strang at night, but without getting a suitable opportunity to execute their purpose. Fearing the boat would be discovered and suspicion excited, they concluded to appear openly. Accordingly, taking the boat out some distance upon the lake, they sailed into the harbor, as if just returned from Mackinac. In the next number of the *Northern Islander,* Strang advertised the boat as one supposed to have been stolen by Tom Bedford and Alexander Wentworth. Soon afterward the boat was seized by the Mormons at night, filled with stones, and sunk in the harbor.

The vexatious lawsuits against Bedford still remained unsettled. It happened that on the day set for the trial of one of them, the United States revenue cutter Michigan was in the harbor. Some of the officers, willing to give Bedford the moral support of their presence, went with him to the place of trial. The Mormon party refused to proceed, and the case was again postponed. On the next adjourned day the Michigan came in again, and some of the officers, as on the former occasion, accompanied Bedford to the place of trial. As on the previous occasion, the prosecution refused to proceed, and the case was again adjourned.

Soon after the officers returned on board, the commander of the vessel sent a messenger to Strang, requesting him to come on board for the

transaction of some business. Strang excused himself on the plea that it was not safe for him to appear in public. However, on receiving a second and more pressing request, he started for the vessel. He was obliged to pass for some distance along a narrow road, having continuous piles of cordwood on each side. When near the vessel he was fired upon by both Bedford and Wentworth, who had previously concealed themselves behind the piles of wood. Strang fell in the path. Bedford and Wentworth started on the run for the vessel. As the former stepped over the body of his victim, Strang seized him by the leg, and released his hold only on receiving a stunning blow from the butt of a pistol. Some men who were standing around the printing office and McCullough's store, hearing the firing, ran to the spot, and carried Strang into a building not far away, when McCullough and the surgeon of the Michigan examined his wounds and pronounced them mortal.

After Bedford and Wentworth went on board, claiming the protection of the vessel, the sheriff made repeated efforts to induce the commander to give them up, but he refused, assigning as a reason that there was no jail on the island, and the prisoners would not be safe, therefore he would take them to Mackinac. The shooting occurred in the afternoon, but the families of Bedford and Wentworth knew nothing of it till nine o'clock in the evening, when an officer and some men from the Michigan came to assist them to carry their property on board, preparatory to leaving the island. The next morning six families—those of Bedford, Wentworth, McCullough, Johnson, who was a business partner of McCullough, Fred Longfield, and a German whose name has been forgotten —who did not think it safe to remain after the departure of the Michigan, were received on board, and carried to Mackinac.

On the arrival of the party at Mackinac, there was great excitement and universal rejoicing. Bedford and Wentworth were received as heroes and public benefactors. The formality of surrendering them to the sheriff of Mackinac county was observed, and they were conducted by that functionary to the jail, accompanied by several officers of the Michigan. At the jail a spontaneous ovation awaited them. Citizens flocked in with congratulations and offers of assistance. Everything necessary for comfort was placed at their disposal, and the luxury of cigars and whisky was not forgotten. The doors of the jail were not allowed to be locked, and before night the prisoners informally walked out, and became the guests of their friends.

After it appeared that Strang was not killed outright, the Mormons, fearing that a further attempt would be made upon his life, organized

a guard for his protection. After a few days he was removed to his former home in Voree, where he shortly afterwards died of his wounds. During his last days he was tenderly nursed by his first and lawful wife.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Fishermen's Expedition—Retribution—The Innocent Suffer with the Guilty—Narrative of a Mormon Witness—The Mormon Settlement Broken up—The Mormons Driven From Pine River.

McCullough and his accomplices immediately set about organizing an expedition for the purpose of driving the Mormons out of the country. St. Helena island was chosen as a rendezvous. Here a party of 60 or 70 men was quickly assembled, all eager to lend a hand in punishing the common enemy. Nominally the party was under the leadership of Archie Newton; practically it was an irresponsible mob. A schooner was chartered to convey them to Beaver island.

In the meantime the Mormons were warned of the approach of the hostile party. Strang had for years advised that every man should keep ready for defense such arms as he had, but now, being himself helpless, and probably feeling that a conflict would result disastrously to his people, he recommended that the leading men—probably those who were most obnoxious to the Gentiles—should leave the island. In accordance with this advice, a large number left, some taking their families with them, and others, lacking means of transportation, leaving their women and children to the tender mercies of their foes.

The invading force landed on the west side of the island, and cautiously advanced towards St. James, expecting sharp resistance. When it was found that no resistance was to be offered, the island was patrolled by armed parties, who notified the Mormons to collect at the harbor by a certain time, with all their effects, that they might be sent away on the steamer Keystone State, which was expected in at that time. The direst vengeance was threatened upon all who should fail to obey. The only chance for personal safety was in uncomplaining submission. Remonstrance was answered with curses, threats, and blows.

When the Keystone State arrived the unfortunate people were driven on board like so many sheep destined for the shambles. But it was no part of the policy of the invaders to allow them to carry their property with them. That was seized as lawful booty. More than a hundred head

of choice cattle, horses, and mules were taken, as well as boats, nets, fish and fishermen's supplies, and large quantities of provisions, furniture and household goods. Three stores and the printing office were rifled, and their contents added to the plunder. The unfinished house of worship—the tabernacle—was burned.

The property was divided among the invaders, as they could agree, ostensibly to reimburse them for losses sustained by Mormon robberies.

Had only those Mormons been robbed and sent away who had themselves been concerned in the robberies previously committed under the pretended sanction of religion, it would have been but retributive justice, even though administered by a mob; but, as frequently happens in the administrations of mob law, the innocent were made to suffer equally with the guilty. Only a few families, designated by McCullough, escaped pillage, or were permitted to remain upon the island. Those whom the Keystone State could not carry away were taken off by other boats a few days later.

The scenes attending the assembly of the Mormons at the harbor, and the embarkation, are graphically described in the personal narrative of Mr. W., a Mormon gentleman of probity and candor, still living. Mr. W. is still a firm adherent of the Mormon faith. The narrative is given verbatim, as furnished to the author in writing, except that only initials are given instead of full names:

"Between the coming of the mob and our departure upon the Keystone State, I had occasion to go down from my home, in about the center of the island, to Beaver Harbor, a few times, to see how things were going, and to get some necessaries. On the last occasion, I was met, about a half a mile from the harbor going home, by two mobocrats, each armed with rifle, pistols, and 'bowie knives flashing' in their belts. They had just come, or were coming, through a little gate from a Mr. M. M. A's, where they had been threatening and ordering his wife and family to leave. They had been on like business to various other houses that afternoon.

"'Where are you going?' says one of them, as I was passing along on the other side of the road.

"'I am going home,' said I.

"'Where do you live?'

"'I live,' said I, 'about six miles up on the island.'

"'Well, G—d d—n ye, get your things down here to the harbor by one o'clock tomorrow, or your house will be burned over your head.'

"My wife had been about two days confined of our second eldest daughter, at that time, and I told him of the circumstance, saying that I could not well leave on that account.

" 'That's a G—d d—n pretty fix you've got into now. G—d d—n ye, get yer things down,' etc., etc., as before.

"I merely remarked, 'Gentlemen, that's pretty hard.' Then they G—d d—n me again, and said if I called that hard again, 'we will lash you to that tree,' a small cherry tree by the roadside, 'and we will whip you while we can stand over you.' I saw by the flush of their faces that they were both well armed with whisky, as well as with weapons of war, and concluded that I had better move on. Two persons, a young man and his sister, by the name of B., had started up the island before me, and by these the mob sent word to all on the road to get their things down by such an hour, etc. They had called at my house before me, and delivered the words of the mob. My wife remarked that if the mob wanted her to go they would have to carry her, for she was not able to go herself. The B.'s passed on, the young woman remarking 'I *am glad*.' I soon after got to the house, and both feeling that we would have to go, my wife concluded that, by taking it very slowly, she might possibly be able to walk down next day. Next morning I went to the harbor again to see, and hire a team to bring our few things, or such of them as we could not do without. It seemed as if I could get no one to move our things, and was again on the road homeward, expecting to leave all behind and come away with just what we had on our backs; but after I had started home my brother-in-law, J. S., procured an ox team for me, and sent a young man with it up that evening, and he was on hand with it the next morning at nine o'clock. To get to my house he had to go some nine or ten miles around, for the straight road for several miles was not passable for teams, except in winter, it being very rough and swampy.

"Putting our stove and a few boxes and bedding aboard the wagon, I took the little babe in my arms, and walking very slowly, we managed to get down to the harbor about one o'clock in the afternoon. This was on the 3d day of July. The beach around the west side of the harbor seemed here and there like an open fair, or market-place, with cattle, tents, fires, smoke, furniture, and household goods of every description; all waiting, according to the dictates of the mob, to be off on the boat's arrival, chartered or hired for the business.

" 'The Book of the Law of the Lord,' an octavo of some 336 pages with explanatory notes, had been printed and folded and awaiting the binder, before Mr. Strang's assassination. This work some of the elders boxed

up and took away before the mob came on. This Law, let me say in passing, was, according to its claim, translated by Mr. Strang from ancient records mentioned in the Book of Mormon. The testimony of six other men, who claimed to have seen and hefted and examined the engravings upon those plates, accompanied this work.

"Soon after the mob came on, they took possession of the type and printing office of the *Northern Islander*, the weekly paper of the Mormons, and set up and printed a manifesto of their grievances, so-called, and circulated it around among the Mormons and Gentiles. A copy of it fell into my hands, and I aimed to preserve it, but it has long since been lost, and I know not whether there is another whole copy of it on earth. It was scarcely readable, and was gotten up after the style of the one set forth in Jackson county, Missouri, by the mob who drove the Mormons there. There were several bound works in pamphlet form left in the office; some in proof and vindication of Mr. Strang's claims as against Brigham Young and others; one, called the 'Diamond,' containing the letter of appointment sent by Joseph Smith to Mr. Strang a little before Mr. Smith's death; and another, entitled 'The Prophetic Controversy,' a very able work; and still another work entitled 'Oliver Cowdery's Letters to W. W. Phelps, on the Bringing in of the New Dispensation.' These with some others, were all hurled into the street, and lay fluttering in the wind, all about the printing office door, in the eyes of all passing that way.

"A very extensive library, containing many volumes of rare works, collected with great pains and no small outlay by Mr. Strang, stood in the printing office, and of course fell into the hands of the mob. In all probability they were sacrificed for a trifle, to whomsoever would buy; for surely such a set of ruffians cared nothing for books upon science, history, and moral culture and progress themselves.

"I overlooked in the proper time of it, that two stores of general merchandise—one belonging to a man by the name of J. W. W., and another to the Mr. M. M. A., before mentioned—became the prey of the mob. Indeed, I don't know but the greater part of the merchandise of two other stores—for there were four in all—became a part of the general spoil.

"In the year 1851 an escaped felon from Ireland had been killed in the act of resisting the arrest of a couple of noted criminals of the name of O'D. and H. and was buried on the beach, on the west side of the harbor. The Mormons, according to a principle of their faith, piled rough stones upon his grave, and taught their children to add a stone to the pile as

they passed by. These stones the mob compelled some timid Mormons to remove, at the gun's muzzle. The felon's name was T. B.

"In fact, it seemed the pleasure and delight of the mob to be as directly opposite to the Mormons as they knew well how to be in almost everything.

"A day or so before the boat arrived, while stopping at my brother-in-law S.'s house, Dr. H. D. McCullough came to the house and had a chat with this S. They were reckoning on who could stay and who not. While in an adjourning room, I heard McCullough say that 'W. was too good a Mormon,' he guessed, 'to stay.' One would think then that McCullough—the chief leader in the assassination of Mr. Strang—was in high esteem among the mob. We little thought that a few days after we left we should find him, and some others who were piloting the mob around on the island, as we did, in Milwaukee, driven off with the rest of us, his beautiful Gothic mansion, store, and dock confiscated to the mob. Possibly he got a trifle of their cost, for I have never heard just how it was. One thing, he desired, and thought he could stay, but he did not remain more than three days behind the rest of us.

"The Keystone State, whether steamer or propeller I don't now remember, came in finally on the evening of the 6th day of July, and then a general bustle and flurry commenced among the people, with here and there a 'G—d d—n ye, get yer things aboard,' from the mob.

"My brother-in-law had made calculations to move off on the Iowa, Capt. Alexander, and, not expecting him for a day or two, he had only a few of his things packed up. McCullough, moreover, told him he could stay till then; but N. and one of the two mobocrats who had met me a few days before and threatened me, came in, as we were thinking of sitting down to supper, and greeted Mr. S. with a 'G—d d—n ye, why ain't ye gettin' yer things aboard?' 'Why,' says S., 'I was waiting for the Iowa to come in.' 'G—d d—n ye, get yer things aboard,' says N., giving him at the same time a tremendous slam with his open hand on the side of his face, that fairly whirled S. half around, following him up with a revolver, and jamming it against his breast, repeating 'G—d d—n ye, get yer things aboard.' 'Why,' says S., 'McCullough told me that I could stay till the Iowa came in.' 'G—d d—n McCullough,' says N., 'we'll play hell with him pretty soon.' The other mobocrat commenced slamming water in the stove and pulling things about, and, pulling the bed-clothes off one of the beds, he was within a very little of pulling our little six-days-old infant off onto the floor. Its mother cried out in time to save it.

"By the accommodation of a Mr. W. E. W., who had a one-horse spring wagon, I got what few things I brought down off the island aboard; but poor brother-in-law S. got next to nothing of his large property. The industry of 30 years with him was mainly swept away in an hour. He had, with his brother-in-law S. R., come onto the island from Pittsburg, Pa., and built a large saw-mill, bringing machinery of various kinds with him, with blacksmith's shop, turning lathe, and belting, so that there was scarcely anything in a common way that needed doing in such a place but what could be done, from the making of a small screw to the boring of a cannon, etc., yet all was possessed by the mob, innocent as he was and without a charge of any kind being laid against him. Plead as he might and did, he never got a penny of the thousands he had invested there. 'He was a damn Mormon,' you know.

"The Keystone State lay at Mr. Aldrich's dock, at the west side of Beaver Harbor, and when all living and camped thereabouts were hustled on board, the boat was steamed up to the head of the bay, where McCullough's dock stood. My wife, I think, was the last to get aboard at Aldrich's dock. Walking before her with the little babe in my arms, she rather feebly and slowly walked along towards the boat. A mobocratic ruffian and companion of N., was walking, still armed, behind her. She was not moving quickly enough to suit him, 'G—d d—n ye,' said he, 'move on.'

"When the lines were made fast at McCullough's dock, the same hurry and bustle commenced among the Mormons camped around there, and soon (they) were hustled aboard. But all the Mormons, it seems, were not taken on this boat; there were several other boats called there afterwards, upon which various families came away.

"It was now about seven o'clock in the evening, and the boat having taken in as many of the people, with the few things they were permitted to take, as could well be stowed together, the lines were cast off, and the Keystone State headed for Chicago."

It is not neccessary to pursue further the present narrative quoted above. Of the Mormons carried away on the Keystone State, a part landed at Milwaukee and the rest at Chicago. From those points they scattered in various directions.

While these events were occurring on Beaver island, a party of "Gentiles," remembering the Mormon settlement at Pine River, paid it a hostile visit. The Mormons had been notified of the danger, and those who thought it unwise to fall into the power of their enemies had prudently left the place. Not finding some particular individuals whom they

wished to punish, and suspecting that they had recently been entertained by the widow King, the invaders revenged themselves by burning her dwelling. The settlement, like the principal one on Beaver island, was broken up, only two or three of the least obnoxious families being allowed to remain.

The history of the rise and fall of the Mormon kingdom of Beaver island affords a striking example of systematic, organized, and wide-spread lawlessness lawlessly punished.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Pine River Country after the Expulsion of the Mormons—Arrival of Immigrants—The Rover and her Passengers—Mr. Dixon's Return —Mr. and Mrs. John Miller—A Dream and its Fulfillment—A Mormon Demand for Rent—Early Settlers on Pine Lake—Lost in the Woods.

The driving out of the Mormons left Medad Thompson and his family the only inhabitants at Pine River. However, they were not long alone. About the 1st of August, 1856, a sail might have been seen coming around the point from the direction of Little Traverse, and heading for the mouth of the river, with a number of persons on board. It proved to be the Rover, carrying as crew and passengers Samuel Horton and his family, and two young men—John Newman and Archie Buttars.

Mr. Horton had left Toledo in the Rover with the intention of coasting around the lower peninsula of Michigan and up Grand river to Grand Rapids, where two of his sons were living. Getting short of provisions, he put into Pine River in the hope of obtaining a supply. Here adverse winds induced him to remain for several days. It is said that, getting weary of the delay, he finally determined to start on a certain day if the wind was fair; if not, he would take it as an indication that Providence had ordered that his home should be beside the bright waters of Pine lake. On the day appointed, the wind was unfavorable for proceeding on the voyage, and accordingly the prow of the Rover was turned towards the head of the lake. He selected a location at the head of the charming sheet of water that has since been named in his honor, Horton's bay, where he found an improvement, which had been made by the Mormons previous to being driven off. Newman and Buttars, who seem to have been for some time drifting aimlessly about the world, became

permanent residents of the country, the latter taking up his abode at Pine River, and the former remaining for some time at Horton's Bay.

The Rover was for many years the largest craft on Pine lake. On account of her peculiar build and somewhat dilapidated condition, she was the object of many witicisms, but however unseaworthy she may have been, judged by accepted nautical standards, she carried many a load of staves and hoops from Pine River to the Beaver islands, and, in return, brought provisions in safety to those who would have been left in destitute circumstances had she been cast away.

After the Mormons were driven off, Mr. Dixon, who, since his expulsion from Pine River had remained at Northport, resolved to return. He first visited Beaver island, where he was successful in recovering the greater part of his stolen property. This he conveyed to Pine River, and then returned to Northport for his family. At the latter place he fell in with Mr. John Miller, afterwards familiarly known as "Uncle" John Miller, who, with his wife and two sons, had come from Oswegatchie, St. Lawrence county, N. Y., in search of a home in the west. It was arranged that Mr. Miller should take passage in Mr. Dixon's boat, and the two families sailed for Pine River in company.

After stopping a short time at Pine River, Mr. Miller and his family were conveyed to their new home by Mr. Dixon in his boat, arriving at eleven o'clock at night. The location which had been selected was on the north shore of Pine lake, near its head, in the vicinity of the present site of Bay Springs. The place had been occupied by the Mormons, who had made a clearing, built a log house, and planted some crops.

Mrs. Miller relates a curious dream she had before leaving Oswegatchie, the fulfillment of which she recognized in the circumstances of their arrival at their new home. She saw in her dream the log house, as it actually was, with a roof made of troughs, as the settlers sometimes made them where boards were scarce, with a trough inverted on the ridge in place of weather-boards. In front of the house was what appeared to be a swamp. She thought they built a fire on the floor in the house. Then the man who brought them there took the end-board out of his wagon-box to close an open window, and said to her that she would never want while she remained there. The features of the man were indelibly fixed in her memory. When, at Northport, she first caught sight of Mr. Dixon on the wharf, she recognized him at once as the person she had seen in her dream, and pointed him out to her husband as such. Arriving at their destination, everything appeared as she had seen it. What she had taken to be a swamp, however, was the lake, hidden by a row of

evergreen trees along the beach. They did build a fire on the floor, or, rather, on the charred remains of the floor, which had already been partly consumed by accident or design. Then Mr. Dixon brought, not the end-board of a wagon-box, but the center board of his boat, and with it closed a window, to keep out the night air. We are not informed whether Mr. Dixon then actually spoke the words attributed to him or not, but his prophecy as heard in the dream made such a deep and lasting impression on Mrs. Miller that, many years after, when, by the building up of the villages of Boyne City and Bay Springs, their land was made valuable, and tempting prices were offered for it, she steadfastly refused to sell.

The place selected by Mr. Miller had been occupied by a Mormon whose wife claimed to hold it under a pretended grant from Strang. It is said that, assuming to have supreme authority over the country, he gave it to her as a bribe to induce her to second, by her influence and example, his attempt to establish by authority the exclusive use of the bloomer costume among his female subjects. It is a curious illustration of the sincerity of a class of honest but misguided Mormons, and of their implicit faith in the divine authority of their leader as prophet, priest, and king, that, many years after, the woman, still believing herself to be the rightful owner, demanded the payment of rent from Mr. Miller. The latter, however, having obtained a patent under the seal of the United States, was unable to see any justice in the demand.

At the closing in of the winter of 1856-7, there were four families in the Pine river region—those of Medad Thompson, J. S. Dixon, Samuel Horton, and John Miller—and, probably, the two young men, Newman and Buttars. The following spring the settlement was reinforced by the arrival of S. F. Mason, Frank May, and a man named Hyde. They were followed in the course of the summer by J. R. Dean and A. A. Corwin, sons-in-law of Mr. Horton, and in the fall by M. J. Stockman. In the spring of 1858 came Hugh Miller, J. Beebe, and a man named Cross, and in the fall of the same year Richard Williams and two men named Cochran and Childs. D. H. Pierce came in 1857 or 1858.

Of this number only five—Mason, Stockman, Miller, Pierce, and Williams—became permanent residents. May and Hyde stopped at Advance during the summer of 1857, but in the fall left for some other locality. The former, who had been in Mr. Dixon's employ during his first season at Pine River, had since married. A daughter, born to him while at Advance, was the first white child born in the vicinity of the head of Pine lake. Dean and Corwin settled near Horton's bay, but left the

country in 1859. Williams, Cochran, and Childs settled at Advance. Williams soon left, but afterwards returned to Pine River. The other two, after remaining about a year, removed to Northport. Beebe and Cross retired from the settlement in 1859. The former, as he was leaving, met with a terrible affliction in the loss of his wife and two children, by the capsizing of a sail boat on the reef at Pine river point. Mason and Stockman took up their residence at Pine River. Miller and Pierce located farms—the former a short distance south of Pine River; the latter on the north shore of Pine lake, some six miles distant.

William H. Porter was the first permanent settler at Advance. He first came to the place in 1859, selected his land, which he purchased of the United States government, and then went to Bear Creek, where he remained till 1865. In the latter year he returned to Advance and built a saw-mill, and afterwards a grist-mill, where the village now stands, on the stream named in his honor, Porter's creek.

The site of the present village of Boyne City remained an unbroken wilderness till a somewhat later date. The first settler at that point was Andrew J. Hall.

Amos Williams was the first settler at the head of the south arm of Pine lake. The exact date of his arrival is not known, but he was already there in 1862. At first he "squatted" on what he supposed to be government land, but which proved to be the property of a railroad company. He afterwards took a government homestead.

Williams is remembered as the owner of a large canoe, or dug-out, made from the trunk of a pine tree, which he christened the Old Ship Zion. At the same time Hugh Miller owned a craft of the same sort, named the Leviathan, and an old gentleman by the name of Holland, a sail boat known as the Bucephalus. These three vessels, with the Rover, brought in by Mr. Horton, seemed to have bequeathed their names to history as among the most famous of the earliest fleet traversing the waters of Pine lake.

A volume might doubtless be written about the hardships, strange experiences, and curious adventures of the early settlers of the Pine River region, were the facts in all their interesting particulars at command. In addition to those already given, one or two must suffice.

Mrs. John Miller relates that, in 1858, her oldest son, Hugh, being absent in the employ of Mr. Porter at Bear Creek, Mr. Miller and the younger son, James, went away with a boat to obtain supplies. Stress of weather compelled them to remain away longer than had been anticipated, and for 14 days she did not see the face of a human being.

In June of the same year she got lost in the woods, and lay out two nights. She had gone out in the morning after her cows. Usually, when the cows were started, they would go directly home, and Mrs. Miller had fallen into the habit of depending on them for guidance. On this occasion, for some unaccountable reason, they took a wrong direction, and she soon became aware that she was lost. She kept with the cows, living upon milk. When they lay down at night, she too, lay down, with her back against one of them, assuming that position for the sake of warmth, and for the purpose of being awakened if the cows should again start on their wanderings. She had learned from observation that at the time of the longest days in June, when shadows are shortest, she could step exactly the length of her own shadow at twelve o'clock. On the second day, while measuring her shadow in this manner to see if it was noon, she discovered a glittering object among the dead leaves on the ground. It proved to be a shirt button, and further search revealed the remains of an old flannel shirt. Then she remembered that two land-lookers, who had been entertained at her house sometime before, had mentioned throwing away their flannel shirts in the woods, several miles up the Boyne. Concluding that she must be several miles east of home, she took the sun for a guide, and drove her cows in a westerly direction till sunset. Then the cows lay down to rest, and she with them, for a few hours. After the moon had got up high enough to be a convenient guide, she traveled awhile by moonlight, and then lay down for another rest. In the morning she was cheered by the distant blowing of horns and firing of guns. Understanding the sounds to be the welcome signals of a searching party, she seized the bell carried by one of the cows and rang it with all her might in response, but was unable to make it heard. Soon afterwards she came upon and recognized the survey marks of the original line of the Grand Rapids & Indiana railroad, which she knew was only two miles or a little more from home. Pushing on as well as she might, she was cheered and encouraged by a repetition of the signals of the searching party. This time, by a vigorous ringing of the bell, she was able to attract their attention. They proved to be a party of Indians from Bear Creek. Mr. Miller had gone over to the Mission for help. The party had crossed Bear lake in their canoes, firing guns and blowing horns as they landed on the south shore. Not hearing any response, they had proceeded to the house, where Mr. Miller provided a breakfast. Then two of them had started up the Boyne in a canoe, while the others proceeded eastwardly by land. Mrs. Miller would, no

doubt, have finally reached home without assistance, but the dusky faces of her friendly rescuers were none the less welcome, after a lonely sojourn of two days in the forest.

CHAPTER XXV.

Village Platted—Fox & Rose—Wharf Built—The Wood Trade—Steam Tug on Pine Lake—First Sunday-School—Sunday-School in a Fish Shanty—A Minister Arrives—Parsonage Built—The Women Resolve to Build a Schoolhouse—How They Did it—Letter to Mrs. Fox.

To one having an eye to either business or beauty, the banks of Pine river early presented attractions as an eligible site for a town. A mile back from the shore of Lake Michigan lies Pine lake, its two arms stretching away to the southwest long distances into the interior. Between it and Lake Michigan lies Round lake, covering an area of a hundred acres or more. Pine river, the outlet of Pine lake, in its course to Lake Michigan runs directly through it. The river in its natural state was a narrow, crooked, swiftly-flowing stream, full of snags and overhung with trees, as unlike the broad, deep, and almost straight channel through which large steamers now go up into Pine lake as one can well imagine.

At an early day Mr. Dixon surveyed and platted a part of what is now the village of Charlevoix, in the sheltered basin lying south of the lower river and west of Round lake. At that time furnishing wood for the steam craft navigating the great lakes was a profitable business, where wood was easily accessible. Charlevoix was only a few miles off the usual route of passing steamers. Messrs. Fox & Rose, who were engaged in the wood trade at Northport, saw the advantages of the situation, where was an almost unlimited tract of hardwood forest, from which Pine lake and the river afforded means of cheap transportation to the shore. In 1863 an arrangement was entered into between them and Mr. Dixon, mutually advantageous to the contracting parties. In consideration of their building a wharf and establishing business, Mr. Dixon conveyed to them a narrow strip of land along the shore of Lake Michigan, which gave them the control of the lake front for some distance both sides of the river. Mr. Fox soon after took up his residence in Charlevoix, a store was opened, and the construction of a wharf commenced in 1864.

Charlevoix soon became an important wooding station for steamers, and the cutting of wood, here as well as at the Manitous and in the vicinity of Northport, furnished employment for a large number of men. From the first it was seen that the supply must come largely from the shores of Pine lake. To facilitate transportation, a tug was necessary. Messrs. Fox & Rose accordingly had one built—a diminutive craft called the Commodore Nutt—which arrived in June, 1867, and, after the exercise of considerable engineering skill, the deepening of the channel of the river in some of its shallower parts by the aid of teams and road-scrapers, and the expenditure of a large amount of muscular force in towing, was finally got into Pine lake on the morning of the 4th of July.

Not the least important feature of the history we are tracing, is that of the development of the religious and educational interests of the various localities passing under observation. Some interesting facts connected with the early church work in Charlevoix have been preserved. Some reminiscences also of the early efforts to give the children educational advantages equal to those afforded by the common school in other places, are worthy of being put on record.

The first religious work of which we have any account was a Sunday-school, conducted by Mrs. Dixon in her own house. It was commenced in the fall of 1859, and closed in the summer of 1860, having been kept up, with some irregular intermissions, between these two dates. Four families were represented—those of S. F. Mason, Medad Thompson, Hugh Miller, and J. S. Dixon. The pupils were Oscar Mason, Albert Mason, Melvin Thompson, William Miller, John Miller, Mary Ann Miller, Ellen Miller, Frances P. Dixon, Joseph R. Dixon, and Charlie Dixon. There was no formal organization, and the exercises were of the simplest kind. Desiring some Sunday-school books for the children, Mrs. Dixon wrote to Mr. T. Marvin, publisher of the *Missionary Herald*. Her letter was referred by him to the Young People's Missionary Society of Park-street church, Boston, which promptly responded by the donation of a ten-dollar library. Mr. Dixon's residence was situated near the beach of Pine lake. As the homes of the other families were similarly situated, the easiest way for the children to reach the school in winter was to go on skates. It was quite natural that, returning, the attractions of skating should prove too strong for their regard for the Sabbath, and that they should while away a considerable part of the afternoon on the ice. At one time it became a serious question with Mrs. Dixon whether her school, indirectly, was not doing more harm than good.

After the close of this Sunday-school, in the summer of 1860, brought about indirectly by the severe domestic affliction in the family of Mr. and Mrs. Dixon in the loss by death of a little daughter, nothing more was attempted in that line of work till 1865. In the summer of that year for a short time, Mrs. Dixon again conducted a Sunday-school, in the little log schoolhouse that had been built on a terrace overlooking Pine lake, on the grounds now occupied by the Charlevoix summer resort.

In the spring of 1867 the writer found himself in Charlevoix, with the prospect before him of spending the summer and autumn there. At the earnest solicitation of the young people, he consented to undertake the organization and management of a Sunday-school. Within a radius of two miles there were, all told, about 16 young persons of both sexes of suitable age for a bible class, and about the same number of children old enough to attend the school. They were all gathered in, almost without an effort. There was no minister of the gospel at Charlevoix. Rev. Leroy Warren, engaged in home missionary work, preached there when his duties, at long intervals, called him into that region, and Rev. A. J. Sensabaugh, the Methodist minister on Antrim circuit, held meetings there occasionally, but during the greater part of that season the Sunday-school was the only Sunday service.

Some difficulty was encountered in finding a suitable place for meeting. There was a fisherman's shanty on the south side of the river, on or very near the site now occupied by the block owned by L. D. Bartholomew, in which the Oddfellows' hall is situated. All around it the forest yet remained in its pristine beauty. The shanty was without windows, and was filled with a heterogeneous collection of barrels, nets, and other implements of the fisherman's art. Permission was obtained of the owner, and the young men of the neighborhood undertook to put it in order. Openings were cut in the wall and windows inserted, to obtain which it was necessary to send to Traverse City. A strong scaffold of poles was built overhead, on which was stowed away everything of value. The useless trash was carried outside. Seats were made by placing logs of wood on the floor, across which boards were laid.

The whole number of names on the roll of the school was 36, including almost all the children and youth of the settlement. Sixteen of the older ones constituted the bible class, taught by the superintendent. The following is a list of the officers and teachers: Superintendent, M. L. Leach; secretary, Miss Frances P. Dixon; treasurer, Mrs. Nelson Ainslie; librarian, Joseph R. Dixon; teachers, Mrs. Ainslie, Mrs. William Chamberlain, Miss Lottie Ainslie.

This Sunday-school was, to say the least, unique. Organized at the earnest solicitation of the young people themselves, gathering in all the young ladies and gentlemen of the settlement, taking the place of the ordinary religious services of older communities, held in a shanty of the roughest and most primitive construction, with the nets and other fishing gear of the owner in plain sight overhead, enveloped in the shade of the primitive forest, with the crystal waters of the little lake, the swiftly-flowing river, and the surf-beaten beach of Lake Michigan only a step away, it remains pictured in the memory of the writer as a notable waymark of one of the pleasant stages of a somewhat eventful life.

In the fall, the owner of the shanty having use for it, the Sunday-school had to be transferred to other quarters. Once or twice it was held in the dwelling of Mr. Robert Miller, and then for some time in the sitting-room of an unfinished building owned by Mr. Althouse and kept by him as a house of entertainment for travelers. It only remains to add, that from the organization of that school up to the time of the present writing, Charlevoix has never been without a Sunday-school in active operation, except on a single occasion when, one winter, there was an intermission of six weeks' duration.

In the fall of 1867 the Michigan conference of the Methodist Episcopal church established Charlevoix circuit, and sent Rev. J. Gulick to take charge of the work. There was already a class there, consisting of 13 members, who were scattered over the surrounding country, only one or two of them living in the village. The first quarterly meeting was held in the sitting-room of the Althouse building, where the Sunday-school had been in the habit of meeting. The quarterly conference consisted of only the presiding elder, the pastor in charge, and the class leader. Mr. Gulick immediately set about the construction of a small building to be occupied as a parsonage, which, by the willing aid of the people, was so nearly completed as to be comfortable when winter set in. During the year that followed he was compelled to eke out his scanty salary by serving a part of the time as clerk in the store of Fox & Rose.

The first schoolhouse in Charlevoix, which has been already alluded to as standing on the grounds now occupied by the Charlevoix summer resort, was a log structure about 16 feet square, with a floor of hewn planks, a roof of shakes, a door fastened with a wooden latch, three windows of six small panes each, seats of planks supported on rough legs, and writing tables of long boards placed edgewise against the wall around three sides of the room. In the fall of 1867 it began to be felt that the schoolhouse accommodations were too limited. There were per-

haps a dozen white families in and around the village. As the legal voters did not seem inclined to move in the matter of building, the women took the affair into their own hands, and went about it in their own way. After consultation, they resolved to hold a fair to raise money as a nucleus for a building fund. The matter was pushed with such energy that three weeks after the inception of the project everything was ready, and the evening of the 6th of December was appointed for the gathering.

When the evening arrived, a general interest in the fair, if not in the object it was intended to promote, had been aroused, and, though a wintry storm was raging, nearly all the inhabitants of the settlement, old and young, were early at the place appointed, anticipating, and determined to have, a good time. The ladies had prepared a large number of articles—useful and ornamental—for sale. Most of them were first disposed of at private sale, and were then put up at auction by the first purchasers, the money in every case going into the common fund. After the sales were completed the company repaired to the dining-room, where, as a lady who was present has since expressd it, "they had oysters, real oysters, don't you think—a dish almost unknown in those days except in name—and they were dealt out by good big dishfuls; not a little soup with one poor little oyster swimming around all alone." Perhaps not the least enjoyable part of the amusement of the evening was the public reading of the letters received by individuals through the young ladies' postoffice. Several persons whose turn of mind led them to work in that direction, had employed their spare moments in providing material for that department, consequently almost every person got a letter —in prose or verse, witty, humorous, sarcastic, spicy or dull, according to the whim and ability of the writer. Of course the recipient was required to pay a small sum as postage, to help swell the receipts of the evening. One letter, in verse, addressd to Mrs. Fox, has been preserved, and may serve as a sample of the lot. It ran as follows:

With wifely charm and loving care,
  When home affairs get in a box,
With wisdom true and talent rare,
  Guide and control that sly old Fox.

And when rude storms, o'er all the earth
  Sweeping, portend the equinoxes,
Then, hovering near the homestead hearth,
  Nurse and protect the little Foxes.

The fair was a success financially, about $75 being realized. This was put into Mrs. Ainslie's hands as treasurer, and was expended the next spring towards building a schoolhouse. The new house, though not completed that season, was occupied for a three months' summer term of school.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Inception of the Benzonia Enterprise—Preliminary Explorations—Influence of Deacon Dame's Article in the New York Tribune—The Compact—Location Agreed on—Clearing the Betsey River—First Colonists—Incidents of Progress—The First Woman on the Trail—Other Settlements—Frankfort, Homestead, Joyfield, Pleasanton, Monroe Center, Wexford.

At this stage of our narrative, it becomes necessary again to turn our attention to a new point of interest. The establishment of the colony at Benzonia was an event in the settlement of the country of no small moment.

As early as the winter of 1855, the idea of a Christian colony and college as one of the best agencies for laying a foundation for good to the world, took definite shape in the mind of Rev. Charles E. Bailey, a Congregational minister of Medina, Ohio. Mentioning the subject to Rev. M. W. Fairfield, nearly a year later, he learned that some of the people attending the ministry of the latter were entertaining a similar project. A meeting for consultation was held at Mr. Bailey's house. A plan of operations was agreed on, and Messrs. Bailey and Fairfield undertook to find a suitable location and attend to the purchase of land. In the discharge of this duty, they performed a toilsome journey of exploration through a part of Iowa, only to learn at the last moment, on visiting the land office, that through the operation of some recent railroad land grant law, the government lands of Iowa had been withdrawn from market. As the plan which had been agreed to required the purchase of government lands in that State, the project had to be abandoned. Returning to Medina, Mr. Fairfield withdrew from the enterprise altogether. Mr. Bailey, though his ardor was somewhat abated, resolved to persevere.

As the original organization was now broken up, Mr. Bailey and his brother John, on their own responsibility, spent considerable time in visiting various portions of the west, hoping to find second-hand lands

suitable for the purpose in view. After months spent in explorations, and the endurance of much hardships from winter travel on the unsettled prairies of Iowa, they found a location in the northern part of that State which seemed in all respects desirable. The owners or agents of the lands lived in Dubuque. Thither the brothers went with buoyant spirits, only to meet with another disappointment. A choice quarter section in the central part of the tract, at the point most suitable for platting a village, was found to be the property of minor heirs, and could not be purchased. This circumstance was afterwards looked upon as providential and fortunate, as, if the colony had been located there at that time, the enterprise would probably have been wrecked in the financial crash of 1857.

The remainder of the winter and the early spring were spent in discussing plans and the probable advantages of many widely-separated localities. Some years before Mr. John Bailey had clipped from the New York *Tribune* an article written by Deacon Dame, describing in glowing terms the country around Grand Traverse bay. This, which he had preserved in his pocketbook, was now read and re-read with a great deal of interest. While the brothers Bailey were discussing plans, at Grinnell, Iowa, Mr. Chauncey T. Carrier came from western New York to Ohio, on his way west in search of a home for himself and family. Calling on Rev. A. D. Barber, an old school friend, the latter informed him of the project in which the Baileys were engaged, and induced him to join them at Grinnell. Mr. Carrier had formerly known Deacon Dame, and had confidence in his statements. Comparing notes with the Baileys, he, as well as they, was favorably impressed in regard to northern Michigan. As Mr. Carrier had business in Minnesota, it was arranged that he should pursue his journey, and that the three should finally meet at the most northern port in Grand Traverse bay, though none of them knew its name or had any definite notion of its location.

As the time for the appointed meeting approached, Mr. Carrier landed at Northport. The Messrs. Bailey landed on one of the Manitous, whence they passed over to Glen Arbor in a small boat. While they were making their way to Northport on foot, Mr. Carrier visited a location on the east side of Elk lake, in Antrim county, which seemed to him to offer important advantages for the establishment of the proposed colony. Meeting his comrades at Northport, he induced them to visit it, it being stipulated, however, that the three should also visit and examine a tract of country of which the Baileys had heard favorable reports, lying between Traverse City and Glen Arbor and south of the latter place,

before coming to a final decision. The tract near Elk lake not proving satisfactory to the Baileys, the party started in the direction of Glen Arbor, arriving at Traverse City on Saturday morning. It had been their intention to remain there over Sunday, but an incident, which in its results may to us of the present day seem amusing, caused them to change their minds. In those days the anti-slavery agitation was at its height, and discussions commenced in a friendly spirit not infrequently ended in bitter hostility. Mr. Carrier was an earnest, outspoken, uncompromising hater of the system of American slavery, having no patience with its northern apologists. While waiting for breakfast in Hannah, Lay & Co's boarding-house, he fell into conversation with the landlord, and became so displeased with the latter's expression of pro-slavery sentiments that he refused to remain. Starting again about nine o'clock in the forenoon, the party pushed on as rapidly as they were able, on a trail so blind as to be followed with great difficulty, till darkness compelled them to encamp. They passed the night in great discomfort, without shelter, suffering from thirst, and a part of the time exposed to a drenching rain. In the morning they went on as far as the shore of Glen lake, where a deserted log cabin afforded them shelter for the remainder of the day and the following night. On arriving at Glen Arbor the explorers were so well pleased with the country they had seen that they resolved to return at a future day, and make a temporary home at that place till a location suitable for their purpose could be definitely fixed on. As a matter of prudence, however, it was thought best to first take a look at Missouri. Mr. C. E. Bailey and Mr. Carrier accordingly visited the northern part of that state, but returned fully convinced that, all things considered, the Grand Traverse country offered more and better facilities for their contemplated enterprise than any other open to settlement.

A decision having been reached, Messrs. John and Horace C. Bailey and H. A. Wolcott, with their families, moved to Glen Arbor in the fall of 1857. Mr. C. E. Bailey remained for the winter in Illinois, where he was temporarily preaching, and where he prepared the articles of association for the colony. They are styled "Articles of Agreement and Plans for a Christian Colony and Institute of Learning, to be located in the Grand Traverse Bay country, Northern Michigan." To the original articles are attached the autograph signatures of Charles E. Bailey, John Bailey, James F. Bailey, Lorenzo Bailey, H. C. Bailey, H. A. Wolcott, R. A. Severance, Amzi D. Barber, C. T. Carrier, J. B. Walker, and Charles Burr. In them it was stipulated that all stock subscribed and paid in should be

expended in the purchase of government lands, and that one-fourth of all the government lands obtained by the stockholders, either individually or jointly, should be devoted to the establishment and permanent endowment of a college or university, to be located on the lands of the colony. The college or university was to be of such a character as to afford to both sexes, without distinction of color, the opportunity of acquiring a liberal education. Provision was made for grounds for a church, a parsonage, a common school building, and a cemetery, and a tract was to be set apart for a college farm. All conveyances of colony lands were to contain a clause forever prohibiting on them the manufacture, sale, or gift, except strictly for mechanical and medicinal purposes, of all intoxicating liquors.

During the winter Mr. John Bailey made an exploring tour south from Glen Arbor, passing east and south of the point where the village of Benzonia was afterwards located. Traveling, by reason of the snow, was difficult and toilsome. Returning Saturday night overtook him just west of the outlet of Crystal lake. Though within a day's walk of home, he chose to remain in camp till Monday morning, preferring to endure the discomforts of the situation rather than violate the sanctity of the Sabbath by traveling.

As early the following spring (1858) as it was deemed safe to travel by water, Mr. C. E. Bailey and his family came to Glen Arbor. They were accompanied by Mr. Charles Burr and his two sons, of Bellevue, Ohio.

Immediately after the arrival of the new-comers, a party of six set out on an exploring tour, for the purpose of fixing definitely on a site for the colony and village. The place selected as the central point was one mile south and two miles east of the present site of the village of Benzonia, though a minority of the party were at that time in favor of the present site. A location having been determined on and the lands selected, Mr. Burr and Mr. Wolcott were chosen delegates to visit the United States land office and make the purchase.

During the summer Messrs. John and C. E. Bailey made several visits to the proposed site of the colony. A small boat was constructed, that two men could carry, which was conveyed over the ridge that separates Lake Michigan and Crystal lake, and launched on the latter. The vicinity of the purchase could then be reached from Glen Arbor by coasting along the shore of Lake Michigan to the portage over the ridge, crossing it, and passing in the small boat up Crystal lake to its eastern extremity. Returning from one of these visits, they were once compelled by

stress of weather to remain over Sunday near Point Betsey lighthouse, when Mr. C. E. Bailey improved the opportunity to preach to a small audience in a fisherman's shanty. Capt. Emory and his son, of the peninsula, happening to be present, were among the hearers. The sermon was the first ever preached in Benzie county.

The lumber for the first house had to be transported from Glen Arbor to the mouth of the Betsey river in small boats, and then up that stream to a point as near the intended location as practicable. Several days were spent in clearing the river of obstructions. Becoming discouraged with the magnitude and difficulties of the work, Mr. Wolcott and the Baileys commenced explorations for an available land route for some part of the way. While engaged in this project, they had occasion to pass over the tract on which the village has since been built, and all became convinced that, all things considered, it was a more suitable location for the central point of the colony than the one already selected. A change was accordingly agreed upon, and the location of the future village, now Benzonia, was permanently fixed.

In the latter part of October, final preparations having been made for locating permanently in their new home, a vessel was chartered to convey their goods from Glen Arbor to the mouth of the Betsey, the women and children being provided with conveyance in a small boat. The party consisted of Mr. and Mrs. C. E. Bailey, Mrs. John Bailey and two children, Mr. and Mrs. Wolcott, Mr. and Mrs. Horace Burr, and Mr. Elijah Burr. Dr. R. A. Severance and Mr. Charles Burr, father of the Burr brothers, accompanied the party for the double purpose of rendering assistance and viewing the country. Mr. John Bailey and the widow of Horace C. Bailey, being in ill health, had gone to Cleveland, Ohio, for medical advice. It was eleven o'clock at night when they landed at the mouth of the Betsey, where the village of Frankfort now stands. There were three Canadian French families living there at the time.
—William Robar and his sons-in-law John Greenwood and Frank Martin—with one of which the party found accommodations for the night. Then two days and a half were consumed in ascending the river. On the third day at noon they landed in the vicinity of their future home, a little more than a mile from what is now the center of the village.

In the fall of the following year (1859) J. R. Barr and Edward Neil became residents of the colony. Among those who came in 1860 were L. W. Case, Rev. George Thompson, Joseph Carson, William Weston, and a Mr. Risley. There were also, at this time, several young unmarried persons in the settlement. The first wedding took place in June, the con-

tracting parties being Mr. Hugh Marsh and Miss Emily Burr. A church was organized, consisting of 18 members. A district school was opened, taught by Miss Julia M. Case, in a part of the dwelling-house of John Bailey. In the winter of 1860-61 there were 13 families in the settlement. From 1860 to '63 large additions were made to the population by the arrival of new settlers. In the early part of the latter year about 60 came within a period of ten days. Among them were Rev. J. B. Walker, D. D., of Sandusky, Ohio, a theological writer of some note, and Rev. Reuben Hatch, who had been the first president of Olivet college.

On the 10th of June of this year the first meeting of the board of trustees of the college was held. Dr. Walker was elected president of the college, and Mr. Hatch professor of languages. Under the charge of Professor Hatch, a preparatory department was opened on the first day of July.

This year, also, the first grist-mill was got into operation. It was a log building, containing a single run of stones. The builder, Mr. W. S. Hubbell, who, with his sons, had come to the settlement the year previous, had been obliged to bring the millstones and the machinery from Glen Arbor, where they had been landed from a propeller, along the shore of Lake Michigan and up the Betsey river in a small boat.

During the first few years of the existence of the colony, great inconvenience was experienced in consequence of the absence of roads. All goods landed at Frankfort or brought from Glen Arbor, where the lake steamers more frequently called, had to be transported in boats up the Betsey river, at no small cost of patience and labor. Up to 1862 there were no roads from Benzonia to other settlements. The mail route from Traverse City to Manistee, by way of Benzonia, was only a trail or foot-path, marked by blazed trees. In summer the mail was carried on horseback; in winter on a sort of sled, not unlike the dog sledges in use in some Arctic countries. It consisted of a single plank, eight feet long and a foot and a half wide, turned up in front like a sleigh runner. On this the mail bags were securely fastened by straps passing over them. The plank was drawn by a single horse, scarcely sinking into the snow and running over fallen trees without difficulty. The driver usually ran behind, but when fatigued sometimes rested himself by riding. When, as was sometimes the case, the mail carrier was an Indian, he used dogs for his team, in true Arctic style. An incident or two will illustrate the difficulty of winter travel at that time:

Mrs. Jacob Barns was the first woman who passed over the trail. Her journey was accomplished, in company with her husband and others, in February, 1859. A party of eight, including two Indians with the mail,

left Traverse City together, being conveyed over the first 17 miles of the route in a sleigh, when they encamped for the night. The sleigh could go no farther. The next day Mrs. Barns rode a favorite pony, sometimes being obliged to leap over obstructions in the path. They reached Benzonia the second night. On the morning of the third day they went down to the shore of Lake Michigan, at or near the present site of Frankfort, where Mrs. Barns exchanged the saddle for a seat on the dog train of the Indians. They traveled the remainder of that day and a part of the following night on the ice, encountering a terrific snow storm and finding considerable difficulty in passing a stretch of open water. It was midnight when they reached a place of shelter at the mouth of Portage creek. From Portage they were conveyed by teams to Grand Haven, arriving at that place ten days after leaving Traverse City.

In February, 1862, H. E. Steward and L. W. Hubbell went from Benzonia to Traverse City and returned, with ox teams and sleds, for the double purpose of carrying grain to mill and purchasing supplies. The snow was two and a half feet deep, and the track was little more than what had been made by the mail carrier's horse and plank sled. At that time the woods were more open than at a later period, and it was possible to get through with sleds by frequently running over the trunks of fallen trees. They were six full days in making the round trip, camping in the woods two nights both going and returning. On their way out a supply of fodder for the teams was left at each camping place, to be used on their return.

A road was cut through the woods from Benzonia to Manistee, by way of Bear lake, in January, 1862. In the fall of 1863 one was cut out and made passable for wagons between Benzonia and Traverse City, the citizens of each settlement by agreement doing the work on that half the route next their own locality.

Immediately after the establishment of the colony at Benzonia, Benzie county and the adjacent parts of Grand Traverse, Wexford, and Manistee began to be dotted with settlements. A company was formed for the purpose of opening business at Frankfort, which built a saw-mill, established a store for the sale of goods, and engaged to a limited extent in the manufacture of staves from elm timber, and the exportation of hemlock bark. As early as 1861, besides the three families already mentioned as being there in 1858, there were living in that vicinity Richard Ball, Dr. A. J. Slyfield, Richard Weston, L. A. Dauby, William Cogshell and J. Hadsall. The first three were located at various points north of what is now the village, Mr. Hadsall a short distance south of it, and

Messrs. Dauby and Cogshell at the mouth of the river. Mr. Dauby was employed as the business agent of the company, and Mr. Cogshell kept its boarding house.

Mr. William Steele came to Benzonia in 1861, and soon afterwards settled in Homestead. In 1863 John Hunt settled near Herring lake; Rev. A. Joy, a Baptist minister, in Joyfield, after whom the township was named; and George B. Pierce in Pleasanton. In 1859 William Monroe established his home at the place since called Monroe Center, 12 miles south of Traverse City, and was soon followed by several of his brothers. The next year Charles Downs located two miles south of Monroe's. In 1862 John Cotton settled on a homestead claim a mile beyond Downs, and in 1863 A. B. Davis located a mile farther on in the wilderness. In June of the same year (1863) Lewis Cornell, Elon Cornell, James Wart, and William Masters selected lands in Wexford, and in the following fall brought on their families, forming the nucleus of what has since been known as the Cornell settlement.

CHAPTER XXVII.

War History—Imperfection of the Record—Probable Number of Grand Traverse Men in the Service—The First Martyr—Lists of Volunteers—Honorable Mention—Lieutenants McClelland, Brooks and Holden—War Meetings—Local Bounties—Lieutenant Graverat.

At the time of the present writing scarcely 23 years have passed since the first gun fired upon Sumter sent a thrill of excitement throughout the loyal north, and called her patriotic sons to battle, yet it is impossible to give anything like a full history of the part the people of the Grand Traverse country took in the war that followed. Those who make history by their deeds usually do not write history. Some one who comes after gathers up the fragmentary records, traditions, and recollections, and fits them together as best he may. Fortunate is the writer whose chain of narrative is not made conspicuous by the great number of its missing links. In studying the records of the "boys in blue" who volunteered from the Grand Traverse country, industrious research enables the writer to do little more than give names and dates. The list of volunteers is so incomplete that to publish it seems almost like an act of injustice to those whose names do not appear. The regiments in which

they served are often a matter of conjecture, and the fate of many, some of whom may have fallen in battle, perished in hospitals, or been starved to death in rebel prisons, is involved in obscurity.

To avoid misunderstandings, it should be remembered that at the breaking out of the war, the unorganized counties of Antrim, Leelanau, and Benzie were attached to Grand Traverse for civil and judicial purposes. When, in this chapter, Grand Traverse county is mentioned, the territory of the three referred to is intended to be included. Grand Traverse county as thus defined, was divided into nine townships—Meegezee, Milton, Whitewater, Peninsula, Traverse, Leelanau, Centreville, Glen Arbor, and Crystal Lake.

The number of men in the territory alluded to of an age suitable for military service, making no allowance for exemptions on account of disability, could not have exceeded 600, and probably fell short of that number. From this territory, it is believed, more than 200 went into the service within the next four years. Of course considerable accessions to the population resulted from immigration, during that period, thus increasing the number liable to military duty.

One of the first to volunteer was Curtis Fowler, Jr., son of Hon. Curtis Fowler, judge of probate for Grand Traverse county. Fighting bravely in the ranks of the gallant First, he was wounded at the battle of Bull Run, in July, 1861, was discharged from the service on account of disability from the wound, and returned home. His brother, Francis Z. Fowler, considering it a matter of honor as well as of patriotism that the family should be represented in the ranks of the defenders of the country, volunteered in his place, and laid down his life in the second battle of Bull Run the following year, the first martyr from Grand Traverse to the Union cause.

Thirteen volunteers started from Traverse City on or about the 13th of September, 1861. Their names were as follows: Martin A. Hopper, Andrew McKillip, Isaac Winnie, James Nicholson, James Fitzpatrick, William E. Sykes, Samuel A. McClelland, E. J. Brooks, Lewis Steele, Frank May, Aaron Page, Orselus Evans, and Thomas Lee. Of these the first five had been for a long time in the employ of Hannah, Lay & Co. On settling with them, Mr. Hannah made each a handsome present, and told them that if they were ever in distress or in need of funds to draw on him at sight, and their drafts would be honored. William E. Sykes was sheriff of the county; McClelland, Brooks, Steele, May, and Page were from Northport; Evans was from Whitewater; and Lee from Centreville.

At the time of leaving Traverse City it was the intention of several of these men to enlist in Chicago, in Capt. Busteed's company of light infantry. We afterwards find some of them in the First New York Artillery, one of their number, McClelland, holding the rank of second lieutenant. At the battle of Malvern Hill, the 1st of July, 1862, the "Grand Traverse boys" received special commendation from their officers for bravery and good conduct. Of the 13 mentioned above, the following are referred to by name in a published letter from Lieut. McClelland—Sykes, Evans, McKillip, Nicholson, and Hopper. In the list of those specially commended, Lieut. McClelland also gives the names of nine other "Grand Traverse boys" in his company, of whose volunteering and enlistment we have no account. They were M. V. Barns, Albert M. Powers, A. N. Brown, Jared D. Delap, James Hutchinson, Charles A. Lee, Sidney Brown, William Wilks, and Hiram Odell.

On the fourth day of October, 1861, 15 volunteers left Traverse City for Grand Rapids, under command of F. W. Cutler, a recruiting officer. The following is the list of names: Edward Stanley, Mathew Shanley, Eber Stone, William Callison, George Flack, Benjamin Rattelle, Dudley Wait, John O'Leary, Patrick Graham, George Askey, John Rodart, John Williams, Lewis Stevenson, Andrew Anderson, and Edward Dewaire.

On the 15th of August, 1862, John Lewis Patrick, a young man who had been for two years an apprentice in the office of the Grand Traverse *Herald,* started for Chicago, where he enlisted in the Mercantile Battery. Not long after it fell to the lot of the paper on which he had wrought to publish his death, which occurred in the hospital at Memphis, Tenn., on the 1st of February, 1863. The editor of the *Herald,* Morgan Bates, afterwards Lieutenant Governor, speaks thus tenderly of his young friend: "He was one of the noblest and purest young men we ever knew and it caused a heart-pang when he left us to volunteer for the defense of his country. All who knew him loved him, and his early death will cast a gloom over many hearts."

In August, 1862, recruiting was lively. Capt. E. S. Knapp (called L. Edwin Knapp in "Michigan in the War"), assisted by Lieutenant Jacob E. Siebert, of Manistee, and Charles H. Holden, of Northport, raised a company in a short time, in Manistee and Grand Traverse counties, to which was given the name of the "Lake Shore Tigers." The following is an imperfect list of the men enlisted by Lieutenant Holden, in Grand Traverse, with the names of the townships to which they were credited:

Whitewater—P. D. Greenman, Francis Hopper, C. R. Lackey, Horace Philips, John A. Brainard, Milton Stites, John Duncan, Henry Odell, Oscar Eaton, George Allen.

Traverse—Elias Langdon, Jr., Thomas Bates, Giles Gibson, Asa V. Churchill, George Moody.

Peninsula—Gilbert Lacnor, John A. Thayer.

Leelanau—William H. Voice, Mortimer Boyes, Henry Budd, George W. Bigelow, William W. Nash, Henry Holcomb, Charles E. Lehman.

Centreville—George Ramsdell, Joseph Warwick, Melville Palmer, William Lawson, James Lee, Frederick Cook, Jacob Hans, Deidrick White, George W. Miller, John Egler, James Adameson, L. Grant, H. Dunckelow, Thomas McCreary, Charles E. Clark, George H. Mills.

Capt. Knapp's company had originally been intended for the Twenty-first, but on arriving at Ionia that regiment was found to be full. Application was next made to the Twenty-fifth, then organizing at Kalamazoo, but that being full also, the company finally proceeded to Jackson, and was mustered into the service as company A of the Twenty-sixth, under Col. Farrar.

Lieut. Holden was prosecuting attorney of the county at the time of organizing the company, and resigned his office for the purpose of entering the service. He was mustered in as first lieutenant, and was afterwards made quartermaster of the regiment. He resigned April 4, 1864, and was honorably discharged. The second lieutenant was Sewell S. Parker, of Monroe. Lieut. Seibert, who helped to enlist the company, does not appear ever to have belonged to the Twenty-sixth. According to "Michigan in the War," he belonged to the Twentieth, and was killed in action at Poplar Spring Church, Va., September 30, 1864. Of the enlisted men from Grand Traverse, Sergeant William H. Voice died in camp at Jackson, September 22, 1862; P. D. Greenman at Fairfax, Va., March 27, 1863; and George Moody at Yorktown, Va., July 15, 1863.

In the summer and fall of 1863, from the early part of July till late in October, Lieut. Edwin J. Brooks, of Northport, was engaged in recruiting for the Tenth Cavalry, under Col. Foote, having its rendezvous at Grand Rapids. Unfortunately, there is at hand no list of Grand Traverse men who volunteered for that regiment under Lieut. Brooks. Lieut. Brooks was mustered in as first lieutenant of Company E. He was promoted to a captaincy April 25, 1864. March 13, 1865, he was made brevet major of U. S. volunteers "for gallantry in action at Strawberry Plains, east Tennessee, November 17, 1864." On the same day he was further promoted to brevet lieutenant-colonel U. S. volunteers, "for gallant and meritorious conduct through four years of active service." He was mustered out and honorably discharged November 11, 1865.

In September, while Lieut. Brooks was recruiting, the citizens of Traverse, anxious to make up the full quota of the township by voluntary

enlistment, raised by subscription a fund for the payment of $50 bounty to each recruit enlisted and credited to the township before the expected draft should take place.

On the 12th of October, official information having been received that the draft would take place on the 26th of that month, and that only eleven men were needed to fill up the quota of Grand Traverse county, the board of supervisors appropriated $1,100 to a fund to be called the military bounty enlistment fund. The chairman and clerk of the board were authorized to draw orders on this fund for $100 each in favor of the first eleven men who should enlist and be sworn into the service of the United States prior to the 23d of the month, provided they should be accredited to the county in the coming draft.

During the following winter, additional calls for troops made it necessary to hold out additional inducements for voluntary enlistment. In the month of February a series of war meetings was held in Traverse City, which resulted in the calling of a special township meeting to authorize the issuing of bonds for the purpose of raising money to pay bounties to volunteers.

The efforts at enlisting were successful. On the 2d of March 42 recruits left Traverse City for the rendezvous at Grand Rapids, constituting the full quotas for Traverse, Peninsula and Centreville. On the evening previous to their departure, the ladies gave them an entertainment, providing a bountiful supper at the boarding-house of Hannah, Lay & Co., at which a large proportion of the population of the village and surrounding country was present. Mr. Hannah presided, brief addresses were made by Hon. Morgan Bates and Rev. J. H. Crumb, and the scene was enlivened by patriotic and soul-stirring music, under the direction of Mr. Charles H. Day.

The following is a list of the volunteers:

Traverse—Albert S. Brooks, Ernest Crain, William W. Bradley, George L. Smith, Edward Beavis, Aaron Mettes, Myron A. Moody, Paul Gravel, Robert Myhill, James Lynch, Tobias F. Houghtaling, John Sutherland, William W. Johnson, Henry C. Fuller, Sands Moon, Alonzo F. Hopkins, John Flannery, James Monroe, George W. Hargraves, Wilson P. Johnson.

Peninsula—James Birney Lancaster, Charles Lonkey, Columbus Winnie, Richard W. Smith, Abram D. Langworthy, Francis L. Bourasaw, William B. Munn, John M. Allison.

Centreville—Thomas Harmer, Adam Cook, James Manseau, Isaac Clark, James Mason, Jacob Burger, Clouve Warren, Martin Novotney,

Ferdinand Kord, Philip Egler, Albert Norris, Henry Lemmerwell, James Clark, Martin Wachall.

Several of these men found their way into the Fourteenth regiment, and first entered upon active duty at the front in the vicinity of Nashville, Tenn. Those known to have been in that regiment are Crain, Mettes, Gravel, Lynch, Lancaster, Lonkey, Winnie, R. W. Smith, Langworthy, Bourasaw, and Allison. The names of the regiments in which the others served are not known.* Myron A. Moody died in hospital at Grand Rapids, March 26, 1864.

In the summer of 1864 the call for troops taxed to the utmost the patriotism and ability of Grand Traverse, as well as most other sections of the loyal north. On the 10th of June a draft was had, in Grand Rapids, for Whitewater, Elk Rapids, Milton, Centreville, Glen Arbor, and Leelanau. In August the township board of Traverse offered a bounty of $200 for recruits. On the 30th of the same month a meeting of the enrolled men of the township was held to raise funds to pay an additional bounty. Three thousand dollars was subscribed on the spot. With this sum the aggregate of bounties to each volunteer was raised to nearly $600. Twenty-three men, under the calls of the president, were due from the township. Eight had already been obtained, eight more came forward at this meeting, and the remaining seven were obtained within the next 48 hours. The names of all but one are contained in the following list: William Tracy, Adolphus Payette, Harvey Avery, Ira Chase, Joseph Kunn, Nelson C. Sherman, Edward Morgan, Ora E. Clark, William Sluyter, George Sluyter, Barney Valleau, Zodoc Wilcox, James Mason, John Reynolds, John Falrue, Leander Curtis, Alburn Atwill, Abram Adsit, Marvin Lacore, Michael Gallaghn, Austin Brinnon, David Sweeney. All of these except Clark, Lacore, and Payette, went into the Tenth cavalry, and got their first experience of active war at Strawberry Plains, east Tennessee. Lacore and Payette were assigned to the Mississippi squadron.

We close this imperfect war record of the Grand Traverse country with the following melancholy items:

Daniel Carmichael, of Traverse City, who was a member of a Wisconsin regiment, died in hospital at Lake Providence, May 6, 1863.

George Leslie, of Traverse township, died in the Shenandoah valley, September 22, 1864.

*Consulting the military records in the Adjutant General's office at Lansing, as yet unpublished, we found the names of all but seven of these men assigned to Michigan regiments. Fourteen joining the 26th Michigan Infantry, one the 7th Cavalry, three, Co. F, 14th Infantry; five, the 1st Light Artillery.—Editor.

In the fight before Petersburg, on the 17th of June, 1864, Lieut. G. A. Graverat, a gallant young officer from Little Traverse, laid down his life for his country. He was the second lieutenant of Company K., First Michigan Sharpshooters. While fighting by the side of his father in the trenches, he saw his parent shot dead. Bearing the body to a safe spot, weeping bitterly, he dug a grave with an old tin pan in the sand, and buried it. Then drying his tears, the devoted son returned to the battle. His rifle told with terrible precision among the rebel officers, till he was disabled, wounded in the left arm. He was brought to Washington, where the arm was amputated at the shoulder, resulting in his death on the 10th of the following month. Lieut. Graverat was partly of Indian descent. He was but 24 years old, was highly educated, being master of several modern languages, besides being a fine portrait and landscape painter and an accomplished musician.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Hindrances to Early Settlement—Ignorance and Misrepresentation—Indian Reservations—Railroad Land Grants—Beneficial Effects of the Building of the Railroad—State Swamp Land Roads—The Homestead Law—Indian Reserve Lands in Market—Winchell's Report—Pioneer Fruit Growers—Benzie County Leads in Agricultural Fairs—Agricultural Societies Organized—Reputation of the Country Established Abroad—Meeting of the State Pomological Society at Traverse City—The Triumph of the Pioneer Fruit Growers.

There were several reasons why the Grand Traverse country was not settled sooner, and why, when settlements were once commenced, its development was not more rapid during the period gone over in the preceding chapters.

One reason was that little or nothing was known abroad of its attractions and advantages. It was not readily accessible by land. Until the government lake survey furnished reliable information in regard to the hydrography of the region, the masters of vessels were generally unwilling to enter Grand Traverse bay, supposing it to be shallow and dangerous. It was for the interest of those engaged in the carrying trade on the great lakes to decry Michigan and eulogize Illinois and Wisconsin, thus securing the profit of conveying immigrants as far west as their

steamers and vessels sailed. Captain Blake, once well known on the lakes, is said to have been the only one of his time who knew the Grand Traverse country, and was disposed to do it justice. He frequently told his passengers, when off the bay, on the way to their more distant homes in the west, that they were passing the most beautiful country ever beheld. As late as 1859 Horace Greeley, in the *New York Tribune,* spoke of the northern half of the lower peninsula as being cold and uninviting to the cultivator, diversified by vast swamps, sterile, gravelly knolls, and dense forests of but moderately valuable timber not yet readily accessible, so that its settlement was likely to be slow, and its population sparse for generations.

Another reason was that, in accordance with treaty stipulations, several townships of choice land were withheld from market for Indian reservations.

Another and more potent reason, and one which for many years seriously retarded the development of the country, was the granting of every alternate section of extensive tracts of land as subsidies to certain railroad companies for the building of railroads into the country from the south. The original intention of the general and State governments, no doubt, was to speedily open the northern wilderness to practical settlement and improvement. Such would have been the result, had the companies been held to strict compliance with the terms of the grant. But they were allowed to hold the lands, or, more strictly speaking, the lands were held for them by the State, being kept out of market for a long term of years after the expiration of the time in which the roads were to have reached the heart of the northern wilderness, while in road-making practically nothing was done. The citizens of the northern counties regarded the course of the national and State governments as unjust and oppressive to their section of the State. There were some exciting contests in the State legislature, in which their representatives vainly strove, against overwhelming odds, to induce that body to compel the fulfillment of the terms of the grant or cause the lands to be restored to market. Among the earnest advocates in that body of the interests of the northern counties was Mr. Dixon of Charlevoix, and later, Messrs. Dunlap of Grand Traverse and Utley of Newaygo. Failing to secure justice to their constituents, Messrs. Dunlap and Utley recorded their formal protest against what they conceived to be the perpetration of a great wrong by the legislature in legalizing an extension of the time allowed the companies in which to build their roads. It was not till 1869, when the Grand Rapids & Indiana Company had extended its road to Cedar Springs and

was rapidly pushing it northward that any degree of confidence in the company, or any expectations that the road would be built within the life of that generation, began to be felt by the people of the Grand Traverse country. When, however, a little later, it came to be generally believed that the company was now working in good faith, and that railroad communication with the south and east was sure to come at no distant day, its healthful effect in promoting improvements was speedily felt throughout the region. As the road was pushed northward, settlers flocked in, dotting the wilderness in advance of it with their log cabins clustering around, and giving new life to the little villages already in existence, and founding new ones along the line of the road, even in advance of its completion. The good time long waited for had come, and the injustice of the past was nearly forgotten in the prosperity of the present.

There remained, however, one subject of contention between the people of the northern counties and the railroad companies. Thus far the railroad lands had been exempt from taxation. This was regarded by the people as unequal and unjust. The hardy pioneer, enduring the privations of backwoods life while toiling to hew out of the forest a home for his family, could not understand why his new farm, on which was only a log cabin and a few acres of improvement, should be taxed, while the lands of a great and rich corporation adjoining his own, which were constantly increasing in value from the improvements he and his neighbors were making, should be exempt. In the legislative session of 1871, the Grand Traverse country, being represented in the House by Mr. Mitchell and in the Senate by Mr. Moffatt, the latter moved an amendment to the general railroad bill then pending, subjecting the lands of railroad companies to taxation, which, after a warm debate and in the face of powerful opposition from a strong railroad lobby, finally prevailed.

Looking back from our standpoint of a later date, we can see that though the people had good cause to complain of the delay, the building of the road, even with the concomitant hardship arising from the earlier proceedings, has been, on the whole, an agency of no small importance in developing the resources of the country. Its population, wealth and business interests are far in advance of what they could by any possibility have been at the present time if the road had not been built at all.

An agency that contributed largely to the settlement and improvement of the country, the influence of which began to be felt immediately after the close of the war, was the policy of the State in regard to the swamp

lands within its borders. These lands had been granted to the State by an act of congress, on condition that their proceeds should be applied to their drainage and reclamation. As the most direct means to the execution of the terms imposed on the State, the legislature wisely determined to appropriate a considerable portion of them to the construction of roads through the less improved sections of the country, thus opening to settlement the tracts in which the lands were principally situated, and bringing them into the possession of actual settlers, whose interest it would be to improve and cultivate them. In accordance with this policy, from 1863 to 1868 roads were opened by State authority and with trifling expense to the people, intersecting various portions of the Grand Traverse country, the principal ones running from Manistee by way of Benzonia to Traverse City, from Newaygo to Northport, from Traverse City by way of Elk Rapids and Charlevoix to Little Traverse, and from Traverse City by way of Houghton lake to Midland City. The opening of these roads was everywhere attended by an influx of settlers to the localities thus made accessible. It is not easy to conceive of a plan by which the disposal of the swamp lands could have been made to contribute more directly and more efficiently to the development of the newer sections of the State, and especially of the region of country we are considering.

The homestead law, giving to every actual settler from 80 to 160 acres of land for a merely nominal sum, which took effect on the 1st of January, 1863, contributed not a little to hasten the settlement of the country. The entries of homesteads for the first month at the United States land office at Traverse City numbered 128, and for the first eight months 528. For several years afterwards they varied from 50 to 80 per month, with the exception perhaps of two or three months in the dead of winter of each year. It should be understood, however, that the Traverse City land district, throughout which these homestead entries were scattered, embraced a territory much larger than what is being treated of in this work as the Grand Traverse country proper.

On the opening of the Indian reserves to homesteaders, in the spring of 1874, there was a scramble for choice locations. Soon after daylight, on the 15th of April, the day on which the arrangement was to take effect, although the rain was falling fast, and the office was not open till eight o'clock, men began to gather about the land-office building. So great was the crowd that it was found impossible to admit them to the office. At eight o'clock a window was thrown open, and business commenced. The first three applications were made by widows, after

the reception of which things became lively, and continued so during the forenoon. In one week 194 homesteads were entered, and 250 soldiers' declarations filed. The Grand Traverse *Herald* of that date facetiously remarks that "fifty-nine of the sixty men who came all the way from Petoskey to locate the 'N. E. ¼ of Sec. 10,' have gone home disappointed. Only one of them got it. It wasn't the man that vociferated the loudest. It wasn't the man that slept in the dry goods box. It wasn't the man that held on to the door knob of the office from midnight till eight a. m. It was the man that was lucky."

With a view to making the attractions and advantages of the country better known abroad, several prominent citizens employed Prof. Alexander Winchell, State geologist, to examine and report upon it, the expense being paid by subscription. The season of 1865 was spent in the examination, and the report was published the following year. It was widely circulated, and created a favorable impression in regard to the country for agricultural pursuits, and especially for the cultivation of fruit. Prof. Winchell characterized it as the most remarkable and most desirable section of country in the northwest, and expressed his opinion that as a fruit-growing region it was doubtful whether any other part of the United States could compete with it.

From the first it had been evident to those engaged in the study and cultivation of the soil that the Grand Traverse country, contrary to preconceived opinions and published reports, was well adapted to general farming, and especially to the successful cultivation of fruit. On its adaptation to fruit-growing its reputation was now being mainly built.

As early as 1859 the Grand Traverse *Herald,* then in the first year of its existence, published notices of apples grown by Rev. Geo. N. Smith, of Northport, that showed remarkable keeping qualities; other choice apples, from the orchard of John Garland, on the peninsula; and peaches from Mr. Norris's orchard, two miles from Traverse City, as good as the editor had ever tasted. Among the apples sent to the *Herald,* in September, by Mr. Smith, were Harvest, Tart Bough, Sweet Bough, and Summer King, of that season's growth, and with them Rhode Island Greenings and Blue Pearmains grown the previous year, but sound and fit for use.

Mr. Smith was one of the earliest pioneers of fruit growing, having brought a few small trees with him when he came to Northport in 1849, to which considerable additions were made the following year. Hon. J. G. Ramsdell, for many years circuit judge of his district, who came to Traverse City in 1861, and established a fruit farm on a hillside in the

vicinity, did much toward making known abroad the capabilities of the soil and climate, and establishing a reputation for the excellence of the fruit. On the peninsula many of the settlers turned their attention to fruit-growing at an early day. Not one of the first in point of time, but the first among his fellows for scientific knowledge practically applied in his favorite pursuit, was Mr. George Parmelee, who had been a pioneer peach-grower in St. Joseph county. Mr. Parmelee came to the peninsula in 1867 for the purpose of establishing a fruit farm, with a view especially to the cultivation of apples. Both fruit-growing and general agriculture are largely indebted to him for their successful and profitable development.

The honor of leading in the matter of agricultural fairs belongs to Benzie county. The first was held at Benzonia on the 8th of October, 1864, several years before the organization of the county agricultural society. The previous notice was short, and the day was blustering and unpropitious, yet the fair was not a failure. The grains and vegetables exhibited were, for the most part, first crops from new ground imperfectly worked. There were no premiums, the only award being an honorable mention by the committees, the merit of the article being classed as extra, good, or fair. There was but little fruit. Of live stock of all kinds, only three animals were mentioned by the committee, presumably the only three present.

In 1868 county agricultural societies were organized in Leelanau and Benzie counties. In Grand Traverse county a union society was organized intended to embrace, besides Grand Traverse, Leelanau, Antrim and Emmet, including in the territory of the last what is now Charlevoix. Of the Leelanau society A. B. Dunlap was elected president, John T. Miller, vice-president, and John E. Fisher, secretary. Mr. Dunlap soon resigned, and was succeeded by Rev. George N. Smith. Of the Benzie society W. S. Hubbell was president, E. P. Smith, secretary, and W. J. Young, treasurer. The Grand Traverse union agricultural society, having its headquarters at Traverse City, elected A. B. Dunlap, president, R. Hatch, Jr., Secretary, D. C. Leach, treasurer, and several vice-presidents, distributed among the counties represented in the society. Successful fairs were held by all these societies in the fall following their organization.

Closely following the organization of the agricultural societies, came that of the Peninsula Farmers' Club, at Old Mission. This club was fortunate in having enrolled among its members several men of talent and education, who were also practical farmers, often performing the

hardest labor of the farm with their own hands. Its weekly discussions, which, except for the first year or two, were published in the *Herald* and the *Eagle,* did much toward raising the agriculture of the region to a high standard of excellence.

Through the systematic and persevering efforts of several enterprising persons, earnestly seconded by these societies, the Grand Traverse region at last came to be well known abroad as an agricultural and fruit-growing country. Its repeated successes in competition with other sections at the meeting of the State Pomological society and at the State fairs, attracted the attention of the leading agriculturists and fruit men throughout the State. As a result, an appointment was made for a meeting of the State Pomological society at Traverse City, at the time of holding the union fair at that place, in October, 1873.

This opportunity to show to appreciative visitors the products of the country, was not lost upon the citizens. The fair was a grand success. Never before had such a display of fruit been seen in northern Michigan, and seldom in any western state. The sight was truly magnificent. The pioneers had good reason to be proud of their work. Their visitors were astonished.

Two evenings during the fair were occupied by meetings of the State Pomological Society, at which the merits of the several kinds of fruit on exhibition were freely discussed, and much interesting information elicited from residents in regard to the topography of the country, its soil and climate, and its adaptation to the production of fruit. A committee visited by invitation several of the principal orchards in the vicinity of Old Mission, speaking in glowing terms in their published report of the fruit and fruit-growers of that neighborhood.

The next year (1874) the society offered premiums for the more meritorious orchards in the State, of several classes designated. The awarding committee having, in the discharge of their duty, visited Old Mission, in their report made to the society at its October meeting awarded seven first and four second premiums to orchards in that vicinity. The reputation of the Grand Traverse country for its fruit was established. The triumph of its pioneer fruit-growers was complete.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Division of the Grand Traverse Region into Counties—Organization of Grand Traverse—First Election—First Circuit Court—First Meeting of Board of Supervisors—First Equalization of Taxes—Emmet—Manitou — Leelanau—Antrim—Benzie — Wexford — Charlevoix—Kalkaska—Missaukee.

In 1840 the territory now constituting Grand Traverse, by an act of the legislature, was "laid off as a separate county, to be known and designated as the county of Omena." The territory now constituting Leelanau and Benzie counties, with the Manitou islands, was "laid off as a separate county, to be known and designated as the county of Leelanau." Wexford, Antrim, Charlevoix and Emmet were were also "laid off" as counties by the same act. Within the territory thus designated there were neither county nor township organizations. The new counties remained attached to Mackinac, and the first settlers, if they desired to vote, were obliged to perform a journey to Mackinac for the purpose.

An act for the organization of Grand Traverse county was passed in 1851. The territory included within its boundaries was the same that had constituted the county of Omena, except those portions of the present townships of East Bay and Whitewater lying north of the north line of township 27, which, for some unknown reason, were left out. The act established the county seat "at Boardman's Mills, on the east fraction of section number 3, in township 27 north, of range 11 west, until otherwise provided." Provision was made for holding an election for county officers on the first Monday in August, the officers then elected to remain in office until the general election in 1852, and until their successors were elected and qualified.

On the day designated the election was held at the house of Horace Boardman. The whole of the newly-formed county constituted the township of Omena, but it does not appear that there was an existing township organization. The inspectors of election were Horace Boardman, George N. Smith, Hosmer K. Cowles and Luther O. Scofield. The number of legal voters present was 28, which was also the highest number of votes given for any office. The following is the list of officers, nearly all of whom were elected unanimously: Prosecuting attorney, Orlin P.

Hughson; county judge, Joseph Dame; second judge, Martin S. Wait; county clerk and register of deeds, Luther O. Scofield; judge of probate, George N. Smith; sheriff, William H. Case; treasurer, Horace Boardman; coroners, Alanson Canfield and Richard W. Smith.

At the legislative session of 1853 an act was passed "to complete the organization of Grand Traverse county." It annexed to the county those portions of the former county of Omena that had been omitted by the act of 1851, provided for a special election of county officers, to be held on the first Tuesday of May, and divided the county into two townships—Peninsula and Traverse. Peninsula consisted of the same territory as at present; all the remainder of the county was comprised in the township of Traverse. The first township meeting in Peninsula was to be held at Old Mission; that of Traverse at the county seat. The unorganized counties of Antrim, Kalkaska, Missaukee, Wexford, Manistee, and Leelanau, the last including Benzie and the Manitou islands, were attached to Grand Traverse for judicial and municipal purposes. Antrim county constituted a single township. For township purposes, Kalkaska and Missaukee were attached to Antrim, and Wexford to Traverse. Leelanau, with its attached territory, was erected into a township of the same name, the first township meeting of which was to be held at the house of Peter Dougherty. Practically, then, in 1853 Grand Traverse county consisted of five township organizations, embracing the following territory—Antrim, the whole of Antrim, Kalkaska and Missaukee counties; Peninsula, that part of the peninsula in Grand Traverse bay lying north of the line between townships 27 and 28; Traverse, all of Grand Traverse county not included in Peninsula, with the attached county of Wexford; Leelanau, the territory now comprised in Leelanau and Benzie counties and the Manitou islands; Manistee, the whole of Manistee county.

There had been no election held in the county at the time for holding the general election in 1852. In accordance with the act of 1853, a special county election was held on the first Tuesday in May of the latter year. The board of county canvassers met at the county seat on the 9th, and organized by electing Thomas Cutler, chairman, and Theron Bostwick, secretary. The canvass showed that the whole number of voters who had participated in the election was 71. The following is a list of the officers elected: Judge of probate, George N. Smith; sheriff, Norman B. Cowles; county clerk, Thomas Cutler; county treasurer, Hosmer K. Cowles; prosecuting attorney, Robert McLellan; register of deeds, Thomas Cutler; county surveyor, Abram S. Wadsworth; coroners, Lewis Miller and Luther O. Scofield.

The first session of the circuit court in the newly-organized county which was also the first in the Grand Traverse region, commenced on the 27th of July and closed the following day. A part of the unfinished dwelling of Thomas Cutler, the same in which Mr. Cutler's family now reside, was used as a court-room. Hon. George Martin was the judge. The only lawyer present was Ebenezer Gould, of Owosso, who had come with Judge Martin. Mr. McLellan, recently elected prosecuting attorney, had not been admitted to the bar. Mr. Gould was appointed by the judge to act as prosecuting attorney for that session, and Mr. McLellan, on application and examination in open court, was admitted to practice. As the court had no seal, it was ordered that the temporary seal should be the eagle side of the American half dollar. There was but little business requiring the attention of the court.

The first meeting of the board of supervisors was a special one, held pursuant to a call of three of their number—Robert Campbell, John S. Barker and S. G. Rice. Responsive to the call, the board convened at the store of Cowles & Campbell, in Peninsula, on the 27th of July. There were present Robert Campbell of Peninsula, John S. Barker of Antrim and William M. McKillip of Traverse. After organizing, by electing McKillip chairman, and Campbell clerk, they adjourned to meet at the store of Hannah, Lay & Co., at Traverse City, the following day. On the second day, in addition to those already mentioned, there was present Samuel G. Rice, of Leelanau. Manistee was not represented.

An act was passed by the legislature of 1853, which received the approval of the governor on the 29th of January and took immediate effect, providing for the organization of Emmet county. The Mormons, as we have already seen, had at this time a strong and flourishing settlement on the Beaver islands. There were a few families of the same sect at Pine River. Mr. Porter was quietly conducting his mission work among the Indians at Bear Creek. There were a number of whites at Little Traverse, and fishermen were scattered here and there on the islands and at various points on the shore. The new county included within its limits the present county of Emmet, all of that part of the present county of Charlevoix lying north of township 32, together with the Beaver islands, and, in the language of the act, "all the islands, bars, rocks, and lands under water, contiguous to the said counties of Emmet and Charlevoix, and within the said State of Michigan, not heretofore by any legislative enactment included within the body of any county in the State." It was divided into three townships—Peaine, Galilee, and Charlevoix. The first election for county officers was to be held on the first Tuesday in the fol-

lowing May. The location of the county seat having been left to the board of supervisors, it was afterwards fixed at St. James. As already stated in a previous chapter, an act was passed for the reorganization of the county in 1855. At that time the boundaries were so changed as to leave out the Beaver and Fox islands.

The act for the reorganization of Emmet received the approval of the governor on the 13th of February, 1855. On the 12th an act had been approved for the organization of Manitou county. It consisted of "the islands in Lake Michigan known as the Beaver group, the north and south Fox islands, and the north and south Manitou islands." The Beaver islands were divided into two townships, Peaine and Galilee, the Fox islands constituted the township of Patmos, and the north and south Manitous that of Manitou.

No further changes of counties were made in the Grand Traverse region till 1863, when the legislature passed acts for the organization of Leelanau and Antrim. The old county of Leelanau was divided on the south line of township 28 north, that part lying north of the line constituting the new county of the same name, and the territory south of it the county of Benzie. The latter remained attached to Grand Traverse for judicial and municipal purposes. It was provided that the county seat of Leelanau should be determined by a plurality vote of the electors, the law requiring a choice to be made between Glen Arbor, Leland, and Northport. The election resulted in favor of Northport, where the county seat remained till 1882, when it was removed to Leland. The county at the time of its organization consisted of three townships—Centreville, Glen Arbor, and Leelanau. The first election for county officers was held at the time of the township meetings, on the first Monday in April. The following is a list of the first county officers: Sheriff, Edward Friend; judge of probate, John E. Fisher; county treasurer, John I. Miller; county clerk, Gerhard Verfurth; register of deeds, Gerhard Verfurth; prosecuting attorney, Eli C. Tuthill; county surveyor, Joseph Glen; coroners, George Ray and George N. Smith. The highest number of votes cast for any office was 338.

The boundaries of Antrim, as defined in the act of organization, were the same that exist at the present time, except that they included the townships numbered 32 north, of ranges 5, 6, and 7 west, which have since been made a part of Charlevoix. The unorganized counties of Kalkaska, Crawford, and Otsego were attached to it for municipal and judicial purposes. The organized townships were Banks, Milton, and Meegezee, the name of the last being changed to Elk Rapids. The first election for

county officers was held on the first Monday in April. J. W. Arnold was elected sheriff; Henry H. Noble, treasurer; James L. Gilbert, county clerk and register of deeds; Solomon Case, judge of probate; A. S. Wadsworth, county surveyor; Alexander Campbell and Gurdon Geer, coroners.

After the organization of Leelanau and Antrim, a period of six years elapsed before it was deemed necessary to erect into organized counties any of the remaining territory of the Grand Traverse region. Then, at the session of 1869, the legislature, by three several acts, provided for organizing Benzie, Wexford, and Charlevoix.

Benzie county, as organized, consisted of the territory separated from Leelanau and designated as Benzie by the act of 1863, which had since remained attached to Grand Traverse. It already contained eight organized townships—Almira, Benzonia, Crystal Lake, Gilmore, Homestead, Joyfield, Weldon, and Colfax. The first election for county officers was held on the first Monday in April. Addison P. Wheelock was elected sheriff; Roland O. Crispin, county treasurer; Theodore C. Walker, county clerk and register of deeds; Digby B. Butler, judge of probate; James B. Delbridge, prosecuting attorney; William J. Young, circuit court commissioner; George E. Steele, county surveyor; A. E. Walker, superintendent of schools; A. J. Slyfield and L. Kenny, coroners. The organic act provided that the location of the county seat should be determined by a vote of the electors. For this purpose an election was to be held the first Monday in July. There was to be written on the ballots one of the following names of places—Frankfort, Benzonia, and the southeast quarter of the northeast quarter of section 28, township 26 north, of range 14 west. The place last named was in the township of Homestead. If one of the places received a majority of all the votes, it was to be the county seat; if no place received a majority, then another election was to be held on the first Monday of the following October, at which the electors should designate by a majority vote one of the two places which should have received the highest number of votes at the July election. At the first election the vote stood, for Benzonia, 75; Homestead, 237; Frankfort, 194. As there was no choice, the second election was held, resulting in favor of Frankfort by 301 to 265. At a later date the board of supervisors submitted to the electors the question of removal to a site near the village of Benzonia. The board of canvassers decided the result of the election to be in favor of removal, but the legality of their doings was questioned, and a long course of litigation ensued. In the meantime the removal was accomplished in fact, and when a final judicial decision was reached the act of removal was sustained.

The act organizing Wexford divided that county into four townships—Hanover, Wexford, Springfield, and Colfax. The unorganized county of Missaukee was attached to it for municipal and judicial purposes, being, for township purposes, divided between the townships of Colfax and Hanover. The county seat was "located in township 24 north, of range 12 west, at or near what is called the Manistee bridge," now the village of Sherman. The list of the first county officers elected on the first Monday in April, was as follows: Sheriff, Harrison H. Skinner; county treasurer, John H. Wheeler; county clerk, Leroy P. Champenois; register of deeds, Leroy P. Champenois; judge of probate, Isaac N. Carpenter; prosecuting attorney, Oscar H. Mills; circuit court commissioner, Oscar H. Mills; county surveyor, R. S. Clain; coroners, D. B. Davis and O. Morrell.

Charlevoix county was carved out of the southern part of Emmet and the northern part of Antrim, with a corner clipped from Otsego. It was described in the organic act as consisting of the following territory: "Townships 32 north, of ranges 4, 5, 6, and 7 west; townships 33 north, of ranges 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 west; the south half of township 34 north, of ranges 4, 5, and 6 west; and all of townships 34 north, of ranges 7 and 8 west." A special election was held on the first Monday in May, at which the first set of county officers was elected as follows: Sheriff, Richard Cooper; prosecuting attorney, Edward H. Green; county clerk, John S. Dixon; register of deeds, Morris J. Stockman; county treasurer, Jackson Ingalls; county superintendent of schools, John S. Dixon; county surveyor, William Miller; judge of probate, Philo Beers; coroners, Lemuel W. Skinner and Solomon G. Isaman.

The counties of Kalkaska and Missaukee were organized in 1871, by virtue of acts passed by the legislature of that year. In each the special election for the first set of county officers was held, as was usually the case at the organization of a new county, at the time of the annual township meetings, on the first Monday in April.

Kalkaska, with the unorganized county of Crawford, which was attached to it for municipal and judicial purposes, was divided into three townships—Rapid River, Round Lake, and Kaska. At the first election 16 votes were polled in Rapid River, 65 in Round Lake, and 21 in Kaska, making a total of 102 in the county. William Sheldon was elected sheriff; O. S. Curtis, county clerk and register of deeds; C. Beebe, county treasurer; H. U. Hill, judge of probate; E. S. Pratt, prosecuting attorney and circuit court commissioner; Richard Towers, surveyor; Lorenzo Evans and Uriah Varguson, coroners. The county seat was to be located, in the year 1873, by three commissioners named in the act. The commissioners

appointed the 20th of June for considering the subject, and requested the board of supervisors to meet them at the village of Kalkaska on that day. The board met as requested, but the commissioners were prevented by the illness of one of their number from being present. The supervisors, however, adopted a resolution, in the name of the people, requesting that the county seat be located at the village of Kalkaska, with which the commissioners complied.

Missaukee was organized with five townships—Reeder, Riverside, Clam Union, Pioneer, and Luilna, all of which except Reeder had been created by acts passed at the last session of the legislature. Gillis McBain was elected sheriff; Eugene W. Watson, county clerk and register of deeds; Ira Van Meter, county treasurer; John Vogel, judge of probate; William H. Cavanaugh, prosecuting attorney and circuit court commissioner; Abraham Stout, county surveyor; Marion D. Richardson, county superintendent of schools; Ezra F. Norton and Washington Reeder, coroners. The location of the county seat was determined by a special election, held for that purpose on the first Monday in June, which resulted in the choice of Lake City.

CHAPTER XXX.

Grand Traverse Politically—Influence of the Grand Traverse Herald—Morgan Bates, its Founder—The Traverse Bay Eagle—The Charlevoix Sentinel.

At the presidential election in 1856, the first that occurred after the organization of Grand Traverse, 400 votes were polled in the county—157 for Fremont, the republican candidate, and 243 for Buchanan, the democratic. The county at that time, it should be remembered, included within its limits, not only all of the Grand Traverse region except Emmet, but Manistee also. Four years later, in the same territory, except Manistee, which had been detached, there were 407 votes for Lincoln and 198 for Douglas, showing a radical change in the political views of the voters. From that time on, not only Grand Traverse, but also the newer counties from time to time organized out of its attached territory—the whole Grand Traverse region except Emmet—have remained steadily republican.

Perhaps among the agencies that brought about the change and contributed to maintain the republican ascendency, none exerted a more

potent influence than the first newspaper, the Grand Traverse *Herald*, established by Morgan Bates, and conducted by him during the first 9 years of its existence.

Mr. Bates was born at Queensbury, Warren county, N. Y., near Glen's Falls, on the 12th day of July, 1806. At an early age he entered a printing office as an apprentice, at Sandy Hill. At the age of 20 he established a newspaper at Warren, Pa., called the *Gazette*. Here Horace Greeley worked for him as a journeyman printer, and a strong friendship grew up between them, which continued till the close of Mr. Greeley's life. Afterwards he worked for Greeley as foreman in New York, as Greeley had worked for him at Warren. In Greeley's office he was associated with several other young men who afterwards made their mark in the newspaper world, among whom were Elbridge Gerry Paige, better known by his *nom de plume* of Dow, Jr., and George Wilkins Kendall, the projector and first publisher of the New Orleans *Picayune*.

In 1833 Mr. Bates came to Detroit, and was employed as foreman in the office of the *Advertiser*. In 1839 he purchased the *Advertiser*, in company with George Dawson, since connected with the Albany *Evening Journal*. Mr. Dawson soon retired from the firm, and Mr. Bates, becoming the sole owner, conducted the paper till 1844, when, in consequence of the defeat of the whig party, whose policy he had ably advocated, regarding the future prospects of his paper as not flattering, he prudently sold out.

In 1849 he joined the army of gold seekers and went to California by way of Cape Horn. After two year he returned by way of the Isthmus. In 1852 he again sought the land of gold, going again by way of Cape Horn. He remained in California till 1856. During this period he was for more than a year sole owner and publisher of the *Alta California*, daily and weekly. The daily was at that time the only one published west of the Rocky mountains.

Returning to Michigan he was employed for some time in the auditor general's office at Lansing, till he removed to Traverse City in 1858.

To most men Traverse City would have seemed the most unpromising place for establishing a newspaper, while in reality it was the most eligible in the State, a fact Mr. Bates's experience and knowledge of the business enabled him to see.

The first number of the *Herald* made its appearance on the 3d of November, 1858. This was just before the breaking out of the great civil war, when the question of the supremacy of the slave power was already convulsing the political fabric of the nation to its center. In his salutatory Mr. Bates defined his position and outlined the character and

course of his paper in terms not to be misunderstood. "In politics we admit no such word as neutrality. We hate slavery in all its forms and conditions, and can have no fellowship or compromise with it. We entertain no respect for any party or any religion which sanctions and supports it, we care not from what source they derive their authority; and regard that politician, minister, or layman, who advocates its extension and perpetuity, as an enemy to the human race, and false to the God we worship. Entertaining these views on what we regard *the* great political issue of the day, we shall support, with zeal and firmness, to the best of our ability, the republican organization, so long as that party shall be true to the principles that now govern it."

When the control of the general government passed into the hands of the republicans, in 1861, Mr. Bates was appointed by President Lincoln to the registership of the land office at Traverse City. He held the office till 1867, when his outspoken condemnation of the policy of President Johnson's administration was followed by his removal. On the accession of Gen. Grant to the presidency he was re-appointed, and continued to hold the office till his death. He was four times elected treasurer of Grand Traverse county, and would, no doubt, have been again the choice of the people had he not declined the honor. In the fall of 1868 he was elected lieutenant governor on the republican ticket. The office came to him unsolicited; he was not the man to ask for it. His nomination and election were a spontaneous recognition of his worth as a man and a citizen, and of his services in the interests of humanity and just government. In 1870 he was re-elected to the position.

Mr. Bates was twice married. His first wife died in 1855; the second preceded him to the grave by a little more than a year. His own death occurred March 2, 1874, at the age of 68.

Intimately associated with Mr. Bates in the work of aiding the anti-slavery movement was his twin brother, Merritt, without a brief notice of whose career our sketch would be incomplete.

Rev. Merritt Bates, the twin brother of Morgan Bates, was a prominent clergyman in the Methodist church in eastern New York and western Vermont and Massachusetts, and was an active member of, first, the New York, and later, the Troy, conference for 36 years. He was an outspoken anti-slavery man all his life, and for many years at Albany and Troy, N. Y., Burlington, Vt., Lowell, Mass., and other points, his house was a headquarters for the great anti-slavery leaders during the exciting times of a quarter of a century preceding the war of the rebellion. His own life was in jeopardy many times from the infuriated mob. In Lowell, Mass.,

the church doors were closed on him and he preached from the steps, and from thence was driven into the streets, and imprisonment and personal violence threatened if he did not desist from his treasonable anti-slavery preaching. He was mobbed in the streets of Troy, N. Y., in 1844, and threatened with expulsion by the Troy conference because he would not withdraw his subscription from an anti-slavery paper. But still he preached and taught anti-slavery doctrines, aided the fugitive slave on his way to freedom, openly defied the fugitive slave law and refused compliance to its mandates, and was recognized as one of the ablest and most daring advocates of free speech in that section of the country. He lived to see slavery abolished, and upon the occasion of his retirement from the ministry, the bishop in attendance and the leading members of the conference, who had for years and years opposed him in his views on this question, took him by the hand and asked forgiveness, saying: "You were right, and we were wrong. You have fought a hard fight, but have won a glorious victory for the right." Mr. Bates removed to Traverse City in May, 1863, to spend the remaining years of his life near his twin brother, between whom and himself there existed an unusually strong attachment. He bought a farm near Traverse City, and the next few years were spent in the improvement of his place, and during this time he took an active interest in the development of the entire region. His death occurred in August, 1869. His wife, the faithful companion and sharer of all his toils and triumphs for 35 years, followed him to the grave a year later.

At the close of the ninth volume of the *Herald,* in December, 1867, Mr. Bates sold it to D. C. Leach. Mr. Leach conducted it till May, 1876, when it passed into the hands of Thomas T. Bates, son of Rev. Merritt Bates, the present editor and proprietor.

Besides exerting a powerful influence on the politics of the region in which it has circulated, the *Herald* has been an efficient agent in the development of the material interests of the country, making known abroad its resources, advantages and attractions, and drawing to it the immigration that otherwise would have passed on to more remote regions.

The *Herald* was the first newspaper published in northwestern Michigan. At its first appearance it was a modest four-column folio. It was enlarged at different times, as its patronage increased, till its present size and form were reached—an eight-column quarto, and it is today the largest paper in the State.

The Traverse Bay *Eagle* was the second newspaper published on the lower peninsula north of Big Rapids and Manistee. It was started at

Elk Rapids, Antrim county, the last of March, 1864, by E. L. Sprague, the present editor and proprietor, under the name of the Elk Rapids *Eagle.* It first appeared as a very small folio sheet, the size being only 15 by 19 inches. At the end of the first year James Spencer became part owner and publisher, and the paper was enlarged to 20 by 26 inches. January, 1, 1866, the name was changed to Traverse Bay *Eagle,* and the paper was enlarged to 22 by 32 inches. In the fall of the same year the paper was moved to Traverse City, and Lyman G. Wilcox was admitted as a partner, the firm being Sprague, Spencer & Wilcox. The paper was at this time enlarged to an eight-column folio. One year later Mr. Wilcox retired, Sprague and Spencer purchasing his interest. In 1872 Mr. Spencer's health failed, and the management of the office devolved entirely upon Mr. Sprague. The 1st of January, 1880, the paper was again enlarged to a nine-column folio. In July, 1882, Mr. Spencer sold his interest to Mr. Sprague, the original owner and publisher. Mr. Sprague has been connected with the paper since its establishment, and is now the oldest editor who has been continually in the business in this part of the State. In politics the *Eagle* was republican up to the time of the presidential campaign in which Greeley was a candidate, since which it has been independent or democratic.

The third newspaper in the Grand Traverse region was the Charlevoix *Sentinel,* established at Charlevoix in 1869. It was published by W. A. Smith for the proprietor, D. C. Leach. E. H. Green was the first editor. Mr. Smith purchased the paper in 1871, and has remained the publisher and editor. At first a five-column folio, the *Sentinel* was enlarged to a six-column folio in 1871, to a five-column quarto in 1875, to a six-column quarto in 1878, and to a seven-column quarto in 1883. During the early period of its existence, it was for some time the official paper of six counties, including two in the upper peninsula. In politics it has always been staunch republican. Not a little of the credit for the prosperity of Charlevoix county and the northern part of the lower peninsula is due the *Sentinel* for making known the resources and attractions of the country.

Since the appearance of the *Sentinel* the establishment of newspapers in the Grand Traverse region has fully kept up with the development of the country, if indeed, it has not got in advance of it.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Conclusion—Topography—The High Central Plateau—The Grand Traverse Region on the Northwestern Slope—Surface of the Country—Population—Villages—Traverse City—Industries—Summer Visitors.

In bringing to a close this imperfect history of the Grand Traverse region, perhaps we cannot make plainer the changes that have been wrought since the white man first settled within its borders, or present anything of greater interest to the reader, than by giving a brief chapter descriptive of the country as it is, not forgetting its natural features—its topography, surface configuration, soils, lakes, streams, and climate.

In order to make clear what we propose to present, it is necessary to extend the description of the make of the country beyond the boundaries of the region we are considering.

The high central plateau of the northern part of the lower peninsula of Michigan is often referred to by writers who have occasion to speak of the topographical features of the country. To get a clear understanding of what is meant by the high central plateau, it is necessary to glance briefly at the general surface configuration of the lower peninsula.

The peninsula presents two grand swells, or regions of elevation, separated by a broad valley, each having its long axis running in a northeasterly and southwesterly direction. The long axis of the more southerly of these swells may be indicated somewhat accurately by a line drawn from Port Austin, near the mouth of Saginaw bay, to the southwest corner of Hillsdale county. In the northern part of Oakland county this swell attains an elevation of 529 feet, but the highest summit is in Hillsdale county, where it reaches an elevation of 613 feet above Lakes Huron and Michigan.

The valley separating this region of elevation from the more northerly one may be traced by following up the Saginaw and Bad rivers, and then down the Maple and the Grand. The highest part of this valley is a flat, swampy tract, in the southeast corner of Gratiot county, where the head waters of Bad river start within three miles of the Maple, and is not more than 72 feet higher than Saginaw bay.

The long axis of the more northerly swell may be indicated approximately by a line drawn through Gaylord, near the center of Otsego

county and Bond's Mill, in the eastern part of Wexford county. The broad undulating summit of this swell is the plateau alluded to. In some places it presents the appearance of an extensive plain; in others it is a confused assemblage of hills and valleys. The hills are generally broad, smooth and rounded, but there are exceptional cases in which their sides are too steep for tillage. The elevation of several points on this plateau has been ascertained with accuracy in the surveys of the Jackson, Lansing & Saginaw and the Grand Rapids & Indiana railroads. Gaylord is 778 feet above Saginaw bay. A mile and a half north of Bond's Mill the roadbed of the Grand Rapids & Indiana is 832 feet above Lake Michigan, but the summits of the ridge on each side of it are nearly or quite 100 feet higher, being fully 900 feet above Lake Michigan. It has been supposed that some of the hills of the plateau reached a height of 1,100 feet or more, but as yet the Wexford summit is the highest, the elevation of which has been determined by actual measurement, and it is probably the highest land in the lower peninsula.

The ascent to the plateau is gradual, but more or less irregular. Its borders are scarred by the streams that have their sources in its higher parts. Sometimes the rivers are found flowing through deep and narrow ravines; sometimes the ravines have been widened into broad valleys, as in the case of the Muskegon and the Manistee. The northwestern slope is more abrupt in its northern than in its southern portion, and is generally more abrupt than the southeastern slope. In some places it shows an ascending series of terraces, well-defined and regular; at other points the regularity entirely disappears. The thriving village of Mancelona is situated on one of these terraces, which is there several miles wide.

The country known as the Grand Traverse region occupies, with a portion of the summit of the plateau, the northwestern slope, between the summit and Lake Michigan. As a whole it is comparatively elevated, its surface being greatly diversified with hills and valleys, table lands, lakes and streams. The hills are heavily timbered. The streams are usually clear, cold and rapid. The swamps do not give rise to malaria. The air is pure and bracing. The climate, modified by the influence of Lake Michigan, is more equable than that of the southern part of the State. The soil is variable, but in general terms may be described as a sandy or gravelly loam, containing a large percentage of calcareous matter. Not infrequently the best soil for general farming is found on the tops of the highest hills.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE BEAVER ISLANDS.

The Beaver islands include 12 islands situated at the northern part of Lake Michigan and were at one time a part of Manitou county, but are now comprised in Emmet. The largest island is called Big Beaver, Garden coming next in size, then High, Hog, Gull, Virgin, Trout, Rabbit, Hat, Harbor, Le Galet, and Holy. The latter was set apart by the "Saints" as a place for holding the "Feast of First Fruits," in the summer of 1855. At that time it was an isolated spot where the feastings and revelries could go on undisturbed by Gentile settlers. These feasts commenced on the first Sabbath after the full moon in August each year, and generally continued several days. One of the principal articles of food was a roast ox or other animal, large enough to feed the multitude assembled.

These islands are valuable fishing stations, and in the season, within a circle of 50 miles, the surface of the lake is flecked with the white sails of the mosquito fleet, often numbering 150 of the open, overgrown, and staunch double-enders, known as Mackinac boats. The most important of the whole group is Beaver island. It contains several thousand acres of arable land, broken by small lakes and streams, and rising in rolling surface to the height of over 40 feet above the level of the lake. At its northern end a bay of much natural beauty opens like a horseshoe to the east, inviting a navy to a safe anchorage. North of the entrance rises the graceful tower of a light-house, with a few buildings clustered about its base. A mile distant, and half way around the curving shore, an irregular row of low buildings straggles along a single street of deep and drifting sand. Here a few dwellings, three or four stores and warehouses, and several cooper shops form a hamlet, once the seat of the "royal palace," the home of "King Strang," and the monarchy he tried to establish. The nomenclature of the island is all that remains of this kingdom. The excellent road leading into the interior is still the "King's Highway"; the largest lake is Galilee, and the largest stream is the River Jordan; but the king is dead and his kingdom destroyed. Strang, in Ancient and Modern Michilimackinac, published in 1854, thus describes this island: Big Beaver is the largest in Lake Michigan, and one of the finest in the world. The harbor at Saint James is the best in the lakes, having an entrance 80 rods wide, with 60 feet of water, a perfectly

land-locked cove, of great depth, with clay bottom, sufficiently extensive to accommodate a thousand vessels.

Saint James is the county seat of Emmet, the seat of the fishing trade for Lake Michigan, and the headquarters of the Mormons east of the Rocky Mountains. It is a small but flourishing place, and cannot fail of getting a rapid growth. It is scattered in groups amidst old forest trees, on rising ground, having a landscape of matchless beauty spread to the north and east, which the hand of improvement will rapidly develop.

The principal articles sold are fish and wood; and the purchases are dry goods, flour, salt, cordage, and hardware. Small quantities of lumber are made, and a great number of fish barrels. Some attention has been given to boat building, and a few small schooners have been constructed here. There is one saw-mill. Three large wharves are devoted to the wood business. There is a post-office at St. James, the only one in Emmet county. A printing press has been in operation there for four years, and a weekly paper is issued. At the southeast extremity of the island is the new village of Galilee. The only business yet opened is that of getting out wood for steamboats. A large wharf has been built for that purpose. At the southern extremity of the island is a light-house.

Most of the island is well adapted to agriculture, and farms have been opened in every part. It produces all the crops usually cultivated in New York, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Iowa, in perfection. Stock of every kind usually raised in the northern States have been introduced, and thrive. The climate is adapted to grazing. Pastures are green till Christmas. Wheat does not winter kill, and corn is never cut off with frost. In short, it has all the advantages of climate which islands in broad, deep waters usually possess; less cold in winter, and less heat in summer, and an exemption from extreme and sudden changes.

Beaver island is well watered. It has seven lakes, varying from a quarter of a mile to two miles in length, and brooks without number, several of which are large enough for mill streams. Big river runs into Lake Michigan at Big Sand bay. It is eight or nine miles long, and affords water-power for several mills. There are a dozen other streams discharging out of the east side of the island, possessing some value. Jordan, discharging the waters of the Lake of Galilee into Lake Michigan, is the largest stream, and has a fall of 26 feet in one mile. At a very slight expense it can be turned into a new channel, and bring this fall at one point, and furnish a most valuable water-power in the new village of Galilee. One of the inlets of Lake Galilee affords a good power

for a saw-mill. There is a brook one mile west of the light-house, with a good mill site on it, near the lake shore.

Lake Galilee is the largest lake in Beaver island, being two miles long and three-quarters of a mile wide. It lies back of Galilee, parallel to the shore of Lake Michigan, and only a quarter of a mile distant. It is elevated 26 feet above Lake Michigan, and has a depth of 140 feet. This lake was once a bay of Lake Michigan, and the ridge between, is a drift formation of the period when Lake Michigan was some 30 or 40 feet higher than it is now. Font lake, lying in the rear of Saint James, and separated by a plain a quarter of a mile wide from Saint James' channel, at the north end of Beaver, is the second lake in size, being a mile and a quarter long, and half a mile wide. It is elevated 35 feet above Lake Michigan. The outlet is a beautiful little brook, sufficient for a small water-power. This brook is lost in a sand plain, and breaks out in several large springs in the bottom of the harbor of Saint James. It is not improbable that this lake was also formed by the drift. The other lakes are smaller, varying from 50 to 100 acres in extent. They are generally well stocked with fish, though none of them have outlets. They have fine wooded shores, with handsome, dry beaches, and give a wonderful charm to the scenery.

The face of the island is gently rolling, and elevated generally from 40 to 80 feet above Lake Michigan. Along the western shore is a long range of downs and sand bluffs, but partially covered with timber. Two principal roads have been opened through the island, one extending from Saint James due south to Galilee, and the other to a bay one mile west of the light-house. Nearly the whole island is laid out in farms, abutting upon these two roads; the general farm being from 50 to 80 rods wide, and from one to two miles long, and usually from 150 to 200 acres in extent. By this arrangement there is an important saving in the amount of road making necessary to accommodate the country, and will give the country, when well improved, a wonderful appearance of wealth and thrift.

EARLY SETTLEMENT OF BEAVER.

The French of Champlain's colony at Quebec were at Beaver before the Puritans reached Plymouth, or the Dutch New York. Utensils left by them at different early periods are frequently found. Extensive fields which they cultivated are grown up to woods, and some remain in grass. But there are strong indications of the presence of civilization at a still

earlier period. The French settlement in Canada dates in 1608, but there are extensive fields on Beaver which have been thoroughly cleared and cultivated; and some very fine garden plats remain with the beds, paths, and alleys as well formed as the day they were made, and laid out on an extended scale, on which trees have been cut of 204 years' growth. Consequently these places have been abandoned, and grown up to timber, at least since 1650. But cultivated fields are generally several years abandoned before they grow to timber. These were too extensive and show too much signs of wealth and ease to have been the work of a few adventurers.

There is room at least to believe that of the numerous European colonies which were planted in America and lost without their fate ever being known, some one was carried captive to this recess of the continent, and allowed to remain in peace. The existence of such a fact is almost necessary to account for the rapid extension of Champlain's colony in this direction. For it is certain that within three or four years after Champlain commenced the colony of Quebec it had extended to Beaver island, and had a trading house at what now is Saint James.

In 1688 Baron La Hontan, Lord Lieutenant of Placentia, passed this way on a voyage to and up the Saint Peter's river, of Minnesota, near the head of which he found captives from the country around a salt lake beyond them, having beards and the appearance of Europeans, whom he took to be Spaniards, though they, being slaves and in the presence of their masters, called themselves Indians. These captives described their country as the abode of civilization (how could savages from the interior of the continent give such a description, unless there was such a nation in their country?), and since the country has been better known we find the other Indian tribes spoken of by La Hontan, but none bearded and resembling Europeans. It can hardly be otherwise than that some considerable settlements of Europeans came into the very heart of the continent, and brought with them the industrial arts; whose history is unknown, and have been quite destroyed, or have melted away in the mass of mankind, leaving but some faint and fast-passing memorials.

A MOSES OF THE MORMONS.

STRANG'S CITY OF REFUGE AT VOREE AND HIS KINGDOM ON AN ISLAND IN LAKE MICHIGAN.

BY HENRY E. LEGLER.*

Nestling between hills east of the city of La Crosse, Wis., is the pleasant little valley known as Mormon coulée. Industrious Swiss and German farmers, who rigidly adhere to the severe orthodoxy of the Calvinistic creed, have reared on its wooded hillsides and beside the quiet little brook that meanders through, their comfortable cabins and farmhouses. Only the name of the coulée and a few crumbling ruins of masonry remain of what 50 years ago was a flourishing Mormon colony.[1]

Half a century ago a prosperous community of 2,000 persons inhabited the city of Voree, on the edge of a prairie skirted by White river, in the fertile county of Walworth. It was a stake of Zion, heralded to fugitive Mormons as a city of refuge. Today the site of this city of promise is as bare as if its soil had never borne the weight of human habitation.[2]

*This article was prepared by Henry E. Legler, of Milwaukee, Wis., and published by The Parkman Club of that city in 1897. Much of the material was furnished by Charles J. Strang, a son of James J. Strang, and a resident of North Lansing, Michigan. Through the courtesy of Mr. Legler we have been allowed to add to our volume this history so carefully and recently collected.—Editor.

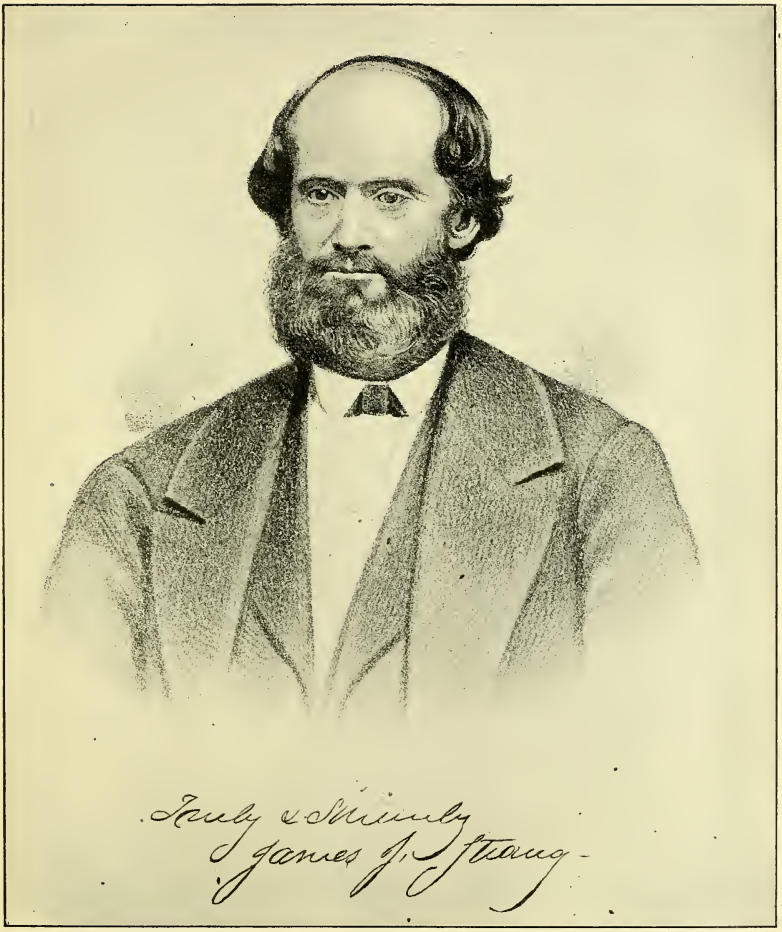
[1.] "Not many years ago the buildings erected by them were still standing, among which a lime-kiln which had been used by them was discovered."—"History of La Crosse county," p. 355.

[2] On the Old Geneva Road, in Walworth county, in the midst of a large corn field, is the only Mormon church in Wisconsin. The worshippers who congregate there belong to the Iowa Saints, known as "Young Josephites." They abhor both the Brighamite and Strangite doctrines. The church is situated at a cross-roads, almost within view of beautiful Geneva lake, six or seven miles south of Elkhorn. Glancing to the four points of the compass, one sees great fields of waving corn, interspersed here and there with a strip of yellow barley glinting in the sunlight, or a clump of trees through which peers a substantial looking farmhouse. The little church is a plain building with belfry, neatly painted white, and bearing on a tablet above the wide front door this legend in raised letters of wood:

LATTER DAY SAINTS' CHURCH.

Much prejudice exists among the country people of the neighborhood against the forty or fifty Mormons who attend this church. Several years ago I spent a few days in the vicinity, for the purpose of gathering data relative to this community. I was told, with bated breath, several instances of witchcraft attributable to the elder of the community. The narrators evidently believed the stories implicitly, the grotesqueness and impossibility of the performances alleged to have occurred scarcely parelleling in extent the credulity of the country folk.

In the neighboring village of Springfield there were, at the time of my visit, a few Mormons who used the schoolhouse as a meeting place. When the Saints were to be called together, the clangor of the school bell apprised them of the fact. Yielding to popular pressure, the trustees of the school had the bell removed. Thereupon the Mormons expressed their indignation by placarding the town with notices of their meeting, these words appearing in large, black type: "Curfew must not ring to-night."


Truly & Sincerely
James J. Strang

On the largest island of the Beaver archipelago, in Lake Michigan, there flourished about the middle of the present century, a community of several thousand Latter-Day Saints. They were ruled by a king for nearly seven years. Of his temple and his so-called castle, the only vestiges now are a few splinters in the collections of relic hunters. His subjects have been scattered far and wide, and axe and torch long ago reduced their habitations to heaps of cinders.

In the busy brain of James Jesse Strang was conceived the scheme of founding in Wisconsin an empire of Latter-Day Saints. When the great exodus from Nauvoo began, he sought to turn the steps of the wanderers to his city of refuge at Voree. It was questionable for a time whether he or Brigham Young would triumph. Other pretenders sought to don the fallen mantle of Joseph Smith, but Brigham Young feared none of them as he did Strang. In the end the dream of Strang faded away, and his life paid the penalty of his ambition. His vast plans were "dead sea fruit, that tempt the eye, but turn to ashes on the lips."[3]

THE MORMON COULEE SETTLEMENT.

The settlement in Mormon coulée had but brief duration. When the Mormon temple at Nauvoo was planned, a party of Saints ascended the Mississippi to obtain lumber for the structure. Doubtless the snug little valleys behind the hills that skirt the prairie of La Crosse tempted them to there plant an isolated stake of Zion.[4] At this time (1843) the prairie was a mere trading station, and its rough inhabitants regarded the Mormons as legitimate prey. There were frequent collisions, due in part to the rude attentions bestowed upon the Mormon women by the young men of the prairie. One night the eastern heavens were all aglow. The Mormons had secretly constructed rafts, removed their belongings to them under cover of night, and applied the torch to their deserted homes. Before the hostile inhabitants of the prairie could intercept or molest them, their rafts had floated them many miles away with the rapid current of the Mississippi.

[3] Scattered throughout the peninsula of Door county and adjacent islands, and also in the counties of Rock, Walworth and Racine, loyal adherents of King Strang can still be found. They cling to the faith he taught them with unabated devotion, and cherish his memory with unwavering loyalty.

[4] While en route for the copper mines of Lake Superior, Alfred Brunson of Prairie du Chien and his party of prospectors came to the Black river in May, 1812. "We found the Mormons in possession, getting out timber for their Nauvoo temple; to them and to our company I preached the first gospel sermon ever delivered in that valley. We ferried over Black river on their keel boats, except the cattle, which swam."—"History of the Chippewa Valley," by Thos. E. Randall, p. 23.

George Z. Heuston, of Winona, informs me, on the authority of his father's manuscript history of Trempealeau county, that about that same time a few Mormon families settled in the vicinity of the modern town of Trempealeau, at a place called Little Tamarack, but they did not remain long, and probably joined Lyman Wight's colony at La Crosse.

The Mormon coulée settlement was governed by Elder Lyman Wight, who later became an aspirant for the leadership of the church. Disappointed in his ambition, he led his adherents to Texas.[5]

KING STRANG'S STRANGE CAREER.

So closely is the story of Mormonism in Wisconsin and Michigan associated with James Strang, that its recital is largely biographical. Of his boyhood little is known, except that he was studious and ambitious —and likewise eccentric. After his death there was found among his papers the fragments of an autobiography covering the period of his life up to the age of 12. The writing comes to a sudden stop, as if the writer had been disturbed and had never cared, or perhaps had no opportunity, to resume the story of his life. In view of the later career of this strange man, the fragment is interesting as giving an insight into the unusual elements that tinctured his life and fashioned his character.[6]

On a farm in the town of Scipio, N. Y., owned by his father, James Jesse Strang was born March 21, 1813. He was but three years of age when his parents removed to Hanover, in Chautauqua county, his life until manhood being passed there. The meager facilities of a country school were supplemented by a brief term at Fredonia Academy. Such details of his life at this period as are known indicate that he was an omniverous reader, and that he was noted for a remarkably retentive memory. In the local debating clubs he vanquished all opponents. While working on a farm he borrowed law books and eagerly read and digested them. He was admitted to the bar and began to practice in Mayville, later removing to Ellington. He became postmaster there, but he was of too restless a spirit to remain long in one place. Although married shortly after he was admitted to the bar, he began a roving life, going from one place to another and flitting from one occupation to another without particular motive, except to follow the bent of his nature. He taught a country school, edited a newspaper at Randolph, and then took the rostrum as a temperance lecturer. He was full of energy and ambition, and a remarkably ready and effective speaker.

Strang's wife was Mary Perce. Her brother resided at Burlington, in Racine county, Wis., and it was at his solicitation that the young man removed to this State. This was in 1843. Here he resumed the practice

[5] An excellent condensed sketch of Lyman Wight, with extracts from his journal, appears on page 125 of "The Wights, a Record of Thomas Wight of Dedham and Medfield and of His Descendants, 1635-1896."

[6] I am indebted to Chas. J. Strang, of Lansing, Mich., son of King Strang, for a copy of the manuscript.

of law, forming a partnership with C. P. Barnes, who later became associated as a practitioner with Judge William P. Lyon.[8]

In the year following his removal to Wisconsin, there came to Burlington several intinerant missionaries from the Mormon Church at Nauvoo, seeking proselytes. Their talk appealed with peculiar fascination to the temperament of Strang. He threw himself heart and soul into the movement. It was a field that afforded his peculiar talents full play. Before six months had expired, Strang had developed from an humble convert to the self-styled head of the church. It was in January, 1844, that his zeal was kindled. He visited Nauvoo, and on the 25th of February was baptized by the seer Joseph Smith into the communion of Latter-Day Saints. The prophet conceived a great regard for the young zealot from Wisconsin, and but a week after baptism Strang had been made an elder with authority to plant a stake of Zion in the immediate neighborhood of his Wisconsin home.

With restless energy and marvelous success, Strang began his propaganda and laid the foundation for the city of Voree. What his ideas were can only be conjectured in the light of his subsequent dream of empire. Intensely ambitious for power, versed in the arts that enable leadership of men, fired with religious fervor, keenly conscious of his own abilities, the example of Joseph Smith's success doubtless inspired him with great ambitions.[9] He saw in Smith an uneducated man who from the hunblest origin became in the course of but a few years the unchallenged prophet of many thousands of men and women.[10] The possibilities of his own future dazzled him. Events at first conspired to bring to immediate realization the dreams of Strang. In June the prophet and his brother Hyrum were riddled with bullets by a mob at Carthage, in the State of Illinois. On whom should the mantle fall that the martyred seer had worn? Many sought the succession; but one of them possessed the energy or capacity to measure weapons for more than a brief period with the masterful craft of Brigham Young. That one was Strang.[11]

[8] Following incident, told the writer by Judge Lyon, illustrates the peculiar bent of Strang's mind: "On one occasion he brought a suit before me (I was then a justice of the peace) to recover the value of honey which he claimed had been stolen from his client's apiary by the thievish bees of a neighbor. Who ever heard of a law suit based on such grounds? And yet Strang conducted the case with great shrewdness and made a most plausible argument. He was continually bringing up unexpected points in law cases, and using arguments that would have been thought of by no one else. I think he liked the notoriety that resulted from that sort of thing."

[9] "E. D. Howe, in his valuable work, Mormonism Unveiled (Painesville, O., 1834), presents the testimonials of eighty-one persons, neighbors and acquaintances of the Smith family, all attesting to their illiteracy and generally worthless and disreputable character."—"The Prophet of Palmyra," p. 11.

[10] "Joseph estimated that, in the various quarters of the earth where his religion had been preached, he had over a hundred and fifty thousand followers."—Remy & Brenchley's "Journey to Great Salt Lake City," Vol. I, p. 349.

[11] "Of all the aspirants he (Strang) was the only one, save Brigham Young, who displayed any genuine qualities of leadership."—Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. XVIII, p. 5.

That Young feared Strang most is attested by the bitterness with which in pamphlets and in Mormon newspapers Strang was assailed, while the other pretenders were almost ignored as if unworthy of notice.

In the struggle that ensued between Brigham Young and James Jesse Strang, the former had all the advantage of an entrenched position. He was one of the all-powerful Council of Twelve, and at first fed the enmity of his colleagues towards outside aspirants by ingenuously suggesting to each individually, hopes of personal aggrandizement.[12] It was a shrewd scheme to first crush outside aspirants, and then narrow down rivalry at home by cajolery or intimidation till his own elevation became possible.

Despite the hostility of the combined Council of Twelve,[13] Strang made a vigorous and resourceful campaign to secure the prophetic succession. Joseph Smith's Nauvoo followers had not recovered from the shock of their leader's assassination before Strang was in their midst exhorting them to follow him to the city of promise in Wisconsin. He exhibited a letter purporting to have been written by the seer just before his assassination, prophesying that he would soon wear "the double crown of martyr and king in a heavenly world," and appointing James Strang as his successor:

"And now behold my servant, James J. Strang, hath come to thee from far for truth when he knew it not, and hath not rejected it, but had faith in thee, the Shepherd and Stone of Israel, and to him shall the gathering of the people be, for he shall plant a stake of Zion in Wisconsin, and I will establish it; and there shall my people have peace and rest and shall not be moved, for it shall be established on the prairie on White river, in the lands of Racine and Walworth; and behold my servants James and Aaron shall plant it, for I have given them wisdom, and Daniel shall stand in his lot on the hill beside the river looking down on the prairie, and shall instruct my people and shall plead with them face to face.

"Behold my servant James shall lengthen the cords and strengthen the stakes of Zion, and my servant Aaron shall be his counsellor, for he hath

[12] The twelve apostles, after the death of the prophet, bestowed these names upon each other:

Brigham Young, the Lion of the Lord.
Heber C. Kimball, the Herald of Grace.
Parley P. Pratt, the Archer of Paradise.
Orson Hyde, the Olive Branch of Israel.
Willard Richards, the Keeper of the Rolls.
John Taylor, the Champion of Right.
William Smith, the Patriarchal Staff of Jacob.
Wilfred Woodruff, the Banner of the Gospel.
George A. Smith, the Entablature of Truth.
Orson Pratt, the Gauge of Philosophy.
John E. Page, the Sun-Dial.
Lyman Wight, the Wild Ram of the Mountains.

[13] Two of them—George A. Smith and John E. Page—subsequently enrolled themselves under the standard of Strang. Their names frequently appear in the conference reports published in the Voree Herald and Northern Islander.

wisdom in the gospel and understandeth the doctrines and erreth not therein.

"And I will have a house built unto me there of stone, and there will I show myself to my people by many mighty works, and the name of the city shall be called Voree, which is, being interpreted, garden of peace; for there shall my people have peace and rest and wax fat and pleasant in the presence of their enemies.

"But I will again stretch out my arm over the river of waters, and on the banks thereof shall the house of my choice be. But now the city of Voree shall be a stronghold of safety to my people, and they that are faithful and obey me, I will there give them great prosperity, and such as they have not had before; and unto Voree shall be the gathering of my people, and there shall the oppressed flee for safety and none shall hurt or molest them."[14]

The Council of Twelve made a furious onslaught on the pretensions of Strang; denounced his letter as a forgery, and threatened with the thunders of the Church all who would uphold the pretender.[15] The Brighamites started the story that the postmark on the letter was black, whereas all Nauvoo letters were stamped in red. Strang produced the letter and showed a red postmark. He claimed that the letter was received at Burlington by regular course of mail, through the Chicago distributing office; that it bore the Nauvoo postmark of June 19, the day following its date, and that C. P. Barnes, a well-known Burlington lawyer, took the letter out of the postoffice and delivered it to Strang July 9. It was also claimed by the Brighamites that no proper entry of the mailing of such a letter could be found in the register of "mails sent" from Nauvoo. When it was sought to verify Strang's claim that the proper entry was there, the register had mysteriously disappeared.

With much shrewdness, the Council of Twelve spread abroad among the people the doctrine that the martyred prophet could have no successor, and their united opposition disposed of the pretensions of several claimants, among them Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight and William Smith. The most vigorous claimant was Strang. Fortified with the letter alleged to have been sent him by Joseph Smith, and loudly proclaiming its genuineness among the Nauvooites, he soon gathered a considerable following. The twelve apostles summoned a conference. With much force and logic Strang defended his position, citing liberally from the Bible, the Book of Mormon and the Book of Doctrines and Covenants. The

[14] Letter of Joseph Smith to James J. Strang, published in "The Diamond," p. 3.
[15] The columns of the "Times and Seasons," published at Nauvoo, fairly teem with denunciation of the pretender, Strang.

apostles contended that no man could assume the prophetic succession and hold the keys of authority which Joseph had obtained from the hands of angels. Their official organs, published at Nauvoo and Liverpool, had before this proclaimed in no uncertain words the doctrine that to take Joseph's place as seer, revelator and prophet was mere usurpation.

"Let no man presume for a moment his place will be filled by another," were the words reiterated in the "Times and Seasons" and in the "Millennial Star," whose columns were controlled by the twelve and their abettors. In the face of the sentiment thus created, Strang made a hopeless appeal for recognition. His pretensions were rejected, and with the usual formulas of the Church ritual, he was "given over to the buffetings of Satan."

THE CITY OF REFUGE.

Strang was not so easily disposed of, however. With a body of recusant Mormons whom his remarkable powers of oratory had attached to his cause, he returned to Voree and began to build up his city of refuge, prophesying that the Mormons would be driven from Nauvoo by the Lamanites,[16] and that then the words of Joseph would be realized. In every detail he carried out the policy by which the seer Joseph had appealed to his followers. He pretended to have revelations. These he transcribed in imitation of scriptural language, teeming with vague phrases upon which he placed such interpretations as were needful to carry out his immediate purposes. He organized his church on the pattern prescribed by the sacred books of the Mormon faith, with a council of twelve, and quorums of elders and priests. Over all of them he exercised supreme authority. Like Joseph, when schism threatened or murmurs of discontent came to his ears, he would silence all opposition by means of a convenient revelation.[17]

The crowning achievement, and one which disturbed the authorities at Nauvoo considerably, was the finding of buried plates near the city of Voree. These he called the Plates of Laban. The cabalistic hieroglyphics

[16] According to the "Book of Mormon," a remnant of the tribe of Joseph was miraculously led to the new world across the Pacific Ocean (Book of Nephi), and separated into two distinct nations—Nephites and Lamanites.

"This division was caused by a certain portion of them being greatly persecuted, because of their righteousness, by the remainder. The persecuted nation migrated toward the northern parts of North America, leaving the wicked nation in possession of the middle and southern parts of the same. The former were called Nephites, being led by a prophet who was called Nephi. The latter were called Lamanites, being led by a very wicked man whose name was Laman."—Kidder's "Mormonism and the Mormons," p. 267.

[17] "Revelations of James J. Strang," collected and printed in pamphlet form by Wingfield Watson after the death of Strang—now an excessively rare pamphlet.

which he transcribed by means of the Urim and Thummim,[18] were claimed by him to be the long-lost Book of the Law of the Lord, admirably supplementing the Book of Mormon which Joseph Smith had in like manner translated from the plates dug out of the hill of Cumorah, in the State of New York.

None of these artifices were original with Strang. Joseph Smith had employed them all. But there was shrewd method, rather than lack of originality, in this imitation. Doubtless Strang's purpose was to verify his pretension that the prophetic succession had devolved upon himself. In no manner could he have appealed more forcibly to the religious delusion entertained by the followers of Joseph Smith.

The twelve apostles whom he sent as missionaries to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and elsewhere in the east encountered in bitter controversy the proselyting agents of Brigham Young. His press at Voree turned out thousands of pamphlets aiming to show the hollow spuriousness of the doctrines enunciated by Brigham Young's followers. The "Voree Herald" contained as bitter tirades against them as did the Nauvoo "Times and Seasons" against himself. He displayed tremendous energy with tongue and pen, and the reports of conferences in the "Voree Herald" gave evidence of it. The Liverpool paper published by the Mormons also assailed Strang with great bitterness. These are the headlines of an article nearly four columns in length:

SKETCHES OF NOTORIOUS CHARACTERS.

James J. Strang, Successor of Sidney Rigdon, Judas Iscariot, Cain & Co., Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Most Gracious Majesty, Lucifer the I., etc., [19]

In Philadelphia, August 30, 1846, Strang found Orson Hyde and J. Taylor, two of his old-time opponents, holding meetings. He challenged them to a public debate to show who had the best authority to represent the true Mormon faith. This was the answer he received:[20]

Sir—After Lucifer was cut off and thrust down to hell, we have no knowledge that God ever condescended to investigate the subject or right of authority with him.
Your case has been disposed of by the authorities of the church, and being satisfied with our own power and calling, we have no disposition to ask from whence yours came. came.

Yours respectfully,

ORSON HYDE.
JOHN TAYLOR.

[18] The Urim and Thummim consisted, according to the statement of Lucy Smith, mother of the prophet, of two transparent stones, clear as crystals, set in the two rims of a bow.
"Urim and Thummim (Lights and Perfections). These were the sacred symbols (worn upon the breastplate of the high priest, 'upon his heart'), by which God gave oracular responses for the guidance of his people in temporal matters. What they were is unknown. Some scholars suppose that they were the twelve stones of the breastplate; others that they were two additional stones concealed in its folds. Josephus adds to these two sardonyx buttons worn on the shoulders, which, he says, emitted luminous rays when the response was favorable; but the precise mode in which the oracles were given is lost in obscurity."—"Glossary of Antiquities" in Oxford edition of the Bible, p 150.
[19] "Millennial Star," Vol. VIII, p. 123.
[20] "Gospel Herald," Vol. I, No. 8.

It must be admitted that in the numerous pamphlets which he scattered broadcast, and in his newspaper rejoinders, Strang kept his temper much better than the Nauvoo disputants. In his pamphlet called "Prophetic Controversy," he sarcastically alludes to the "saintly spirit" that could inspire such fulminations as have been quoted; but his failure to secure recognition at Nauvoo rankled deeply. In his Gospel Tract No. 4, wherein he defends the "calling of James J. Strang as successor to Joseph Smith," this serious charge is made:[21]

"Immediately after the martyrdom of Joseph, John Taylor, Willard Richards and William W. Phelps took a kind of temporary direction of the affairs of the Church, instructing the saints to wait patiently the hand of the Lord, assuring them that He had not left them without a shepherd, and that all things would be made known in due season. To every question of the saints, who is the prophet, replies were made in substance that the saints would know in due season, but that nothing could be done until the Twelve got home, because the appointment of a prophet and the directions for salvation of the Church from the perils they were in was contained in sealed packages directed to them. Orson Hyde and others of the Twelve who were then in the east, stated in public congregations in New York, Philadelphia and other cities that Willard Richards had written to them that the appointment of a prophet was left with him under seal to be opened on the return of the Twelve. This assertion was so often made that the whole Church was daily expecting to hear a new prophet proclaimed. On the 8th of August, 1844, when Sidney Rigdon endeavored to obtain authority to lead the Church, John P. Green, marshal of the city of Nauvoo, told them 'they need not trouble themselves about it, for Joseph had appointed one James J. Strang, who lived up north, to stand in his stead.' The sudden death of John P. Green, immediately after this declaration (under very extraordinary circumstances), left Willard Richards and John Taylor sole repositors of all documents on this subject, except this letter. They had simply to suppress documents in their hands to set themselves up in power, or overthrow themselves and their pretensions by publishing them."

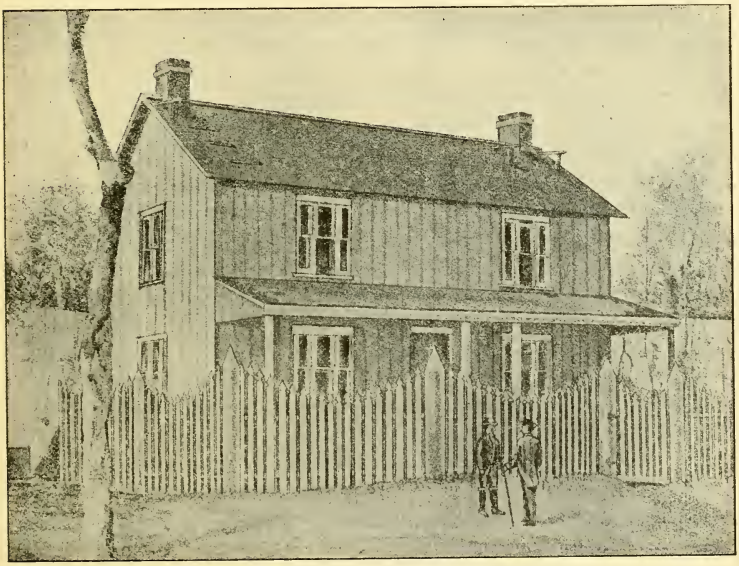
THE GREAT EXODUS.

The great exodus of Mormons across the Mississippi and into the wilderness of the west began early in February, 1846. Long before this, however, the knot had been tightening around the doomed city of Nauvoo. Every man's hand was uplifted against the Mormons, and conflicts fre-

[21] "Gospel Tract No. 4," Voree, Wis., 1848, p. 5.

quently occurred between the Saints and their neighbors outside the fold. Strang's prolific press at Voree turned out thousands of copies of what he termed "the first pastoral letter of James, the Prophet." It bore date of December 25, 1845, and concluded in this wise:

"Let not my call to you be in vain. The destroyer has gone forth among you, and has prevailed. You are preparing to resign country and houses and lands to him. Many of you are about to leave the haunts of civilization and of men to go into an unexplored wilderness among savages, and in trackless deserts, to seek a home in the wilds where the footprint of the



STRANG'S "CASTLE" ON BEAVER ISLAND.
(From a photograph owned by Chas. J. Strang.)

white man is not found. The voice of God has not called you to this. His promise has not gone before to prepare a habitation for you. The hearts of the Lamanites are not turned unto you, and they will not regard you. When the herd comes, the savages shall pursue. The cloud which surrounds by day shall bewilder, and the pillar of fire by night shall consume and reveal you to the destroyer.

"Let the oppressed flee for safety unto Voree, and let the gathering of the people be there. * * * Let the filth of Zion be cleansed, and her

garments of peace put on. Let neither gun nor sword be lifted in defiance, nor rest be taken upon arm of flesh, and the city of our God shall be saved, and the temple of His holiness be unpoluted by the hand of the Gentile."

By the exodus of the Brighamites across the Mississippi, Strang's colony at Voree alone remained in the northwest, of the thousands who had embraced the faith of Joseph Smith. Sidney Rigdon had led a small contingent into Pennsylvania; Lyman Wight a few followers to Texas; Smith a little remnant to a corner of Illinois; these were offshoots that came to naught. At Voree the numbers constantly increased. Missionaries were sent to the east to seek converts; the press turned out pamphlets to be scattered broadcast. Regularly the "Voree Herald" was issued for distribution among the faithful. Some internal dissensions arose from time to time, but Strang easily disposed of them. The minutes of one of the conferences note that Lorenzo Dow Hickey was suspended by the prophet James for "most grossly lying and slander upon Brother G. J. Adams and Samuel Graham, and neglecting his mission to follow after the diabolical revelations of Increase McGee Van Dusen." At another conference the apostasy of John E. Page, president of the Twelve, was the subject of comment, and this resolution was spread upon the minutes:

"*Resolved,* That we deliver him over to the buffetings of Satan until he repent."

In spite of occasional backslidings, the city of Voree grew and flourished. The Saints at first "met in a grove," as the conference minutes state, but a splendid temple was planned. In a letter descriptive of the edifice, Geo. J. Adams wrote August 27, 1849:

"The temple is going up steadily and constantly, and a most beautiful structure it will be when finished. It covers two and one-sixth acres of ground, has twelve towers, and the great hall 200 feet square in the center. The entire walls are eight feet through, the floors and roofs are to be of marble, and when finished it will be the grandest building in the world. The strong Tower of Zion is being erected on the Hill of Promise, the walls of which are three or four feet thick, which when finished is for the carrying out of the order of Enoch in all its beauty and fullness."[22]

STRANG'S KINGDOM OF ST. JAMES.

It soon became apparent to Strang that the same conditions which had driven the Mormons of Nauvoo to a trans-Mississippi wilderness, would endanger the permanency of his colony in the course of a few years. For

[22] "Voree Herald," August, 1849.

the growth of a Mormon community isolation was essential; where Gentile influences controlled the vicinage, there the utter annihilation of Mormonism was but a question of time. In his wanderings he had caught a glimpse from a vessel's deck of the natural beauty and seeming fruitfulness of a cluster of islands near the door that divides the great inland seas of Huron and Michigan. Here was an ideal seat of power, remote from the obtrusiveness of civil officers whose view of laws might differ from his own; yet not so distant from the line of travel as to render profitable traffic impossible. The waters teemed with excellent fish; the forests would furnish an abundance of most excellent timber; the soil needed but to be scratched to yield in multiplied plenty. To this land of promise could he lead his Saints, and here would they wax fat and strong.

If this was Strang's dream of empire, as subsequent events indicated, the beginnings were indeed humble. He is authority for the statement that he fixed on the islands in Lake Michigan as a place for a Mormon community in 1846.[23] Nearly a year elapsed before his plans could be set in motion. With four companions he took passage on a little hooker, the captain agreeing to land them on Beaver Island. They sold their blankets to pay their passage, and on the 11th day of May stepped from the little sailing vessel upon the soil of the land which the leader prophetically declared would prove to them an inheritance. They were without a cent of money, but had provisions enough to last two days. Their reception was inhospitable in the extreme. At neither of the two trading houses then on the island could five penniless men arrange for lodging, so they sought the shelter of the woods. Constructing a camp of hemlock boughs, they undertook a thorough exploration of the island. Leeks and beechnuts served for food while they were thus engaged.

Their perseverance brought its reward. They soon obtained employment, and it was not long before they had accumulated a store of provisions, built a log cabin and arranged for the use of a boat. Strang and two of the men returned to Voree to start the migration to the new land of promise. Winter locked upon the island a Mormon population of five men and thirteen women and children. The following winter the Mormons on the island numbered sixty-two, seventeen of them being men. In the summer of 1849 saints began to arrive in considerable numbers. Instead of confining their efforts to working for the traders at the harbor, they now felt numerically strong enough to begin for themselves. Twelve elders went in various directions to summon the faithful to the new stake of Zion, and to seek additional converts. The islanders began the construction of a schooner, built a steam saw-mill and made a road to the

[23] "Ancient and Modern Michilimackinac," 1854, p. 22.

interior, where the land was excellently adapted for agriculture. They manifested so much energy that the fishermen whose rude huts punctuated the coast here, as well as on the mainland opposite, took serious alarm. A land sale being held about this time, considerable friction occurred between Mormon and Gentile claimants of choice tracts. There arose an unpleasantness that later bore bitter fruit. It was claimed by the Saints that the fishermen induced the captains of vessels bearing Mormon emigrants not to land at the Beaver. Many were carried on to Wisconsin who had been ticketed from the east for the harbor of St. James, for so the Mormons had rechristened the horseshoe bend where vessels came to land, and where in stormy weather they found a safe haven.

It was not long before the Mormons bade fair to control the island. They but believed that they had come into their own, for this was the revelation given unto their seer and revelator long before their coming: "So I beheld a land amidst wide waters and covered with large timber, with a deep broad bay on one side of it; and I wandered over it upon little hills and among rich valleys, where the air was pure and serene, and the unfolding foliage, with its fragrant shades, attracted me till I wandered to bright clear waters scarcely ruffled by the breeze. * * * And one came near unto me, and I said, What meaneth this? And he answered and said, Behold, here shall God establish His people. * * * For He will make their arm strong, and their bow shall abide in strength, and they shall not bow to the oppressor, and the power of the Gentile shall not be upon them, for the arm of God shall be with them to support. * * * It hath abundance in the riches of the forest, and in the riches of the earth, and in the riches of the waters. And the Lord God shall add possession unto the faithful, and give good gifts unto them that keep His law, and He will establish them therein forever.[24]

To appreciate the spirit animating the Saints in thus taking possession, one must realize the fervor of their faith in the revelation of their seer. There were among them some who had in mind mere pelf and plunder, but the greater number of the misled people was no doubt inspired by fanatic zeal. The law of Moses was their law, supplemented by the doctrines of Mormon and the visions of Strang. To follow these injunctions was to do no wrong, no matter what laws of the land they violated. Like the children of Israel, they were going from the wilderness to a land overflowing with milk and honey. As the people led by Moses had ruthlessly slain the Amorites, the Amalakites and the Midianites, so they felt justified in smiting the Lamanites, or Gentiles. There was this distinc-

[24] "Revelations of James J. Strang," p. 5.

tion, that they lived in an age when prudence forbade violent physical onslaught upon neighboring inhabitants, and legal strategy took the place of physical violence. This, at least, was the policy of the leaders, and they were implicitly obeyed as a rule.

The Mormons manifested their sense of ownership by giving new names to the physical distinctions of Beaver Island. The beautiful land-locked harbor was called St. James. The cluster of houses that were reared on the ancient mounds along the shore—in the eyes of the Mormons the evidences of an extinct race alluded to in the Book of Mormon—they dignified by the name City of St. James. A hill in the interior received the biblical name of Mount Pisgah. The River Jordan discharged into the lake the waters that poured into its bed from the Sea of Galilee. Thus did the nomenclature of the island receive the distinctive impress of its Mormon population.

Encounters between Mormons and Gentiles soon became frequent. The Mormons planned a large tabernacle. While some of them were getting out the timber for the structure, they were set upon and soundly beaten. Doubtless there is much truth in the claim made by the Mormons that up to this time they were more sinned against than aggressors. Drunken fishermen invaded their homes and subjected the women to indignities; debating clubs were attended by uninvited guests, whose boisterous conduct prevented proceedings. Men from old Michilimackinac came in boats to raid outlying farmhouses. Families sent by the missionary elders were met at the wharf and told to return to the boat, as all the Mormons would soon be driven away or killed.

About the year 1850 the Saints began to retaliate in earnest. Their numbers had so increased that they could safely do so. The ambitions of Strang were about being realized. He had reorganized his community of Saints. The Book of the Law of the Lord, which he had "translated" from plates dug out of the hill at Voree, had added another sacred book to the Mormon library, ranking in the faith of the Beaver Islanders with the Bible and the Book of Mormon. "Written on metallic plates long previous to the Babylonish captivity," as Strang explained to his credulous followers, the Urim and Thummim brought to him by an angel's hand had enabled him to interpret the characters thereof. Thus had he restored to the chosen people the ancient manuscript long lost to the Jewish nation. The sacred book kept in the ark of the covenant and lost when the children of Israel were hurried into captivity, came back after all these centuries by revelation given to Strang.[25]

And the Beaver Island Mormons believed what he said.

[25] "Book of the Law of the Lord," preface.

"The Calling of a King" was the caption of Chapter XX of the Book of the Law of the Lord, and therein appeared these words as the sixth section:

"6. He (God) hath chosen His servant James to be King; He hath made him His Apostle to all nations: He hath established Him a Prophet above the Kings of the earth; and appointed him King in Zion: By His voice did He call him, and He sent His angels unto him to ordain him."

WAR WITH THE FISHERMEN.

The 8th of July, 1850, was set for the coronation of King Strang, and great preparations were made for the event. In the meantime a plot had been hatched which threatened the extinction of the budding kingdom. But for the energetic measures taken by Strang, doubtless there would have been a bloody conflict between the fishermen and the Mormons. This is Strang's account of the affair:

"In May, 1850, a general invitation was given on all the fishing grounds to come to Whiskey Point against the 4th of July, for a glorious and patriotic celebration of Independence—to be consummated by the expulsion of the Mormons. In this invitation all the traders at Beaver, as well as the fishermen, joined. Material aid was furnished from Mackinac, and several small vessels owned there engaged to go to Beaver with supplies, and lay in the harbor ready to join in the fray. Arms, ammunition and provisions (of which whiskey was chief article) were laid in; and the Gentiles expressed the utmost confidence of success.

"On their part the Mormons gave notice of a general assembly, and by that means called in a great number of their brethren from distant places, some of whom brought arms. A cannon and a stock of powder and lead was purchased; a regular guard enrolled, who were on duty nightly, while others were drilling. This was conducted with the utmost secrecy, all affecting to believe that no attack would be made. They also procured a large schooner from Chicago for the occasion, which they anchored in the harbor, and in the night filled with armed men, who kept below the deck.

"On the 3rd of July several boats arrived at Whiskey Point from the fishing grounds, filled with armed men. One vessel from Mackinac arrived and anchored in the harbor. During the night they had a carouse, in the course of which Mr. Strang, with a select party, reconnoitred their quarters, ascertained their plans, numbers, etc., poured some of their powder in the lake, and put tobacco in one of their barrels of whiskey, by means of which those who drank of it became excessively drunk.

"The plan was to go to the meeting singly and in small groups, with slung shot and other concealed weapons; but affecting order and propriety, and get seats as nearly as possible in a body, in the region of the speakers' stand and clerks' tables. In the progress of the service they were to commence talking, drinking, swearing, etc., and if anyone interfered or attempted to keep order, begin a fight; and falling suddenly on the unprepared congregation with pistols, bowie knives and slung shot, disperse them and disable or kill all the leaders before they had time to rally, arm or make a stand. This was to be followed up by a general debauchery of the women and burning of houses.

"At the first dawn of the Fourth, the Mormons commenced firing a national salute, which was the first intimation to the Gentiles that they had a cannon. They were not a little alarmed when they discovered that at every boom of the cannon the balls skipped along the water past Whiskey Point, scarcely two rods from them, and were regularly getting the range for their buildings. Before their surprise had time to abate, McKinley, who was proprietor there, was waited on by a deputation of Mormons with the notice that as he had made his place the headquarters of the mob, he would be held responsible for any attack from any quarter; and the first gun fired would be the signal for destroying his establishment and every soul in it. Notice was also given to all the Gentiles having property on the island, that if they joined in, furnished or even associated with the mob, they would be taken as enemies and their homes made as bare as a sand bank.

"The Mormons met within the unfinished walls of the tabernacle; eight men mounted guard, with their guns shotted; the cannon unlimbered in front, in charge of twelve artillerists, with a fire in which heated balls were continually ready; and two patrols and a water guard were constantly on the lookout for the enemy.

"In the course of the day two vessels and sixteen boats arrived from the fisheries, bringing men, munition, etc., including one cannon; but no hostile movements were made till afternoon, when a company of Gentile women came into the congregation unattended. Directly one of them left and returned to the boat which had carried her over, and had a conversation with nine men who were with it. They went up and were allowed to enter the congregation, but as soon as they were seated it was announced from the stand that any interruption of the service or business would be instantly punished by personal chastisement; and the guard were charged in case any general disorder was attempted, to cut down every person who joined in it. They sat uneasily a few moments and asked leave to

withdraw. The guard conducted them out and compelled them to take their boat and leave.

"The following evening during their carouse at Whiskey Point, a select party of the Mormons contrived to get within hearing of them at their consultation, and learned that they had been disappointed by the non-arrival of the Gull Island, Seuil Choix and east shore fishermen; that part of the resident traders were anxious to postpone the attempt, in the fear that it would be a failure and the Mormons would take revenge on them for their part in the transaction; that jealousies existed among them as to the means by which the Mormons had obtained their plans; and the sober were fearful that the Mormons were too well prepared. Indecision and disorder prevailed, and they were unable to agree upon their leader. The result of all these embarrassments was that they generally agreed to 'wait for recruits and then pay off the damned Mormons for arming and setting guards before anybody meddled with them.'"[26]

CORONATION OF KING JAMES.

The threatened invasion having miscarried, the coronation of the king proceeded according to program. On the 8th of July, 1850, a date that became known as "King's Day," Strang assumed royal powers. This is an account of the ceremony in the words of an eye-witness, Mrs. Cecelia Hill, now of Wonewoc, Wis., then a young woman living with her Mormon parents on Beaver Island:[27]

"I was present when Strang was crowned king. The ceremony took place in the tabernacle, a building about 80 feet long, constructed of hewn logs, and but partly completed at the time of the coronation. Like any young woman under similar circumstances, I was anxious to be present and managed to get into the tabernacle. At one end was a platform, and towards it marched the processsion of elders and other quorums, escorting the king. First came the king, dressed in a robe of bright red, and accompanied by his council. Then followed the twelve elders, the seventy and the minor orders of the ministry, or quorums, as they were called. The people were permitted to occupy what space remained in the tabernacle.

"The chief ceremonials were performed by George A. Adams, president of the council of elders. Adams was a man of imposing presence. He was over six feet tall, and he towered over the short-statured king, who, however, made up in intellect what he lacked in frame. Adams had been

[26] "Ancient and Modern Michilimackinac," p. 25.
[27] See appendix, narrative of Mrs. Cecelia Hill.

an actor, and he succeeded in making the crowning of the king a very imposing ceremony. It ended by placing upon the auburn head of King Strang a crown of metal. The crown was a plain circlet, with a cluster of stars projecting in front. It was July 8th, that this ceremony occurred, and every recurring 8th of July was known as the king's day and was celebrated as a holiday with many festivities. The entire population of the island would gather at a place in the woods to go through prescribed ceremonials—the hewers of wood and drawers of water to make proper obeisance to the king. There were burnt offering to begin with. The head of each family brought a fowl, and a heifer was thereupon killed. Its body was dissected without breaking a bone. After these ceremonials there was feasting and rejoicing, and the people danced on the greensward. King's day was the same with the islanders as the Fourth of July is with us."

King Strang was now supreme on Beaver Island, and bade fair to soon control the entire group of islands. His policy was to foster the fisheries as a source of profit to his colony, and to use the power of political machinery to secure immunity for infractions of the law. As the population of the island multiplied and the power of the Mormons with it, the hatred of the traders and fishermen on the opposite coasts became more intense. The border feud became so bitter that the newspapers of Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo and New York[28] devoted considerable space to its incidents. As a rule, these accounts represented the Mormons as a band of pirates engaged in plunder and crimes of all kinds. The center of the hostile camp was at old Mackinac, and here plans were made for discomfiting the Mormons. It is difficult at this day to judge how far the Gentiles were in the wrong and in how far the Mormons. Doubtless there was much wrong on both sides. "Such expressions as 'the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof,' and 'we are the Lord's chosen people' stilled the consciences and justified the use of property owned by others; yet it is undoubtedly true that many depredations were committed by irresponsible persons and deliberately charged to the Mormons."[29]

At first the advantage was with the Gentiles at Mackinac, for they had the machinery of government in their hands. The sheriff aided them by arresting Mormons and taking them to Mackinac for trial. On one occasion Strang and a company of workmen had gone to Hog Island to save from the wreck of a vessel a yawl boat frozen in the shoals. A man

[28] "Rough Notes," a paper published at Buffalo, and the "Detroit Free Press" were particularly conspicuous in publishing reports of Mormon depredations. Strang published an elaborate defense in the "New York Tribune" of July 2, 1853.

[29] "Beaver Island and its Mormon Kingdom," by Chas. J. Strang, in "The Ottawan," p. 66.

named Moore, who had been chased off Beaver Island for selling whiskey, went before a justice of the peace at Mackinac and swore out a warrant for the arrest of thirty-one men on the novel charge that they had "put him in fear of danger." Sheriff Granger, with a posse of thirteen white men and thirty-two Indians, went to the island, where the men were, seized the boat of the Mormons, and, believing their prey secure, proceeded to the camp of the Mormons a little past midnight. A wild Irish hurrah and an accompanying Indian war whoop awoke the Mormons to a night of terror and suffering. Hatless and shoeless they rushed into the woods and sought the protection of a swamp, while the sheriff's men plundered the camp and divided the spoils of war. The Mormons found a leaky fish boat at the opposite end of the island, and this they launched. It was a cold April morning. According to the account they afterwards gave, "the lake was spotted with vast fields of drift ice. With a boat preserved from sinking only by the ice frozen in it, without sails or oar locks, and with three unsuitable oars; not half clothed, no provisions, without a line to tie their boat nor an ax to repair any accident, they set out on the broad blue waters for a place of safety."

It took twenty-four hours for them to reach Gull Island, and here they spent five miserable days in a fish shanty before they managed to repair the boat sufficiently to proceed. After this a price was set on Strang's head, and several hundred armed men, including Irish fishermen and Indians hunted for him for weeks to earn the reward of $300 offered by the sheriff for the body of Strang, "dead or alive."[30]

KING STRANG'S ARREST.*

While visiting a brother in the city of Detroit, President Millard Fillmore was informed that among the remote islands of Lake Michigan a person named Strang had established what he termed a kingdom, but what actually was but a nest of freebooters engaged in robbing the mails and counterfeiting the coin. The president dispatched the armed steamer Michigan to the insular kingdom, and ordered the arrest of the king for treason. The Michigan reached the harbor of St. James one midnight. The next morning the king went aboard and surrendered himself, as did two score other Mormons. The officers had been told that in an artificial cavern in Mount Pisgah the workshop of the counterfeiters could be found. They failed to locate such a cave.

[30] In a letter to the writer from Chas. J. Strang.
*An account of this arrest is published in Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. 18, pages 623-628.—Editor.

After holding a court under an awning on the steamer's deck and taking a mass of testimony, the United States officials released many of the Mormons and steamed for Detroit with King Strang and a few of his leading men. There, from the latter part of May till the 9th of July, was held a trial that attracted attention all over the country. The indictments against Strang were on twelve counts, including mail robbery, counterfeiting and treason. He conducted his own defense with such skill and shrewdness as to result in his acquittal. His speech to the jury was highly dramatic. He pictured himself a martyr to religious persecution. He was a master of emotional oratory, and on this occasion particularly so. His acquittal was gained in the face of a violent local prejudice and the most virulent attacks in the local press. It was a victory that gave him an immense prestige at home, and aided him abroad.

Biding his opportunity, Strang planned to secure the machinery of the law in his own hands. He so shrewdly manipulated politics that the solid vote of Beaver Island became of great concern to politicians. To the discomfiture of the people of Mackinac, in 1851, the Mormons elected all the county officers. They now had the sheriff and the entire machinery of law, and could do as they pleased. A Mormon sheriff could serve the warrants, a Mormon jury convict and a Mormon judge sentence anyone resisting the mandate or authority of the king. In 1853 King Strang secured his own election to the legislature by clever political manipulation. His candidacy was not announced until election day; the Mormons then plumped their votes for him and snowed under their unsuspecting enemies, who supposed their own candidate would go in without an opposing candidate. An attempt was made to prevent Strang from taking his seat by serving an old warrant for his arrest. To outwit his foes Strang barricaded himself in his stateroom and withstood a siege till the boat entered the St. Clair, when he broke down the door and sought neutral territory by jumping on a wharf on the Canadian shore. Arrived at the capital, he ascertained that his seat would be contested. He argued his own case, and made such a favorable impression that he obtained the disputed seat. As a legislator he proved industrious and tactful, so that at the close of the session the "Detroit Advertiser" said of him:

"Mr. Strang's course as a member of the present legislature has disarmed much of the prejudice which had previously surrounded him. Whatever may be said or thought of the peculiar sect of which he is the local head, throughout this session he has conducted himself with a degree of decorum and propriety which have been equaled by his industry, sa-

gacity, good temper, apparent regard for the true interests of the people, and the obligations of his official oath."

THE RULE OF THE KING.

During this period of his reign the power of King Strang was at its zenith. Among his own people his word was law, and those outside the fold dared not say him nay. He was monarch of all he surveyed, and he proceeded to put into effect ideas which he had long treasured. The use of intoxicants was prohibited, and likewise of coffee, tea and tobacco. There was a code that strictly governed all morals and religious observance, and violations were punished with a rigor that forbade repetition. Tithes were required of every husbandman, and the firstling of every flock and the first fruits of the harvest went to the royal storehouse. Schools were established, and from the royal press were issued books and pamphlets in great number, all of them the product of Strang's prolific pen. The "Northern Islander" was published weekly and then daily. Nothing escaped the watchful eye of the king, whose capacity for work seemed equal to every demand. He was a busy pamphleteer, and he wrote long letters to the papers of the east defending his people against the accusations levelled at them. The Smithsonian Institute found in him a contributor; his paper upon the "Natural History of Beaver Island," was printed in its ninth annual report.

In his government of the island King Strang developed a marvelous capacity for detail. This found expression in an autocratic sway that dictated not only the ecclesiastical customs of his subjects, but everything connected with their daily life. Women were required to wear bloomers; men were required to be as decorous in their conduct as women; gaming was prohibited as strictly as was the use of intoxicants and narcotics. About this time, also, the doctrine of plural marriages was openly advocated; it had been tentatively broached several years before. Polygamy never made much headway, despite the example set by the king, who enlarged his family by taking five wives. It is asserted that not more than twenty plural marriages took place on the island.

While seemingly securely entrenched, the Mormon kingdom was at this time really crumbling. From time to time malcontents had been bred among the king's subjects, and they joined the hostile fishermen on the small islands and on the mainland opposite. King Strang conceived a brilliant plan to bring them back to allegiance or suffer the penalty of his displeasure. A grand jury was called to meet at St. James; some of these

men were to be summoned as jurors and some as witnesses. The Mormon sheriff and his posse went to Charlevoix (Pine River) to serve a summons on one Savage, who had been an elder and had incurred Strang's displeasure.[31] Savage read the summons, tore the paper into shreds and stamped his heel upon the fragments. As the sheriff laid his hand on the shoulder of Savage to arrest him, the latter gave a signal. There was an answering shout, and a score of sturdy fisher lads came running to the rescue. The Mormons hastily ran for their boats. A pursuing volley wounded two of them, but the party managed to put off in their boat. The fishermen also tumbled into boats, and then ensued a race for life. The Mormons struggled at the oars in desperation, as the bullets whistled over them or piereed the sides of the boat, while hard behind came the avengers intent on their death. Off in the distance could be seen the bellowed sails of a vessel, and for this the Mormons made as their only hope. Bleeding and spent, they managed to reach the craft before their pursuers could overtake them, and appealed to the captain to save them. It chanced that the sailor was a humane man, and he gave them shelter and refused to yield to the demand of the pursuers that the Mormons be turned over to them.[32]

King Strang at once took steps to punish the colonists at Charlevoix, but they had taken the alarm and fled. The Mormons erected a lofty gallows and adorned it with this inscription:

"THE MURDERERS OF PINE RIVER."

Another serious encounter occurred when a Mormon constable attempted to arrest Thomas and Samuel Bennett, Gentiles who lived on Beaver Island. They resisted; Thomas Bennett was instantly shot dead and his brother had one hand nearly shot away.

ASSASSINATION OF THE KING.

Such episodes caused renewed activity in the Gentile strongholds among those who planned to sweep the Mormon settlements with fire and sword. Before their plans could be executed the king was assassinated by two of his rebellious subjects—Thomas Bedford and Alexander Wentworth. Bedford had been whipped by order of the king for some offense; he is said to have upheld his wife in disregarding the mandate

[31] See appendix, narrative of Ludlow P. Hill.
[32] See appendix, narrative of the rescue by Capt. E. S. Stone.

to wear bloomers. Wentworth also had a grievance. About the middle of June, 1856, the Michigan steamed into the harbor, and by invitation of the captain King Strang proceeded to visit the vessel's officers. As he was about to step on the pier, two pistol shots were fired from behind, both taking effect. He turned and recognized the assassins as they fired again. As he sank to the ground they struck him over the head and face with the weapons, ran aboard the steamer and gave themselves up. They were taken to Mackinac, where the murderers were received as heroes. They were never brought to trial.

The wounds of Strang proved fatal. He called his elders to his death-bed, gave them instructions for the government of his Mormon kingdom, and as a last request asked to be taken to the city of refuge which he had founded in Wisconsin. There he died July 9, 1856, and there his bones rest in an unmarked grave.

The kingdom fell with him. The Gentile invasion came soon after his removal to Voree. The fishermen came with torch to destroy and with ax to demolish. The printing office was sacked; the tabernacle was reduced to ashes; the Mormons were exiled. On the islands of Green Bay and its adjacent peninsula a few of them built new homes; some sought the land whence they had followed the prophet; the rest were scattered to the four points of the compass. Like that of the prophet Joseph, the life of the prophet James ended in a tragedy and the exile and dispersion of his people.[33]

STRANG'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

Following is a copy of a writing found among the papers of James Jesse Strang after his death:

I was born March 21st, 1813, on Popple Ridge road, town of Scipio, Cayuga county, New York. My infancy was a period of continual sickness and extreme suffering, and I have understood that at one time I was so low as to be thought dead, and that preparations were made for my burial. All my early recollections are painful, and at this day I am utterly unable to comprehend the feeling of those who look back with pleasure on their infancy, and regret the rapid passing away of childhood. Till I had children of my own, happy in their infantile gambols, the recollection of those days produced a kind of creeping sensation akin to terror.

My parentage was decidedly respectable. My father is a descendant of Henry de l'Estrange, who accompanied the Duke of York to the new

[33] Strang was survived by his five wives. Four of his twelve children were born after his death, one being born to each of his polygamous wives.

world to conquer the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam, now the State of New York, and the family has ever since retained an honorable rank, and is now scattered over nearly all the States, and branches of it are found in British America and the West Indies.

Tradition says that they originally settled at New Utrecht, on Long Island, but Henry de l'Estrange, before his death, removed to the town of Rye, Westchester county, New York, where some of his descendants remained till since 1840.

Tradition also says that my great-grandfather accompanied the first English expedition to Michilimackinac, during which he contracted a dangerous sickness, that he was sent back for medical treatment, and died on the way from the residence of Sir William Johnson to Albany.

He left two sons, William and Gabriel, who were brought up among their mother's relatives, and by that means became separated from the family. They settled at a very early period at Stillwater, in Saratoga county, New York, and were lost sight of by the Strangs in the south part of New York, and on numerous genealogical trees found in that country the limb breaks off with their names.

My father, Clement Strang, is the fifth son of Gabriel Strang. Coming originally of a Norman stock who have continually intermarried with the Dutch and German families of the Hudson, he partakes (as I do) more of the German type than any other. Counting continually in the male line for ten generations back, our ancestors are Jews, but so large is the admixture of other blood that the Semitic type seems to be quite lost.

My mother is of the purest Yankee stock from Rhode Island, her father, Jesse James, and her grandfather, James James, having left there about the time of her birth, and settled in Greenfield, Saratoga county, New York, where they died full of years and honors.

My father and mother are yet living (1855), with a reasonable prospect that they may remain many years. They are both small of stature, my father being only five feet three or four inches, and mother less; of comely appearance, amiable, affectionate, charitable, remarkably industrious, skillful in labor and judicious in business, and unsullied moral and religious character. I have a brother, David Strang, two years older than myself, and a sister, Myraette Loser, five years younger, and it is a great pleasure to know that there has never been a disagreement to amount to so much as a momentary coldness between any two members of the family.

I learn from many sources that in childhood I exhibited extraordinary mental imbecility. Indeed, if I may credit what is told me on the subject,

all who knew me, except my parents, thought me scarcely more than idiotic. Several facts remain in my recollection which support this opinion. I well recollect that school teachers not unfrequently turned me off with little or no attention, as though I was too stupid to learn and too dull to feel neglect, and my school fellows did not forget to add their slight.

I doubt not my appearance at least justified this opinion. I remember myself as little disposed to play, seldom cheerful, and scarcely ever taking the slightest interest in the plays of others. Long weary days I sat upon the floor, thinking, thinking, thinking! occasionally asking a strange, uninfantile question and never getting an answer. My mind wandered over fields that old men shrink from, seeking rest and finding none till darkness gathered thick around and I burst into tears and cried aloud, and with a voice scarcely able to articulate told my mother that my head ached.

During the first and part of the second year of my life my father's residence was in that part of Scipio now included in Ledyard. He left for Manlius in August, 1815, when I was about seventeen months old, and with a singular tenacity of memory I kept that place so perfectly in memory that after twenty years' absence I was able to recognize the location in riding through.

To the present time the recollections of my mother carrying me in her arms, nursing me, and conversing with her sister about me, and of the road along which they walked, and the work going on by the roadside, are as distinct as the events of yesterday. It is the brightest of the few bright spots of my childhood, the only recollection of long years not accompanied with a sensation of pain.

Until 1816 my parents remained in Manlius, my father carrying on the farm of Mr. Fleming, an extensive farmer from Maryland, who also kept a very popular tavern on the Great Western turnpike. I have very few recollections of that period beyond an ill-defined but strong attachment to several members of his family and several of the colored people he brought there, though I have seen very few of them in forty years, and none of them in thirty-two. Such are the affections of childhood; at least, they are such with me.

In February, 1816, my father removed with his family to Hanover, Chautauqua county, New York, where he remained twenty years. His first location was two miles northeast of Forestville, and three-fourth of a mile from Walnut creek, on the east side of the road, at the four

corners, but a few years of the latter portion of that period we lived on Walnut creek flats, in the same neighborhood.

There I grew up, and around that place cluster nearly all the recollections, pleasant and painful, of my childhood and youth.

On our journey I remember Buffalo as a small, straggling village of thirty or forty houses, occupied as taverns and drinking shops; so crowded that it was a matter of favor to get entertainment; where the same low, open, filthy room was used for barroom, dining-room and kitchen, and a few hours the latter part of the night accommodated as many drowsy, drunken and tired sleepers as could lie down upon the floor.

From Buffalo we went to the mouth of Cattaraugus creek on the ice. Father was heavy loaded and obliged to travel slow. There had been a day or two of mild weather; the snow was melted on the ice and had already thawed many a treacherous opening, and covered with water as the ice was, it was difficult for a stranger to keep the way over the thirty miles of dreary waste of ice without a landmark.

To secure a passage by daylight father got a man who was going with a two-horse sleigh and no load but his wife to take my mother and her two children as far as Cattaraugus. I only remember that the water sometimes came into the sleigh box, that the driver frequently jumped the horses across wide chasms in the ice, and sometimes found them so wide that he dare not cross them and went great distances around, and that my mother was terribly frightened, and hugged my brother and I to her with an almost suffocating grasp.

I have since I was grown up frequently heard her speak of that passage as having terrified her almost to distraction, a terror much heightened by the continual quarrels and mutual profanity of the couple with whom we rode.

We lost sight of father immediately after starting, and next saw him at Mack's tavern, Cattaraugus. The wind got into the northwest the afternoon of the day we started, and towards night one of the worst snowstorms of that latitude came on, obliterating in a few minutes every vestige of track on the ice, filling the air so that a man could not see the length of sled and team, and rendering it utterly impossible to keep a course even for a few rods.

This storm overtook father midway in the lake, about twenty miles above Buffalo. What he suffered and how he survived none can know, only those who have experienced a similar catastrophe.

I only remember that my mother cried incessantly, and ever and anon clasped my brother and myself convulsively in her arms, till three days

passed, when he came to us as one from the dead. Several reports of his death had reached us, some by persons who had seen his frozen body. Whether some persons had really perished and been mistaken for him, or the reports were wholly false, I do not know, but the former is probable.

From Cattaraugus to my father's place in the same town was then two days' travel, though on an air line not six miles. The route was by Sheridan Center and Forestville.

I attended school the following summer where the most moderate qualifications for teaching were satisfactory. There were but two scholars who knew the alphabet, and none who spelled "easy words of two syllables."

From this time until I was twelve years old I attended district school more or less every year, but the terms were usually short, the teachers inexperienced and ill qualified to teach, and my health such as to preclude attentive study or steady attendance. I estimate my attendance during the whole period as equal to six months' steady attendance with health for study.

My parents had good government. Their family were raised without beating. I can remember being very slightly whipped by my father twice and my mother once. My sister was raised without ever suffering chastisement either at home or in school, and my brother's fortune——

[Here the writing ends as if the writer had been disturbed, and never afterward had opportunity to resume the work.]

Copied January 27, 1897.

CHAS. J. STRANG,
Lansing, Mich.

NARRATIVE OF LUDLOW P. HILL.

In his book on "Ancient and Modern Michilimackinac," Strang refers to "a disaffected family by the name of Hill." The writer became acquainted with a member of this family, Ludlow P. Hill, during the summer of 1896, while sojourning in the picturesque region along the east shore of Green Bay. Mr. Hill was induced, after much persuasion, to give his recollections of the Beaver Island community. Though sixty-six years of age, his memory was remarkably clear, and his narrative was told in a straightforward manner. Mr. Hill is at present a resident of Wonewoc, Wis. Following narrative was transcribed from the notes taken at the time of the interview:

When I went to Beaver Island I was a young man, who had just reached my majority. My family lived in Illinois (Elgin), and it was

there that my father became acquainted with Strang and was deeply impressed with his remarkable powers. Strang induced him to join his Beaver Island colony and to invest his entire possessions there (about $10,000). That is how I came to go there, and all the rest of the family, too. I was the only member of the family who remained outside the Mormon fold, and was the last Gentile on the island who resisted the authority of King Strang. In fact, I was the last Gentile on the island, but I had to leave, too, for my life was threatened and my stay was made uncomfortable in many ways. It was not merely a secretly conveyed intimation that my departure would add to my personal comfort; I was denounced openly and by name in the tabernacle.

My father found out the charlatanism of Strang soon after reaching the island. Near the southern end of the island (the head) was a splendid property known to the Gentiles as the Cable property, but rechristened Galilee by the Saints owing to the resemblance, fancied or otherwise, of a small lake on the property to the body of water known to biblical readers. This geographical naming in adaptation of Bible places was a favorite one with the Mormons. Enoch was a small cluster of houses near the bay, and west of St. James was a ridge of sand dignified into Mount Pisgah. Lake Galilee was one-fourth mile from the beach and was remarkably deep for an inland lake.

When my father joined the Beaver Islanders, Strang had been carefully nursing his colony for some time, and felt strong enough to assume the airs, if not the title of dictator, as he later did of king. When my father had located, he was informed that the place he had bought would be managed by another Mormon, who would conduct it for the benefit of the community. He was coolly informed that this other man, who stood close to Strang, had more business ability. To resist the mandate seemed sheer folly to my father, for it meant ruin. Nobody would have bought him out, because no Gentiles would venture into a nest of pirates, as they regarded the Mormons, and the Mormons, of course, would not buy him out —they preferred to freeze him out. Without their consent nobody could carry on any business. It was the boycott refined to a point of absolute perfection and success. In those days I was hot-blooded and stubborn, and I wasn't going to give up so easily. So I determined to bid defiance to Strang and his crowd. I had secured the appointment of lighthouse keeper and decided to stick to my post at all hazards. The place paid very poorly—I think not to exceed $500 per annum—but even this was coveted by the Mormons, who were determined upon complete control of the island and everything on it. And they made it hot enough for me, I

assure you. Had I consented to be baptized and to join the fold, it would have been pleasant enough, but as I have said, there was a grain of stubbornness about me that made me hot-headed and defiant. I need not give in detail the devices that were employed to make my lot far from humdrum. I will only narrate one instance. Orders came to me from the king's men that under no circumstances must I harbor any Gentiles, or there would be trouble. Early one raw morning there came to the beach in a leaky boat a couple of half-frozen and half-starved fishermen, who had been wave-tossed in a heavy sea for several days, and asked food and shelter.

"It's as much as your life is worth," said I, "to be caught here, and maybe I would fare as bad if I helped you. I'll give you a bite to eat, though, but you had better not stop any longer than necessary, for the Mormons may be here any minute."

When they heard this I didn't need to hurry them a bit; they didn't even want to stop for something to eat, until I urged them to do so. They had put out into the lake but a short time when there came in hot haste to the door six or seven of the guard, armed with guns and demanding if I had seen any Gentiles, or if I had given them any comfort or aid. I deemed it prudent to buy safety at the expense of veracity, and they left vowing that if they caught the men, whose boat they had descried from a distance as it was coming to shore, they would make short work of the intruders.

I married a Mormon young woman, and I may say I have never regretted the step. All of her family were Mormons, and they and my father's family (all Mormons except myself) were among those who did not fall into polygamous ways on the island. Yes, we were married under rather unusual circumstances, and I got the best of the king, the deputy king (vice king), the king's council, and all the elders, too. (Mr. Hill chuckled as the narration called up slumbering recollections.) Yes, I'll tell you how it was, and it's the truth, too. The Mormons were always willing to marry a Gentile woman to a Mormon man, figuring that they could bring enough influence to bear on the woman to attach her and her children to the church. But when it came to uniting a Gentile man with a Mormon girl, they were inexorable in their refusal. We knew that, of course, and Cecelia (that's my wife's name) urged me to be baptized and thus overcome the difficulty.

"Cecelia," said I, "I think the world of you, but a Mormon I'll never consent to become, and that doesn't mean, either, that we won't be married. I'll find some other way."

Now, although I was a Gentile, and one whom the ruling powers were only biding their time to get out of the way, I had a good many friends among the Mormons. So I bided my time. I may mention here that Strang, with his usual shrewdness, had, in order to carry out his schemes under forms of law, brought about the organization of the county of Emmet, to include Beaver Island, and thus had control of the whole machinery of county government. Thus he could elect a Mormon sheriff, and arrest people as he chose; could try his prisoners before a Mormon jury, and a Mormon judge would sentence them according to Mormon law. So every one whom he didn't like became an outlaw, of course, for he had no difficulty in trumping up charges. Strang also got himself elected as a member of the legislature, where he could get local laws passed for Beaver Island. When he went to Lansing as a member of the legislature, he left his kingdom in charge of the president of his council. I waited till Strang had gone to Lansing for the winter, and then I proceeded to put my plans into execution. It had been suspected, despite our precautions, that Cecelia and myself were attached to each other, so I went to one of the preachers whom I regarded as friendly—a man named Aldrich—and asked him to marry us. He looked startled and said he wouldn't think of such a thing. Finally he said he would if I would consent to be baptized. I flatly declined this proposition. Then he said: "I'll go and see Bacon" (he was the president of the council and his word was law when Strang was away). "I think I can induce him to give his consent."

Aldrich jumped into his sleigh and drove to the king's house. He was gone some time, and when he came back I saw at once that his mission had been fruitless. Bacon had positively refused to consent to the marriage.

It was evident that I must get at it in another way. There was another Mormon elder and preacher—one Savage—whose friendship I had won, and I went to him. I told him the circumstances and asked him whether he would tie the knot for us.

"It would be ruin to me," said he.

Now, I knew that for some time Savage had been disaffected, so I took the cue from that and worked at him till I persuaded him to perform the ceremony secretly. You may be sure that this was no easy matter, either, and I swore by all that was holy that under no circumstances would I betray him as long as there was danger to him in so doing. So after he had given his word, we planned how we would do it.

The young people of the colony had arranged for a party to be given at my father's house on a certain evening, and we arranged that this circumstance should be taken advantage of to consummate our plans. You see we had to plan, for we were watched. It was a cold, clear starlight night. I remember it well, although it was more than fifty years ago. Within the house all was gaiety and noise—the sound of the fiddle, the patter of the dancers' shoes and the laughter of the merry young people. By a prearrangement, Cecelia and two of our friends who were in the secret repaired to a room up-stairs, while I went outdoors. In the shadow of a woodpile near by Elder Savage was awaiting my signal. He cautiously made his way to the house, went up by a rear stairway, and I followed. In that up-stairs room, while below there was playing and dancing and laughter, Cecelia and I were united in marriage. Not a member of my family or of my wife's family was present or knew anything about it. The reason for keeping them ignorant I'll tell you later. Only my wife and I, the preacher and our two witnesses—friends whom we trusted implicitly, and who, besides, would keep still to save themselves from the vengeance of the church, if for no other reason, were present. The ceremony over, we went down one at a time without exciting comment, the elder making his exit unobserved, and entering the house an hour later as if he had just arrived to take part in the festival of the young people.

That is how we were secretly married. To the neighbors we behaved just as before. Cecelia received the attentions of other young men, and I was devoted to two or three other women. But there was one present whom we couldn't hood-wink. She was afterwards one of Strang's wives. She was a remarkably clever young woman, if she did play me a mean trick. This young woman was well educated. On one occasion when Strang went east on a proselyting tour, this young woman accompanied him as his secretary, dressed as a young man. They visited Philadelphia, New York and other large cities, and the deception of her sex was never discovered. Well, this young woman acted as a spy on us, and by eavesdropping learned the facts about our marriage. She revealed it all to the king's men, and Savage was summoned to appear. He came to me in great alarm.

"We are lost. They know everything," said he. "I am a ruined man."

Now, I had sworn when he promised to perform the secret ceremony that I would protect him at all hazards. So I set my brains to work and I unfolded a plan to him for getting out of the scrape. I had heard that King Strang had on one occasion secretly baptized a Gentile, so I said to

Savage: "Tell them that you secretly baptized me before you performed the marriage ceremony, and if they won't accept that sort of a ceremony as valid, plead as justification that you followed the high example set by Strang."

The trial was a long drawn out affair. My parents were summoned. They truthfully said that they were as much surprised as anybody to hear that we were a married couple, not having been present or even apprised as to the ceremony. My brother gave the same testimony, which let them out from punishment. Until Elder Savage's turn came, the prosecution rested on the eavesdropping information obtained by Strang's future wife.

When it came to Savage's turn, he readily admitted having performed the marriage rites, and the drawn brows and black looks of the councillors were not cheerful premonitions of his fate. When he went on to tell, however, that he had not done so until he had baptized me a Mormon, there was a murmur of astonishment. Savage added that in doing so he had not erred, for he had but followed the example of the head of the community, who, of course, could do no wrong.

This was a poser for those who wanted to condemn Savage to the rigors of the Mormon canon. Though unconvinced, they could hardly convict Savage for doing what their own high priest had done; so Savage escaped punishment. He hadn't strictly told the truth, nor had I, but when men's lives and property are the issue, one doesn't view moral questions from the same standpoint as ordinarily.

But Savage did not feel safe. He secretly prepared for early departure, and early in the spring, with a few followers who were as discontented as himself with Mormon rule as expounded on Beaver Island, stole away in Mackinac boats. The refugees went to the main shore, building cabins on the site of the town of Charlevoix. Strang was not disposed to permit his prey to escape so easily. His Mormon sheriff summoned a Mormon posse and went after the seceders on pretext of summoning them as jurors. Thus, under cover of law, he could get his subject back to the island, where he could do whatever his vindictive spirit might suggest. Savage, of course, saw through the artifice. When the sheriff's posse appeared at his log hut with the warrant, Savage tore the paper into shreds, threw them under his feet and stamped on the fragments. The Mormon officers then tried to arrest him for resisting their lawful authority. Savage seized his gun, his companions hurried to his rescue with their weapons, and the Mormon officers turned tail and ran. A pursuing volley wounded one of them in the wrist and another in the groin. They managed to put out in their boat, pursued by their now thoroughly aroused assailants,

but the opportune appearance of a vessel enabled them to escape by appealing to her captain for protection.

It was evident to Savage that to remain on the mainland opposite the island whence he had fled was to invite annihilation, for he knew Strang would never rest till he had hunted him down. The refugees placed their belongings and families aboard the steamer "Little Columbia," from Buffalo to Green Bay, and arranged to meet the boat beyond Beaver Island, after her departure from St. James. As usual, the steamer put into the harbor at St. James, and the Mormons crowded aboard. The families of the refugees kept close to their cabins and remained unobserved. All went well till one of the Mormons noticed the names on some of the boxes. At once there was great commotion, and the seizure of the vessel was ordered. The captain's promptness in getting out of the harbor prevented this.

In the meantime the male contingent had sailed around to the southern end of the island, and made a stop at my place. They were overjoyed to see me, and we told each other what had happened since last we had met. I proposed to the men a plan for the overthrow of the kingdom. If they hadn't lacked the nerve, the career of the prophet-king and his reign would have been cut short a few years sooner than it was. Near by in the woods were some seven or eight Mormons of the worst stripe engaged in cutting timber. I proposed that we sally forth, pick our men, surprise them and then shoot them down. As fast as others came we could serve them the same way, and if a large force should arrive, we could barricade ourselves in the house and pick off the men at leisure. I knew there were disaffected men in the community who would lead an uprising if they could get a good chance. I believed it practicable to thus overthrow the kingdom. But they wouldn't take the risk. They departed to join their families, and succeeded in doing so. On Washington Island, at the mouth of Green Bay, they made their homes, and some of their descendants live there today.

It was not long after this that I left Beaver Island. Events there were becoming rather too warm even for me. To entrap me into his net, Strang had me summoned as a grand juror immediately after Savage and his companions shot his officers. It was the first grand jury that ever met on Beaver Island. There I was placed in the position of voting to indict my best friends for doing something that grew directly out of circumstances brought about by myself. Of course, I didn't hesitate to do so. I knew the birds would be flown, and I didn't propose to fall into the pit dug for me. I saw, however, that it was dangerous to remain where I

was, and I received numerous warnings of the fate that lay in store for me. Men had disappeared before, and no one was the wiser. Houses had gone up in smoke and there was no explanation of the origin of the flames. I quietly made my arrangements and silently hied me away.

Strang was in many respects a remarkable man. He was small and spare, but as a speaker he towered like a giant. He was one of the most fascinating orators imaginable. He wore a very heavy beard of reddish tinge, and his hair was red, too. He had dark eyes, that looked at one on occasion as though they could bore right through. They were set close together, under wide projecting brows, from which rose a massive forehead. Add to this a thin hatchet face, and you have a grouping of features that would attract attention anywhere. His oratory was of the fervid, impassioned sort that would carry his audience with him every time. His words came out in a torrent; he could work himself into emotional spells at will, the sincerity of his words being attested by tears when necessary to produce that effect, or by infectious laughter when his mood was merry. He had what is known as magnetism, too, and could be one of the most companionable of men. His influence over his followers was unbounded. He was certainly a man of unusual talents in many respects. Had he chosen to use them for good, he would have left a great impress upon his country. When I was a young lad I heard him in a debate with a Catholic speaker in Elgin, Ill. It was to have been a three days' debate. The priest brought up a number of newspaper stories to confound his adversary. In reply, Strang confined himself entirely to the Scriptures. He so thoroughly discomfited his adversary in the debate that the next evening the priest failed to appear, and the judges awarded the verdict to Strang.

MRS. CECELIA HILL'S RECOLLECTIONS.

Personal recollections of Mrs. Cecelia Hill, wife of Ludlow P. Hill, in an interview during the summer of 1896:

The Mormons under Strang strove to follow strictly the old Mosaic law. Every man who went with Strang was given "an inheritance." The tithing system was in full effect. The firstling of every flock and the first fruits of the orchard and the field were due to the king's court. Every one who went into the church was compelled to give as his first contribution one-tenth of all his possessions. The people believed in the Mosaic law implicitly, even to the stoning of a rebellious child. There was a fisherman named Bennett, who resisted and wounded a Mormon officer and was shot to death. In following out the injunction to throw

a stone upon the grave of any man guilty of shedding the blood of the Saints, a pile of stones was heaped upon his grave big enough for a monument. When the fishermen raided the island after Strang's death, they compelled the Mormons to pick every one of these stones off the grave of Bennett and cast them into the lake. Most of the subjects of Strang were Americans, and many of them were sincere, earnest and intelligent. The head men were, I believe, imposters who sought to live off the labor of others. I have already mentioned Adams, the actor. He was chief in authority when Strang was away. Afterwards he became disgruntled and went into the prophet business on his own account. He led a band of Mormons to Africa and abandoned them there. After Adams left one Bacon was the king pro tem. Gen. Miller was the chief in military authority. He had been a bishop of the church at Nauvoo, and came with two wives. He married another one on the island—a young woman, although he was an old gray-haired man. I think Strang had five wives, and his death prevented his adding two more to the list—two sisters. His first wife's maiden name was Perce, his second Alvina Fields. His third we knew as Aunt Betsy,* and is, I believe still living. When Chicago was destroyed by fire she said that "James prophesied it," and took it as a judgment for the persecution of her husband. She never lost faith in her husband.

THE BATTLE ON THE LAKE.

E. S. Stone was the captain of the bark aboard which Mormon fugitives sought refuge when pursued by the Gentile fisherman of Pine River. I am indebted to Col. George P. Mathes, of Milwaukee, for permission to use following narrative, dictated by Capt. Stone for the manuscript collection of Col. Mathes:

In the year 1852, while on my trip up from Buffalo to Chicago on the bark Morgan, in passing through the straits of Mackinaw one very calm summer afternoon, when about half way between Beaver Island and Pine River on the main land (south shore), and while at dinner in the cabin we heard great firing of guns; and rushing on deck, saw a small fleet of rowboats on the surface of the calm water coming toward our vessel from the south shore. They were evidently in a fierce battle, and viewing them through my spyglass, I saw that there were three Mackinaw boats filled with men fleeing from some larger barges, doubled banked with oars, that were rapidly gaining on the smaller boats, and firing on them as

*September 22, 1897.—While this paper is in press, the telegraphic news in the daily papers announces the death of "Aunt Betsy," the polygamous third wife of James Strang.

fast as they could load and fire. When the smaller boats got near enough to hail us, they asked us for God's sake to take them on board and save them from being murdered, as they were completely exhausted and could pull no longer and were being shot to pieces. Of course, common humanity compelled me to grant their request, and as they pulled alongside to be taken on board, the bullets flying thick about them, and some striking the bows of the vessel as they pulled behind it, the boats in chase hailed me, demanding that I should drive them off, as they were Mormons, robbers and thieves, and they wanted to kill every one of them; and if I did not do so they would fire into my vessel, which threat I knew they dared not carry out. In taking the Mormons on board, I found all of them armed with rifles, and the first one as he stepped on board turned and said: "Now, we will give it to them." I caught and disarmed him and all the rest as they came over the rail. When they were all on board I asked the fishermen from Pine River to come nearer and talk with me, which they did, but not near enough to be recognized, as there were some on both sides that knew me and called me by name. The fishermen claimed that the Mormons were the aggressors, which the Mormons denied, saying they had not fired a shot, and showed me their guns were all loaded. I found that out of the fifteen Mormons that were in the Mackinaw boats, eight were severely wounded, their boats were riddled with bullets and bespattered with blood, and the water in the bottom of the boats very bloody; and it seemed almost a miracle that none of them were killed. An oar pulled by one of them was struck by three bullets, yet the man was unhurt.

The fishermen laid by on their oars for some time watching us, and finally, when they got tired of waiting for the Mormons to leave the vessel, pulled back to their home at Pine River. We dressed the wounds of the Mormons the best we could and fed them, and at night, under cover of the darkness, they got into their boats and pulled for their homes on Beaver Island.

When I arrived in Chicago I gave to a reporter rather a burlesque account of a sea fight between the "Latter Day Saints" and the "Gentiles," which was not much relished by King Strang. However, the Mormons as a body were very grateful for their rescue, and later in the fall, when I was obliged to run into Beaver Harbor for safety in a storm, they gave a ball and banquet in my honor, and I led the first dance with King Strang's favorite wife. The women were all dressed in calico bloomers, and the costumes of the men were equally odd and conspicuous.

There had long been bad blood between the Mormons and the Gentiles, and this particular battle was caused by the setting off of a new county in what was then called northern Michigan, including Beaver Island, many other islands, Mackinaw, and nearly a hundred miles of the south shore. In organizing the county and electing its officers the Mormons had held an election on Beaver Island and elected their officers, claiming that as the county seat, while the Gentiles had held an election at Mackinaw and elected their officers, and claimed a legal election and the county seat. At this time the Mormon county judge had issued a mandamus, or something of the kind, for a grand jury, and claimed the jurors were drawn from different parts of the county and had been summoned to appear at Beaver Island, which they failed to do, and the Mormon sheriff had been ordered to go over to the main land with this posse and arrest the jurors and bring them over to Beaver Island. When they reached Pine River and began to make the arrests, they resisted and the fight commenced. The Gentiles claimed that the "Latter Day Saints," finding them too much for them, fired and ran, and took to the boats, and got such a start before they got organized and in their boats that they were first able to reach the Morgan and save their lives. But the war still continued after this encounter, until the Mormons, getting the worst of it, appealed to the United States government for protection, and the frigate Michigan was sent to remove all the Mormons from Beaver Island to Wisconsin. When they got there some renounced the faith and some emigrated to Salt Lake, and King Strang had not enough of a following to organize a new community, and I do not remember what finally became of him.

E. S. STONE,
By MRS. STONE.

P. S.—Mr. Stone has been very ill, but being much better, yet not quite equal to writing, has dictated this to me and I have written it in haste.
MRS. E. L. STONE.

INTERVIEW WITH JUDGE LYON.

Interview with Judge William Penn Lyon, of the Wisconsin Supreme Court:

I lived at Burlington and knew Strang well. He was an eccentric man, but a shrewd and able one in many respects. How he drew so many men of intelligence under his influence is one of the strange circumstances which we know to be, but can not explain. I have no doubt most of his converts were sincere—they would hardly have given up all they possessed otherwise. My partner Barnes always believed Strang to be sincere,

too, and he was a man of intelligence and penetration. Strang converted some of the best people of Burlington to Mormonism. Among them I may mention Wm. Aldrich, whose son has since served a term or two in the legislature; Hale, whose son became eminent as a geologist, and Titus G. Fish.

THE BURIED PLATES OF LABAN.

From the "Revelations of James J. Strang," as compiled by Wingfield Watson, of Spring Prairie:

[Revelation given to James J. Strang, September 1, 1845.]

1. The angel of the Lord came unto me, James, on the first day of September, in the year eighteen hundred and forty-five, and the light shined about him above the brightness of the sun, and he showed unto me the plates of the sealed record, and he gave into my hands the Urim and Thummim, and out of the light came the voice of the Lord saying: "My servant James, in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thee, because I have tried thee and found thee faithful. Behold my servant James, I am about to bless thee with a great blessing, which shall be to those that love me an immutable testimony, to those who know me not a stumbling block; but to those who have known me and have turned their hearts from me a rock of offense. Yea, let them beware, for shame and destruction walk in their tracks, and their time abideth but not long.

2. A work shall come forth, and the secrets of the past shalt thou reveal. Yea, by little and little shalt thou reveal it, according to the ability and faithfulness of my church and of my servants whom I have placed above them. Behold the record which was sealed from my servant Joseph, unto thee it is reserved. Take heed that thou count it not a light thing, nor exalt thyself, lest thou be stricken; for by myself I swear that as thou servest me faithfully and comest not short, thou shalt unlock the mysteries thereof which I have kept hid from the world. Yea, as my servants serve me so shalt thou translate unto them.

3. But in their weakness I have not forgotten them. Go to the place which the angel of the presence shall show thee, and there shalt thou dig for the record of my people in whose possessions thou dwellest. Take with thee faithful witnesses, for in evil will the unfaithful speak of thee; but the faithful and true shall know that they are liars and shall not stumble for their words.

4. Speak thou unto the elders of my church and say unto them: Hear my voice, and hearken unto my words, for they are true and faithful. Testify, testify unto all the saints. Testify, testify in all the world. He that rejecteth you, him will I reject in the day that I come in my kingdom. Testify, testify unto him who has received my word and turned away. Let him now return unto me, and obey and serve his God, lest he be smitten with a curse, and his children curse him, and his name be blotted out of the book of life.

5. Yea, those to whom I have revealed myself, let them hearken unto me now, lest they be cast off in the day of my indignation, lest the consuming fire of the day of trial burn them up. Yea, lest the second death make them his prey, and they be cast into the lake that burns with fire and brimstone.

6. Rejoice, ye holy, for the day of your deliverance is near, and the time of your exaltation is at hand. Faithful and true are my words, dividing the marrow from the bones and truth from rottenness. He that rejecteth them, will I reject when I come in my kingdom. And while I was yet in the spirit, the angel of the Lord took me away to the hill in the east of Walworth, against White River in Voree, and there he showed unto me the record, buried under an oak tree as large as the body of a large man. It was enclosed in an earthen casement, and buried in the ground as deep as to a man's waist; and I beheld it as a man can see a light stone in clear water; for I saw it by Urim and Thummim, and I returned the Urim and Thummim to the angel of the Lord and he departed out of my sight.

(Translation of the Voree Record by the Prophet James, by Urim and Thummim, September 18, 1845, as revealed in the foregoing revelation.)

1. My people are no more. The mighty are fallen and the young slain in battle. Their bones bleached on the plain by the noonday shadow. The houses are levelled to the dust, and in the moat are the walls. They shall be inhabited. I have in the burial served them, and their bones in the death shade toward the sun's rising are covered. They sleep with the mighty dead, and they rest with their fathers. They have fallen in transgression and are not, but the elect and faithful there shall dwell.

2. The word hath revealed it. God hath sworn to give an inheritance to his people where transgressors perished. The word of God came to me while I mourned in the death shade, saying, I will avenge me on the destroyer. He shall be driven out. Other strangers shall inhabit the land. I an ensign there will set up. The escaped of my people there shall dwell, when the flock disown the shepherd and build not on the rock.

3. The forerunner men shall kill, but a mighty prophet there shall dwell. I will be his strength, and he shall bring forth thy record. Record my words and bury it in the hill of promise.

4. The record of Rajah Manchore of Vorito.

VOREE PLATES.

(Description of one side of one of the Voree plates.)

1st. An eye. The symbol of God, who is all-seeing; consequently it is called the all-seeing eye, and has been used as symbolical of the Deity in all countries, and in all ages of the world.

2d. The figure of a man down to the waist having a crown resembling a cap, and composed of radiating lines, on his head; and a scepter in his hand. These are symbols of authority, and shew him a ruler. As he has the sun, moon and stars (all the natural lights) below him, and only the all-seeing eye above him, he is prophet, seer, revelator, translator, and first president of the church—governing not by natural light, or mere human wisdom, but by revelation or the word of God, and derives his authority solely from God, and not in any sense from the actions of men.

3d. The sun on the right and the moon on the left. These represent the two vice-presidents, or counsellors in the first presidency; the two largest natural lights being used as symbols, because they are to assist the first president in wisdom, or natural light merely, and not by revelation.

4th. A cross pillar above and resting upon the center large star, and under the human figure, two pillars above and resting upon the two upper large stars, and below and between the sun and the moon. These represent coadjutors, assistants or helps, of whom there have been several since the beginning of the church, appointed by revelation.

5th. Twelve stars, six around the sun, and six around the moon. These represent the High Council of the church. The division into classes of six each agrees with established usages in the church, one-half to stand up for the accuser, and the other for the accused. This is not the high council of the state.

6th. Twelve large stars. Ten of these in two rows at the bottom of the plate, and the other two over them, nearly between the sun and moon. They represent the twelve apostles. These stars are larger than those which represent the High Council of the church, because the apostles have a more important ministry; but are placed below them because they are subject to their discipline, and below the symbols of the first presidency because they are subject to its directions.

7th. Seventy small stars immediately within the points of the twelve large ones, being six to each except the center one, which has only four. They represent the seventies, who are subject to the direction of the twelve apostles.

8th. A straight line dropping down before the scepter. "Therefore thus saith the Lord God, behold I lay in Zion for a foundation stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation: he that believeth shall not make haste. Judgment also will I lay to the line and righteousness to the plummet; and the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding place."

"Thus he shewed me; and behold the Lord stood upon a wall made by a plumb-line, with a plumb-line in his hand. And the Lord said unto me, Amos, what seest thou? And I said a plumb-line. Then said the Lord, Behold, I will set a plumb-line in the midst of my people Israel: I will not again pass by them any more."

These symbols were all prophetic of the order that will exist in the fullness of times. Thus God in His goodness to those who lived in days past has shown them not only the rest which He had in reservation for them, but the perfectness of the means by which He will accomplish it. Probably now we understand it in part, but in times to come we shall "know as we are known."

The Voree plates have disappeared. Chas. J. Strang writes concerning them: "I do not know where the plates are. I never saw them." Wingfield Watson writes: "The three Voree plates are in the hand of some one of Mr. Strang's family, whose address I do not now know."

STRANG'S BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

Owing to the destruction of the royal press at Beaver Island, by the torch, when the fishermen expelled the Mormons, copies of the books, pamphlets and newspapers published by King Strang are excessively scarce. Of the "Book of the Law of the Lord," Strang's most important book, there are probably not to exceed a dozen copies in existence. Chas. J. Strang, of Lansing; L. D. Hickey, of Coldwater, Mich.; Wingfield Watson, of Spring Prairie, Wis., and the writer each possess one. A copy is to be found in each of the following libraries: Congressional, Washing-

ton, D. C.; State Library of Michigan, Lansing; Wisconsin Historical Society's Library, Madison.

Not one complete file of the "Northern Islander" or "Voree Herald" is known to be in existence. The latter comprised five volumes, issued the first year as a monthly and afterwards weekly. Its name was changed subsequently to "Gospel Herald" and "Zion's Reveille." A partial set is owned by the Wisconsin Historical Society, and a few scattering copies are owned respectively by Chas. J. Strang and the writer. The paper was published at Voree, Wis., from 1846 to 1850. It was about the size of an ordinary sheet of letter paper.

The "Northern Islander" was published at irregular intervals, especially after the close of navigation, when Beaver Island was cut off from the rest of the world. From May, 1856, until the assassination of the king two months later, the royal organ was printed as a small daily—a marvel of journalistic enterprise that surprised passengers on the boats that entered the harbor of St. James. Of the papers published at Beaver Island, Chas. J. Strang possesses but three copies, one of the weekly issues and two of the daily. Wingfield Watson, of Spring Prairie, Wis., has seventy-two of the ninety numbers of the "Islander;" his collection is believed to be the nearest to a complete file in existence. He declines to sell at any price.

The "Weekly Islander" was a newspaper of four pages, five columns to the page. The "Daily Islander" was a four-column folio, the page form being but a trifle larger than that of the "Voree Herald."

The "Herald" was devoted almost wholly to the defense of Strang's claims as leader of the Mormons. The "Islander" was conducted on the plan of a general newspaper, but devoted much space to the correspondence of traveling missionaries. A letter from George Miller mentions "settling those saints in the south that were making lumber in Wisconsin for building the temple and Nauvoo House."

The conference minutes published in the papers show that following followers of Strang, many of whom had been high dignitaries at Nauvoo, were active at Voree and St. James:

Voree—Geo. J. Adams, Wm. Marks, Gilbert Watson, Daniel Carpenter, Ebenezer Page, D. F. Botsford, Ira J. Patten, Benjamin G. Wright, Alden Hale, Roswell Packard, S. P. Bacon, Anson W. Prindle, Dennis Chidester, Jehiel Savage, Jason W. Briggs, John E. Page, Moses Smith, Lester Brooks, Samuel Bennett, Samuel Graham, Wm. Savage, Samuel E. Hull, Phineas Wright, Isaac Pierce, Nathan Wagener, John Porter, E. Whit-

comb, James Blakeslee, Lorenzo Dow Hickey, Royal Tucker, P. W. Stilwell.

St. James (In addition to those prominent at Voree)—John Ursbroek, Hiram G. Hall, Geo. Brownson, Edw. Preston, Walter Ostrander, John S. Comstock, C. W. Appleton, James M. Greig, E. J. More.

Besides the newspapers, the principal publications from Strang's press were these:

1. "Book of the Law of the Lord," claiming to be an inspired translation of plates discovered by Strang. First edition, 80 pages; second edition, 320 pages. Following is the wording on the title page:

The
BOOK OF THE LAW OF THE LORD
Consisting of
An Inspired Translation of Some of the Most Important Parts of the Law Given to Moses, and a Very Few Additional Commandments, with Brief Notes and References.
PRINTED BY COMMAND OF THE KING.
AT THE ROYAL PRESS, ST. JAMES,
A. R. I.

From the preface:

"Several books are also mentioned in the Bible, but of equal authority with it, which have been lost; as for instance, another epistle of Paul to the Corinthian and Ephesian churches, and the book of Iddo, Nathan and others, prophets of high rank in Israel.

"But of all the lost books, the most important was the Book of the Law of the Lord. This was kept in the ark of the covenant, and was held too sacred to go into the hands of strangers. When the Septuagint translation was made, the Book of the Law was kept back, and the book lost to the Jewish nation in the time that they were subject to foreign powers. The various books in the Pentateuch, containing abstracts of some of the laws, have been read instead of it, until even the existence of the book has come to be a matter of doubt.

"It is from an authorized copy of that book, written on metallic plates, long previous to the Babylonish captivity, that this translation is made."

2. Collection of Sacred Hymns adapted to the faith and views of the Church of Jesus Christ, of Latter Day Saints." Voree: Gospel Press, 1850. Includes:

"Glorious things of Thee are spoken." (Zion)
"Lord, dismiss us with Thy blessing." (Dismission)
"Blest be the tie that binds." (Fraternity)
"Come, ye sinners, poor and needy." (Invitation)
"Come, let us anew, our journey pursue." (New Year's Resolve)
"Blow ye the trumpet, blow." (Gospel Trumpet)
"How firm a foundation, ye saints of the Lord." (Assurance)
"Guide us, O thou great Jehovah." (Prayer)
"Lord in the morning thou shalt hear." (Morning)

The general tenor of the hymns may be gathered from following sample verses from Hymn XLV:

XLV. Book of Mormon, P. M.

1. O, who that has search'd the records of old,
And read the last scenes of distress;
Four and twenty were left, who with Mormon beheld,
While their nation lay mould'ring to dust.

2. The Nephites destroyed, the Lamanites dwelt,
For ages in sorrow unknown;
Generations have pass'd, till the Gentiles at last,
Have divided their lands as their own.

This is the first verse of hymn LXXIX:

Ephraim's records, plates of gold,
Glorious things to us unfold,
Though sealed up they long have been,
To give us light they now begin.

3. "Ancient and Modern Michilimackinac, including an account of the Controversy between Mackinac and the Mormons," 1854. Reprinted by Wingfield Watson in 1894.

4. "The Diamond, being the law of Prophetic Succession and a Defense of the Calling of James J. Strang as successor to Joseph Smith, and a Full Exposition of the Law of God Touching the Succession of Prophets Holding the Presidency of the True Church, and the Proof that this Succession Has Been Kept Up." Voree, Wis., 1848.

5. "Catholic Controversy." Very scarce. I have been unable to obtain a copy.

6. "Prophetic Controversy." St. James, 1854.

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Detroit Free Press, June 30, 1889. (Statement of King Strang's assassination as witnessed by Capt. Alex. St. Barnard, of the United States steamer Michigan.)
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Most of the newspaper articles concerning the Beaver Island kingdom contain gross exaggerations.

THE BEAVER ISLAND PROPHET.

THE TRIAL IN THIS CITY IN 1851 OF "KING" STRANG.

From the Detroit Advertiser and Tribune of July 12, 1877.—By Hon. Geo. C. Bates.* United States District Attorney.

To the Editor of the Detroit Tribune:

In that valuable and most interesting history of Michigan, just now published by the Hon. James V. Campbell, of the supreme court of Michigan, a very brief reference is made to the history of James J. Strang, familiarly known as "King" Strang, and his arrest and trial in the circuit court of the United States for the district of Michigan in 1851, on several indictments for offenses committed at the Beaver Islands by him and his Mormon brethren (who seceded from Brigham Young and settled in Mackinac county in the years 1847-8-9-50-51,) in these words:

"The complaint, however, was not legally well founded, and although the proceeding disclosed much that was not creditable and many of the Island people were shown up in an unpleasant light, it did not appear that they had violated the laws of the United States." *Outline of Popular History of Michigan, Page 550. Campbell.*

And as the event was one of much interest at that time, being mixed up with the political and judicial history of Michigan and a portion of the Mormons, it seems an appropriate period to put upon record a correct statement of that event, and so complete the early records of the State—and the object and purpose of this article is to accomplish that end. Strang himself in a series of articles in the year 1853 before his assassination, published in the journals of that day, pretended to give a correct account of the causes that led to his arrest and trial, the manner of such arrest, and his triumphant acquittal in Judge Wilkin's court, on the trial of the indictment for burning the mails, delaying the mails, and other crimes against the United States; a copy of which now lies before the writer hereof, but his statements are in many respects utterly untrue,

*George C. Bates was born in Canandaigua, New York, and received an academic education, and graduated from Hobart College at Geneva, New York, in 1831. He studied law with John C. Spencer at Canandaigua. He was a personal friend of his fellow student Stephen A. Douglas. He was admitted to the bar in Detroit, in 1834. In 1841 he was appointed United States District Attorney by President Harrison. He served in this capacity from 1841 to 1845, and again from 1849 to 1852, when he resigned and went into practice in California. In 1848 he was defeated for Congress by A. W. Buell. He practiced law in Chicago from 1861 to 1871 and then became District Attorney in Utah for two years, and then served several years as attorney for the Mormon church. In 1877 he again took up his profession in Detroit, but soon moved to Leadville and afterwards to Denver where he died. He was first a Whig, then a Republican. As a stump political speaker he had no superior in his day. In eloquence, wit, humor, and all the graces of speech and person, he had no rival, and was well known throughout the West and on the Pacific coast, where he was always warmly welcomed at all party meetings.

and in the main are a gross libel on the civil authorities and the people of Mackinac county, wherein these events mostly occurred.

As early as 1847, May 11, a portion of the Mormon people under the leadership of Strang as their king, prophet, revelator and seer, took possession of the Beaver Island in the name of the Lord, and commenced a series of acts which finally terminated in the arrest and trial of Strang and a large number of his brother Mormons; and eventuated in his assassination there in the year 1856 by some of the Islanders, whom he had persecuted from time to time. By the fall of 1850, this Mormon element had become an important faction in the elections of Michigan then closely contested, as the death of Gen. Taylor had left the Whig party a second time confused and the accession of Millard Fillmore to the presidency had distracted and to a certain extent divided its supporters. The election of that fall under the skillful manipulation of John Harmon, Esq., had eventuated in some 700 Democratic Mormon votes, which in a close contest would determine the success of parties in this State. During the year 1850, and the early spring of 1851, Strang and his people had by their consolidated Mormon vote secured nearly all the local offices of the Island of Mackinac, to which the Beaver Islands were attached for judicial purposes; and by means of such power, controversies immediately sprung up between the Gentiles of that island and the Mormon officers precisely as they exist in Utah today, and finally eventually ripened into open war, as Strang described it; and soon in the resistance to judicial process from a Gentile justice of Mackinac, one Bennett was killed, and, as was then charged, his heart was cut out by the Mormons, and exposed to derision and scorn. In a small way, these events are a duplicate of what is just now the condition of Utah, and which may there shortly, as here in the year 1851, ripen into open armed resistance to the lawful authorities of the Government. But for all the offenses committed by King James and his infatuated brethren there was no redress in the county of Mackinac where those crimes were committed, and where the criminals must be arrested and tried, if tried at all. The Mormon voters outnumbered very largely the Gentile voters, and so had secured the election of J. M. Greig as county judge of that Island; and nearly all the other local officers there were Mormons, elected by the Mormon vote, which there as in Utah to-day is a unit. The Governor and State authorities were Democratic, and as the Mormon vote might secure them in power, were not very vigorous in their efforts to bring Strang and his people to trial; and as the entire machinery of the county government could be and was in the hands of the Mormons, there could be no legal means to punish their crimes, unless by an armed force. And so

the then Governor of Michigan appealed to the President of the United States to furnish the necessary aid in bringing to an end the disorder, riots and crimes of the Mormon people at the Beaver Islands. But President Fillmore was President by accident, and was then laying his plans, which were finally fully developed in the Whig National Convention of 1852 at Baltimore, to re-elect himself; and fully appreciating the fact that the Mormons at Beaver might give the casting vote at the next presidential election against him, and in favor of the Democratic candidate, and being a very cautious, cold and calculating man, hesitated and halted for a long time before he could be induced to lend the power and process of the United States to the arrest and conquest of King James the First of Beaver Islands, and his rebellious and revolting subjects. Webster was then Secretary of State, and he too was anxious and eager like all the other great men of the nation, to be the party's candidate for the presidency; and he, too, saw and felt that the Mormon vote was worth saving if it could be done, and, therefore, the best policy would be to let the Democratic State authorities reduce to subjection their Democratic Mormon brethren, and leave the Whig Presidential candidate of 1852 to have the credit, with Strang and his Christian brethren, of having declined to intermeddle with so delicate a question. Much red tape was cut, many diplomatic notes passed, if we are creditably informed, between the Secretary of State of the State of Michigan, and the Godlike Secretary of State of the United States as to which power should subdue this handful of Mormons in Michigan, but who, small in numbers, might by their 700 votes control the next Presidential election in the State. At that time there was in the United States Senate a young but brave and honest, outspoken man, who had dealt with Joseph Smith and his Mormon people in Illinois—Stephen A. Douglas—a gallant, true and straightforward Democrat, and who always was a pet and protegé of Daniel Webster, because he was an honest, straightforward, chivalric politician, and he was called into the counsels of the Whig administration by Fillmore, as he was in a more trying period in 1861 by Lincoln, and then, as always, his voice was for war on anybody and everybody who resisted the constituted authorities of the nation. Strengthened by the advice of the brave Douglas orders were at once issued through the Attorney General to the United States District Attorney of Michigan to commence legal proceedings against Strang and his confederates for offenses punishable in the Federal courts, such as obstructing the mail, delaying the mail, cutting mail bags, stealing timber from the public lands, counterfeiting the coin of the United States, passing counterfeit coin, etc., all of which crimes there was evidence to convict them, and of which they had been guilty. Simultane-

ously orders were issued from the Navy Department to Capt. Bullis, of the U. S. naval steamship Michigan, to proceed to Detroit fully armed and equipped, and report there to the United States Marshal for orders; to transport him and his deputies and the United States District Attorney to Mackinac and the Beaver Islands in order that all processes issued by the district attorney from the Federal courts could be served with certainty, and that Strang, no matter what his force, could not resist capture, arrest and trial in the courts of Detroit, wherein all United States process must issue. Accordingly in May, 1851, the United States District Attorney, using the evidence of several Gentiles who had long lived on the Beaver Islands, and whom Strang had persecuted and annoyed in every possible way, obtained warrants for the arrest of Strang and a large number of his confederates, and embarked on board the war steamer, Michigan, with Gen. Schwartz as Chief Deputy United States Marshal, and forty well armed and equipped assistants, bound for the Kingdom of James the First, at Beaver Island.

Of course, it was deemed impossible to arrest these defendants, except by *strategy,* for the island on which they had erected their tabernacle was wholly unsettled save by Mormons, and on leaving its shores, there were several cranberry marshes of large extent, and heavy timbered lands where the larch, the pine, the beech and maple grew so compactly and were so completely hedged with underbrush that they were wholly inaccessible; and when the steamer Michigan left the dock at Detroit, there were many loud jeers and sneers by Democrats, whose political sympathies were strong with Strang, that Whig fools were going on a tom-fool errand, with a big ship to aid their folly. Long ere the Michigan reached Mackinac where the Mormon Judge Greig was then holding the county court, the district attorney had with the aid and advice of Capt. Bullis's United States Navy devised a plan which as will be seen was carried out to the very letter, and which resulted in the capture of Strang and every defendant against whom a United States warrant had been issued.

It was agreed between the United States District Attorney and the Captain of the Michigan, that the steamer should anchor off the court house at Mackinac, at as nearly half past three as possible, that her guns were to be trained directly on the court house, the marines mustered to arms, and as much display of force made as this gallant little iron steamer could show. The vessel arrived precisely at the time named, let go her anchor as near the court house front door as possible, and brought her guns and force all to bear on the door of the building where the Mormon chief justice of the county court was then holding a term, sitting without

his coat or cravat on the seat of justice. This done, the captain's gig was lowered away with all the pomp and ceremony of war. The United States District Attorney, the first officer of the ship—the boastwain—a splendid large old pilot of the lakes, and one United States deputy marshal embarked in it, and moved directly to the front door of the court house, which stood open half musket shot from the war steamer and her grinning guns. Reaching the land the United States District Attorney, marshal and boatswain proceeded directly to the court house, entered it, and advancing to the judge's desk, he was asked "to adjourn the court, and to consider himself under arrest on a United States warrant," then shown to him by the United States District Attorney, "and to come on board." Being at first taken by utter surprise, he hesitated, and attempted to order the Mormon officers of court to arrest the parties for contempt of court. Whereupon the District Attorney notified his honor "that by raising his eye he would see the guns of the Michigan trained upon him and his court house, and that any hesitancy or resistance to the United States process would result in the destruction of the building and his own death, and that nothing remained for him but to adjourn the court and surrender as a prisoner of the law." Still hesitating, the District Attorney directed the clerk of the court "to enter the adjournment, and the boatswain and deputy marshal to seize the judge on the bench and take him to the boat, which was done, the judge in the meantime remonstrating and threatening his captors with every kind of punishment. He was led to the captain's gig, and without coat or necktie, just as he was, was pulled off to the ship, where Capt. Bullis, in full naval uniform, received him on deck and escorted him to the very small cabin below decks. In less than half an hour from the time the Michigan let go her anchor, it was triced up again, and she was steaming gently away toward the Beaver Island with the Hon. J. M. Greig, as prisoner, confined below decks, in utter amazement at the coolness and impudence of those authorities by whom he had been taken by violence, as he thought, from the judgment seat of the Kingdom of James the First.

Having thus fastened the judge, the next step in the plan laid was to make him an instrument to secure the arrest of Strang the next morning at daylight, and that was accomplished in this manner: Orders were given to slow down steam so as to arrive in the beautiful harbor at Beaver Island at two o'clock a. m., and then the district attorney descended to the cabin and there opened communication with Judge Greig. He commenced by recapitulating the many crimes charged against the Mormons, their constant and successful resistance to the State authorities, he showed the judge a United States warrant for the arrest of Strang,

told how the Mormons had boasted that Strang could not and would not be captured, that he would resist if he dared so to do, and if not then to fly to the swamps and morasses of Beaver, and finally asked Judge Greig to give him, United States District Attorney, a letter to Strang, to be delivered in the night, and directions where the king could be found, but the judge positively refused so to do. Sitting then down by his side, he laid before him the orders to Captain Bullis from the Secretary of the Navy, to obey literally the directions of the United States District Attorney and Marshal, and then in the most solemn manner possible pointed him to the yard-arm over the cabin, and told him "that, unless he gave such a letter within one hour, he should swing from the yard-arm as certain as the stars twinkled above it." Having done this he instantly went on deck and reported to Captain B. what had been said and done, and he (Bullis) soon descended to the cabin, where the judge, in utter amazement, asked was "the district attorney drunk or crazy," reported what he had said, and asked Bullis "if he could really hang him, provided he refused the letter." Capt. Bullis, with all the gravity of such an occasion, took out his orders, read them to the Judge, and then told him "that, if commanded by the district attorney and marshal, he should be bound to swing him from that yard-arm." And on this he yielded, wrote a long letter to King Strang, urging him to come on board at once to save his life, and gave specific and minute directions, with a pen chart, how to reach Strang and deliver the missive ere the morning of the next day should dawn. As great excitement prevailed among the forty deputy marshals on board the Michigan and they were all anxious to take Strang by a *coup de main*, it was necessary to deceive them into sleep ere we reached the Beaver Island harbor, and Gen. Schwartz was ordered to arm his men completely, then have them all conceal themselves below the main deck until called for in the morning by the beat of the long roll, and they all retired to their hammocks to await the call of the drum beat to action. Steam was again slowed down, and at about two o'clock a. m. the steamer gently let go her anchor at a place designated by Judge Greig directly in front of the beach, back of which they had erected their Mormon temple and about a half mile from where Strang and his confederates lived and slept. No sooner had she come to, than the same party as that which arrested Greig, with the addition of a boatswain's boy and his whistle, each man well armed with navy revolver, cutlass and a covered ship's globe lantern, pulled with muffled oars to the beach, and, leaving a sailor in charge, marched in Indian file through a circuitous pathway around a cedar swamp, where at last they reached the resting place of the king. It was agreed before disem-

barking, by Capt. B., that in case of any resistance the boy should sound the whistle and thereupon the bow gun should be discharged with blank cartridge, then the long roll beat, and the sleeping marshals and marines should rush to the rescue. But this was needless. The capturing party on arriving at the place where Strang usually slept saw a light gleaming from the upper window of a long hewn log building two stories high, with the gable end toward the path, and stationing the big boatswain under the farther end window with orders to capture at all hazards anyone who should seek escape there, and the young boatswain at the front entrance, and unveiling instantly the globe lantern, the district attorney and the faithful deputy crept quietly up stairs, entered a long low room, where wide berths, heavily draped with stunning calico, shielded beds like the berths and state-rooms of steamers, which proved to be occupied by Mormon women four in a bed, and passing clear on to the light they found in bed a wounded man whose bandaged arm told of its fracture, and whose head covered with clotted blood marked him as one of the men who had been in the fight which resulted in Bennett's murder. He was asleep, and the lamp that burned at his bedside was trimmed with perfumed oil, with which his wounds had been anointed. Having gently awakened him, the district attorney read to him Judge Greig's letter to Strang, urging him to come to his rescue before day should dawn, and after some hesitation and parley the wounded man called for "Abimelech," who shoved his head through a trap-door and took the letter for the king. While he was gone the captors studied the book of Mormon, conversed with the wounded man, and looked over this strange home where the Mormons dwelt. About a half hour before day, Strang, the veritable king, clad with a cotton collar spread all over his shoulders, like a Catholic cardinal, with a lithe form, large blue eyes, heavy projecting forehead, and a swinging gait, shot into the room, demanded to see the process for his arrest, and, with anathemas long and loud, he called for his captor to take him at once on board the ship, where he could see his imprisoned judge, whose life depended on his own surrender there before the dawn of that eventful day.

The noise and excitement on shipboard aroused the deputy marshals below, and, hearing the voice of the king on deck, they rushed forth and were greatly annoyed that they had no hand in his capture. Having thus secured the king, and the leader in all their crimes, the next thing to be done was to use him as an instrument to bring on board the other defendants for whom United States warrants had been issued at Detroit, and were in the hands of the deputies on shipboard, so that they might all be taken to Detroit at the same time, and this was done in the same manner.

After a hearty breakfast to Strang and a wine glass of brandy from Capt. Bullis, which he sipped very gingerly, the district attorney exhibited to him all the several warrants against his confederates, recapitulated to him the crimes committed, the outrages perpetrated, and the constant and open and successful resistance by him, to the process of the State court, the expense and trouble the Federal government had been put to, to capture him and, thereupon he assured him that if he did not send out Judge Greig and bring in each one of the defendants before the going down of the sun, that he, king as he was, should swing from the yard-arm. Strang appealed to the district attorney in vain; gave him the hailing signal of distress in Masonry in vain, and then having invited the interposition of Capt. Bullis, who reiterated "that he was ordered to obey the command of the district attorney and should do so," he finally sent out the Judge, and by three p. m. of that day every single defendant complained of, and for whom warrants had been issued, was brought in and ere the sun went down in that beautiful bay the steamer Michigan, with a Mormon freight of over 100 men and women, steamed out to sea, and in two days landed them at the dock at the foot of Woodward avenue; and this band of strange people were marched like Jack Falstaff's troops through Woodward avenue up to the old jail, where that now beautiful library building stands, while the streets were lined with amazed and amused spectators of this motley band of prophets, apostles, disciples and devils. Immediate preparation for the trial of these defendants was made, and a day in June, 1851, set for their hearing in court, and the defendants were all let to bail on Strang's word and pledge that they should all appear, as they did do. In the meantime, to save expense to the United States and to defendants, it was agreed by Strang and his counsel, Col. Andrew T. McReynolds, of Grand Rapids, and the court and district attorney, that William D. Wilkins, Esq., deputy clerk of the Circuit and District Court of the United States, should as commissioner go with the district attorney and officers back to Beaver Island and there take the depositions of all witnesses for the defendants and the United States, and that such depositions should be read on the trials in Detroit, in June, in the same manner as in civil cases, and that all objection of forms to such depositions should be and then were waived. In pursuance of this agreement the Michigan returned, carrying back Strang and such of the defendants as chose to go, the United States district attorney, and Gen. Schwartz as United States marshal, Col. McReynolds, counsel for the defendant, and this novel court opened soon after in the Mormon temple at Beaver Island, where it sat for several days and took the testimony of some 120 witnesses, mostly for the defendants. Perhaps a more unique

court or amusing scene was never witnessed than there on that lonely island in that court-room, where as judge, W. D. Wilkins sat under the very horns of the Mormon altar, where Gen. Schwartz, as marshal, in undress military uniform, maintained most rigorous order over that motley crowd of Mormons, the ladies in full bloomer costume, Strang in his pontifical robes, and the district attorney and Col. Andrew T. McReynolds, contesting inch by inch this *cause celebre*. During its progress some of the funniest of events occurred, as per example:

The witnesses were all Mormons and would swear to anything for Strang, and the only mode of impeaching them was to make them testify to their belief in the divinity and prophetic power of this strange man. A witness, Mrs. McCulloch, a very sweet and accomplished lady from Baltimore, whose husband had been a surgeon in the United States army, had joined these people, and the lady was intensely interested in the defense of the prophet, priest and king, and swore most earnestly in his behalf. Her cross-examination brought out these answers to the United States district attorney:

After her examination in chief by Col. McReynolds, the district attorney, taking his seat very near, said:

Question—"Mrs. McCulloch, you are an educated, accomplished lady, born in Baltimore, and reared in the very best society. Can it be that you are a Mormon?" "Yes, sir, I have that honor, sir;" she said with decided color in her cheek, flashing of the eyes, and contraction of her lips over an exquisite set of teeth.

Q.—"Madam, will you please allow me to look you directly in the eye, when I interrogate you—I always like to watch a witness when I examine them?" "Yes, Mr. District Attorney; you may stare at me if you choose. I have seen greater men and better men than you are. Go on, sir."

Q.—"Can it be possible, madam, that so accomplished a lady as you are can believe that that fellow Strang [pointing contemptuously at him] is a prophet, seer and revelator?" "Yes, Mr. District Attorney, I know it."

Q.—"Perhaps we do not comprehend each other, madam; what do you mean by a prophet?" "You know well enough, Mr. District Attorney, I mean one who foretells coming events, speaks in unknown tongues, one like Isaiah and the Prophets of the Old Testament."

Q.—"Ah, madam, how do you know that Strang speaks in unknown tongues and foretells coming events?" "Because I have heard him—and witnessed those events thus foretold."

Q.—"Can it be possible, Mrs. McCulloch, that you are so blind as to really believe that that fellow who sits there beneath you—that Strang, is

the Prophet of the Lord, the successor of him who bore his cross among the jeers and sneers of Mount Calvary?"

Rising in great anger with flushed cheeks and glistening eyes she shook her fist in the very face of the district attorney and screamed out, "Yes, you impudent district attorney, and were you not a darned old fool you would know it too!" whereupon the Mormons greeted her with cheers, and the judge, marshal and crowd laughed immoderately at the poor district attorney, who for the first time seemed utterly abashed at the energy of this accomplished and beautiful Mormon termagant.

Another witness was then called; a very heavy, soggy-looking man, whose cross-examination was substantially in these words:

Q.—"Mr. Adams, where were you living before you became a Mormon?"

A.—"In Boston, sir."

Q.—"What was your business in Boston, Mr. Adams?" A.—"I decline to answer that question, sir; it has nothing to do with this case."

The court—"Mr. Adams, you must answer, sir."

"Well, sir, I am an actor. I did act in the theater in Boston."

Q.—"What part did you enact, sir?" A.—"Well, sir, if I must answer, I acted the *heavy* parts in the theater."

Q.—"Well, sir, what position do you hold in this Mormon church?" A.—"I am one of the apostles, sir. I represent in this church the Apostle Paul, sir."

Q.—"Well, do you represent that character in costume when you meet with the other officers of Strang's church?" A.—"I decline to answer, sir."

Being admonished by the court to answer, with great vehemence he blurted out: "Yes, sir, when I enact the part of the Apostle Paul in our church I do so in my old theatrical costume of Richard III."

"You may retire, Mr. Adams," quietly responds the district attorney, and he retired.

On such testimony the trial commenced on or near the 20th of June, 1851, before the Hon. Ross Wilkins, district judge, and ended on the 10th of July, during all which time the court-room was crowded with admiring spectators, and the jury acquitted Strang and his confederates on the indictment for delaying the mail, burning the mail, cutting the mail bags, etc., although the evidence was quite clear against them. But the charge of the judge was very strong against prosecutions for any religion, no matter how absurd, and the jury seemed to have imbibed the idea that these men were on trial for religion's sake. Strang's speech to the jury was very strong, full of bitterness and dramatic points. He compared himself to Christ, his prosecutors to the lawyers and Pharisees who perse-

cuted him, and really seemed to feel as he made the jury feel, "that there was a divinity that did hedge him as a king," and that he was persecuted for righteousness' sake. But the end soon came. In 1856, after he had served two terms in the Legislature of Michigan, he was waylaid at Beaver Island and shot to death by some of his men, whom he had caused to be whipped, and the Mormon people soon broke up and deserted that beautiful island. They ceased to become voters for the Whig or Democratic ticket, and so faded away out of history, as the Mormons in Utah will do when they are subdued by the lawful power of the United States tribunals. Strang sleeps his last sleep. Col. McReynolds still lives in martial glory. Willie Wilkins wanders amidst the ruins of almighty Rome, and the United States district attorney still lives and grows fat among the bigamists and polygamists of Utah, the real Simon pure Mormons.

PIONEER LIFE IN SOUTHERN MICHIGAN IN THE THIRTIES.

BY W. J. BEAL.*

[Written for his grandchildren.]

I was born near Adrian, Lenawee county, and my earliest recollections were of scenes in western Lenawee, in the township of Rollin. With the exception of a very few small clearings, the county consisted of a virgin forest of mixed broad-leaved trees, or else of oak openings, where occasional fires had destroyed much of the timber. On these openings a wagon could be driven for long distances without cutting a tree.

Wild animals had pretty nearly everything their own way, excepting some of them were now and then killed by a few remaining Indians. Black bear occasionally devoured pigs as they were allowed to run among oaks and beeches to fatten on the nuts, known as shack or mast. They did not kill the pig before beginning their feast, but pounced on his back and began eating. Wolves were thick enough, often making night hideous by their howling, which much resembled the howling of a lonesome dog. In one instance a wolf stole a small pig, and after eating it came back for another when he was met by the farmer, who was successful with his loaded gun. Occasionally the screams of a wild-cat terrified some belated footman. Foxes were numerous and cunning. Deer, badgers, porcupines, minks, and muskrats were plentiful. Deer ate the young wheat of the fields. Wild turkeys were often seen in flocks and sometimes wintered on corn left in the shock in the field. Partridges and quail were abundant; wild pigeons so numerous that, at times of wheat seeding, the farmer had to watch his fields to save the seeding. Coon, mink, otter, and muskrats were hunted and trapped for their fur. Opossums, turkey buzzards, and eagles were occasionally seen, but no crows had arrived. The re-

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mains of numerous beaver dams were to be found, but their ponds were usually deserted or the dams broken away. Porcupines annoyed coon-dogs by leaving barbed quills in the mouth. Opossums were soon killed off because they could not defend themselves to advantage. When pursued they were often found suspended by the tail from a limb of a small tree.

Rabbits, skunks, squirrels, gray, black, and red were abundant, and troublesome to corn while standing, or in the shock. Coon helped themselves to green ears. There were no fox squirrels, which later came from the south. On dry openings and plains gophers were to be found, instead of chipmunks, which abounded in beech and maple timber. Snakes were numerous enough, but all harmless to people, excepting massasaugas, which were frequent on marshes and margins of marshes. Every stream and lake abounded in fish in enormous numbers, including some gar-pikes or bill-fishes, which were worthless for food. Indians roamed about living on fish and game and by stealing or by helping themselves to whatever they wanted, provided it was to be found. They were not warlike to the white man. They entered the door without knocking, and usually talked but little.

From one of the reports of this society I read that, in 1835, Indians (Pottawattomies) had cabins made of bark with pole frames, and canoes on Devil's Lake, in the township of Rollin. Two chiefs were known as Mitteau and Bawbese. Mitteau, I remember to have seen, with some squaws. He was a bold, active brave, who roamed about in Lenawee and Hillsdale. He liked whisky, and would give his last blanket for it. He was tall, well-formed, with clear, sharp, black eyes. He was then about 50 years old. Indians had ponies. In 1840 these Indians were hunted and taken to the west by the United States government. Indians hilled up corn and planted each succeeding crop in the same old hills. They made primitive grist-mills in this way: A long pole or sapling was pinned to a tree, like a well-sweep; a small pole was suspended from the elevated end of the sweep, the lower part of which was pestle-shaped; the top of a stump was hollowed out, to hold the corn. The sweep was then worked up and down by one of the squaws, while another steadied and directed the pestle, which smashed the corn as it came down.

Land was to be had of the United States for a dollar and a quarter per acre. In numerous instances people spent most of their money for land and had not enough left with which to buy an outfit for farming. Then they were said to be land poor. Everything was to be done in a new country. There were no houses, no fences, no roads. Most people had little money.

At first small unhewed logs were laid up cob-house style, excepting that notches were cut near the ends of the logs, so the cracks between would not be large. The cracks were chinked with strips of wood and made tight each fall by plastering with wet clay. The roof consisted of "shakes" split from oak. They were about two and one-half feet long and not shaved or smoothed. They were held in place by horizontal poles, one coming over the laps of each two rows of shakes. These poles on the sloping roof were kept in place by numerous short props, the lower ones of which were near the eaves of the house. Sometimes bark of elm or basswood was used for a roof. No nails were used, as none were to be had. Floors were at first made of puncheons, which consisted of plank split from softwood and hewed, but saw-mills soon made it possible to secure boards. The door was hung on home-made wooden strap hinges. The catch and latch were of wood. To lift the latch from the outside a string went through a gimlet hole a little above. To lock the house at night, the latch-string was pulled in by those inside, but the latch-string was usually left outside at all times, as tramps and thieves were almost unknown. To permit the cat to go in and out at all times of day or night, a small notch was cut near one of the lower corners of the door and the piece of board was hung over the opening so it would swing in either direction. This was known as the cat hole. One window containing four lights of glass, six by eight or eight by ten, was considered generous.

At one end of the house was a huge fire-place five to six feet across, the back consisting of flat stone, the sides or jambs of curved beams, above which rested a square stick chimney, the slender sticks piled up cob-house fashion often on the outside of the house. The inside of these sticks were well plastered with clay-mud, in which was mixed a little chopped hay or straw. As this clay was washed off by rain, it was replaced. Sometimes the sticks would get bare and catch on fire. To use in case of such emergencies, a squirt gun was kept handy with which to shoot water up the chimney and put out the fire. Stones or rough andirons kept large sticks of wood three and four feet long up out of the ashes. Over the fire-place swung a great iron crane or bar, on which were hung half a dozen more or less of S-shaped pot-hooks and short pieces of chain. These hooks the housewife used supporting kettles, pots, tea-pots, and griddles. The crane was swung out, the kettles hung on the hooks, and back again went the crane with pots over the fire. Pigs, chickens, and spare-ribs were roasted splendidly by suspending them by a wire before the fire. In some places baking was mostly done in the old-fashioned brick oven. Johnny-cake (corn

cake) was often baked on one side of a small board tipped up leaning toward the fire. Potatoes were baked or roasted in hot ashes. A little later tin bakers were in vogue, in which the baking tins were supported about eight or ten inches above the hearth, while slanting above and below were tins for reflecting the heat from the fire to the baking tins. At best, cooking over an open fire was no easy or pleasant task. Still later, and not much later, crude cook-stoves arrived, costly, clumsy, heavy, and inefficient.

The provisions in store consisted of wheat flour, corn-meal, salt pork, potatoes, dried pumpkins, and sometimes a few dried blackberries. In summer or fall there were to be had wild plums, blueberries, black raspberries, red raspberries, huckleberries, and cranberries. Salt was often very scarce, at one time costing $21 a barrel.

But little attention was paid to vegetable gardens, partly because cabbages, beets, onions, peas, parsnips, squashes, cucumbers, and the like were considered mere luxuries, partly because the people were very busy raising staple crops, and partly because they hadn't been trained in such work and looked at it as pottering business.

Trees for bearing apples, peaches, cherries, and pears were set out very soon among the stumps, though the quality of most of them was very inferior. Occasionally in autumn some person would bring, in open wagons, apples from Monroe to western Lenawee, a distance of about 60 miles, over bad roads.

Overhead in the house were small rough beams supporting a chamber floor. On the sides of these poles were wooden hooks made of pieces of small trees with some of the limbs. These fastened to the beams held the gun, powder-horn, and sundry other articles. Small poles on such hooks held seed corn, onions, and circles of pumpkin to dry for use in winter as sauce or pies.

There is no use in denying the fact that swamps were numerous in many places; in fact, surveyors had said that Michigan consisted of scarcely anything more than swamps. Mosquitoes swarmed everywhere. There were no screens for windows or doors. At evening a smudge of decaying wood or chips was kept going until late into the night. Where people had not become used to it, they were not infrequently up once or more in the night hunting mosquitoes and scorching them with a lighted candle. To this day I know just how a singed mosquito sounds as she drops from the flame of a candle. At evening the light was dim and sometimes flickering, depending on whether it came from a protruding rag in a saucer of grease, or blazing wood in the fire-place. The peo-

ple were not accustomed to reading much. There were no magazines and few books or newspapers. In the evening men told stories, made plans for the next day or week, visited with neighbors who may have come in from six miles away, or they dozed by the fire, or went early to bed. The women usually finished some work or sat knitting the supply of stockings for the family, using every spare moment that no time be lost.

Many farms contained an abundance of maple trees, and in spring these were tapped with an ax, the sap running over spouts into small wooden troughs or dugouts. The sap, collected in pails and carried by aid of a wooden "neckyoke" on the shoulders, was boiled in open kettles hung on poles over a fire. It was not usually very clean, but it was highly prized by people who could not afford to buy sugar from the market.

Light was not furnished by electricity, gas, or coal oil. Candles were becoming common, and they were hand-made. About 20 candle rods were made 20 inches long and a little larger than a lead-pencil. On each of these were hung by a loop surrounding the stick, about ten twisted pieces of candle-wicking, each for the skeleton or frame-work of a candle. In a deep kettle was placed some hot tallow, reaching to the top. The expert dipped in the dry wicks, or got them into tallow in some way. These were shaped by thumb and finger as the tallow cooled. After dipping a while the tallow became cooler and lower in the kettle. To warm it up and raise the tallow, hot water was poured in, going to the bottom because it was heavier than tallow. Rod after rod was placed in turn over the tallow and the young candles dipped in, sometimes two candles sticking together, needing to be separated by hand. Very naturally, gravity assisted the lower part of the candle to become larger than the top. To remedy this to some extent, the lower ends were held in the kettle occasionally to melt off a little of the tallow. Later, candles were made in what are known as candle-molds. In connection with candles came the need of candle-sticks, snuffers, and sometimes extinguishers; the latter of which your ma, when a little girl, called the overshoe to the candle.

In the '30's such matches as we now have were not known. It was the custom to take much pains in preserving fire buried in ashes. I remember to having gone half a mile to the house of a neighbor to get a new stock of fire. By use of flint, steel, powder, cotton, and punk, one could usually secure fire. Scrolls of paper in a vase were made with which to light candles instead of live coals held by tongs.

Home-made bedsteads were constructed of four-by-four scantling, or nice poles from the woods. In either case holes in the sides and ends

were made through which a bed-cord was strung "crisscross," with meshes about eight inches apart. On this rope was placed a bed-tick filled with straw for use in summer, and above the straw tick was placed a feather bed, if the family was well-to-do. To economize space, a low, small bed, the trundle-bed, was kept during the day beneath the larger bed, and at night drawn out for the use of the children. Soft soap was home-made of lye from wood ashes and refuse grease.

Blankets were made of wool or flax mixed, spun and woven by the woman of the house, or by some one in the neighborhood. Clothing was nearly all home-spun from wool or flax.

A few black sheep were kept that the wool could be mixed with white wool, and thus save dyeing the yarn. It was not long before material for striped shirts could be had. Women bought calico for dresses. Suspenders were made of woolen yarn, and if a button gave out a small stick or a nail took its place.

An itinerant shoemaker spent a week or more in the fall at a house measuring and fitting and making the winter supply of foot wear. At the same time he probably repaired or made harnesses for horses. The local tanner tanned and dressed hides for the farmer. If the housewife did not possess the required skill, a woman tailor sometimes went from house to house, making clothes for the children.

Much of the land was covered by a heavy growth of timber which had to be hewn down and gotten rid of that the farmer might grow wheat, corn, potatoes, and other crops. The bushy growth, "underbrush," was cut and piled, then the trees were attacked. The expert woodchopper who knew his business, could usually fell his trees in one of three different directions of the compass. He usually felled them so that a number of tree-tops would come close to each other, making one round or long pile, thus saving the labor of handling them all over to make a pile. Most of the logs were cut into pieces of 15 to 20 feet. Some very large ones, of little use, were not cut at all, but allowed to rest where they fell, and were destroyed by piling and burning smaller timber next to them. Some of the best oaks were cut 11 feet long and split into rails of irregular shape, each about the size of a four-by-four scantling, and laid up seven to eleven rails high in a zig-zag or worm fence. It was considered important that the rails be evenly laid so that a bullet would hit every corner when shot on one side of the fence.

A rail splitter would cut his timber and split 100 rails in a day, and an expert 200, receiving therefor one dollar a hundred, and board himself. He needed an axe, a wooden beetle or very large mallet with an

iron ring on each end, two or more iron wedges, two or more wooden wedges (gluts) of ironwood, 18 inches long, 3 or 4 inches in diameter, and a handspike. When enough timber had been cut to make a new field for crops, and the weather became warm and dry, the torch was applied to one pile of brush after another till all were fired. The leaves and small sticks were mostly consumed. Later the charred logs and poles received attention. Then some morning came a gang of men with sleeves rolled up driving one or more teams of oxen, most of these men carrying each an axe and a handspike or lever of ironwood. The logs were drawn and rolled into piles located in hollows. Poles and rubbish were carried by hand to the log-heaps. When many heaps had been made and the wind was right and the weather dry, they were set on fire. It was a grand and unique sight never to be erased from the memory of the person who had seen a group of log-heaps burning in a dark night.

As the logs were burning, a man went from place to place to roll the fragments together. Timbered land thus cleared only needed a rough, stout A-shaped harrow containing nine to eleven teeth, each stout enough to stand the strain of a yoke of oxen as they pulled among the roots and stumps. After the team had jerked the harrow in every direction over the land, it was ready for a crop of corn, wheat, or potatoes. There were very few weeds and not a foot of sod of any kind. It was too rooty to admit of plowing. If a man was ill, sometimes the neighbors turned out, making a bee and doing the logging for him. Two or three or more sowed or hoed crops, often followed in succession without seeding to clovers and grasses.

As the smaller roots and stumps decayed, some rough plowing was done. On oak openings, the underbrush and the scattering trees were cut and burned, after which the land was broken up (plowed) by the use of a very stout plow, and three or four, sometimes as many as seven, yoke of oxen, hitched one team ahead of another. This stout plow was almost always a home-made affair, constructed of wood, excepting the coulter and the share. This plow cut off and turned over oak-grubs (small stumps and roots) that were three or four inches in diameter. An axe was carried along to cut off obstructions and to release the plow when caught by roots. The driver carried a whipstock eight feet long, holding a lash made of home-tanned woodchuck skin. He went back and forth along the team, touching up Bright, Broad, Brim, Tom, Jerry, and the rest, as necessity seemed to dictate, seeing that each did his part of the work. A breaking-up team had a regular vocation, like threshing machines of today, and went from place to place at about five dollars per day.

After stumps were partially gone, it was often the practice to use a yoke of oxen next the plow and a horse-team ahead, driven by a boy of 17 to 20, and he soon regarded it as a sleepy job of little interest.

The man at the plow had all he could attend to in looking out for stumps, stones, and roots. Sometimes they stirred up a nest of yellow-jackets or bumblebees that had to be humored, or exterminated, when possible. This served to break up the monotony.

I remember to have seen a plow with a wooden moldboard and only one handle. Wood's patent was the first plow with a cast-iron moldboard that I remember to have seen or used. I have read of a prejudice among farmers against using an iron plow on the ground that it poisoned the land for crops, but I never heard of this among the farmers of southern Michigan. A friend from North Carolina told me that in his State the wooden moldboard was often covered with the hard skin of a gar-pike or bill-fish, and that it was a great improvement over wood alone. On rough, new land the farmer required a boy to ride and guide the horse, as he looked after the shovel plow.

Heavy ox-carts were not uncommon, as they could get about rough ground to better advantage. Sleds were mostly home-made, the runners being natural crook for the turned-up apex, and shod with ironwood or cast-iron shoes, made at the nearest foundry. A cart or wagon could not be bought of a dealer or manufacturer, as there were none, at least not in our part of the State. When wanting a wagon the farmer held a council with a wheel-wright who had his shop near a blacksmith shop. The wagon maker got up the wood-work to order, the farmer bought his iron, and the blacksmith ironed the vehicle, and one of the three put on a coat or two of red paint.

In the '30's wild flowers were abundant almost everywhere. There were a few scattering weeds, mostly natives of the neighborhood.

Potatoes knew no blight, no sun scald, no scab, no rot; the Colorado beetle had not migrated eastward. In leaf mold of the virgin soil the potatoes were unmolested and abundant, often crowding each other in the hill. Wheat rusted, but the midge and the Hessian fly had not arrived. Smut was uncommon, and yet the wheat crop was not without its enemies. While seeding in autumn the farmer had often to guard his recently-sown wheat by killing or frightening wild pigeons which appeared in immense flocks. In October deer frequented the young wheat to gather flesh for a long winter. In some portions of the southwestern counties in open winters, wild geese trampled down and fed on the wheat when not too far from a lake or pond. In cold weather the geese kept swimming about to keep the ice from closing in.

Spring frosts were more troublesome than now. Black, gray, and red squirrels carried off some wheat. At times of corn-planting chipmunks (striped ground squirrels) must be shot or caught with a trap, consisting of a short board under which was a baited figure-four trap. Larger squirrels and coon were sometimes very annoying, as they were fond of roasting ears or even older corn. On one frosty morning a man, of course without club, gun, or dog, found five coons on one corn shock. The coons all escaped instead of having their hides nailed on the north side of the house or barn. In the fall and winter large flocks of quail, and occasionally flocks of wild turkeys, ate some of the corn left in the shock on account of mismanagement or illness of the owner of the farm.

At one time my brother and I made a trap about eight feet square, of sticks, covering well with corn unhusked. In a day or two, watching from the house, we saw eight turkeys not far from the trap, and not long after we were delighted to see the trap spring and only seven turkeys depart. We had caught a turkey! This was as good as a circus for the boys.

During winter and spring when fodder became scarce, trees were cut down, and the cattle were driven to the tree tops to browse on the buds and tender parts of the limbs. The young branches of black ash were the favorite for this purpose, as they were very large and tender. Wheat was cut with a cradle, sometimes with a sickle, and raked and bound by hand. It was threshed with a flail and cleaned by tossing up a shovelful at a time, where it was exposed to a strong wind. Later the open threshing machine, having no carrier or separator, was employed. Cheap mills soon sprang up over the country, where farmers had their wheat ground by giving one-tenth toll for the work.

Horses were a mixed lot, mostly of an inferior grade; cattle were also a mixed lot, many of them entitled to the name "scrub." Most of them ran at large, picking a living wherever it was to be found. One of the leaders was supplied with a bell, which told where the herd could be located, if they were not lying down. Sometimes they strayed away. Usually most of them were unruly, and would let down and jump fences to beat all. To prevent animals from jumping or crawling through a fence, almost everything had on its head or neck a poke or yoke of some style. This was true of cattle or horses. Pigs had a yoke on the neck which stuck up above and below the head to prevent them from crawling through the fence. The pigs were often very slim and hungry. I have heard that in some places they kept pigs from getting through a rail fence by tying a knot in the tail, but I never actually saw a pig so hampered. Geese had their necks adorned with yokes. Pigs were variable

in quality, and got much of their living in the woods, especially in fall and early winter, eating beechnuts and acorns.

Nearly every farmer knew enough to butcher pigs and cattle, but experts of a crude sort were to be had in almost every neighborhood.

The United States mail soon penetrated every new settlement. There were very few letters or papers. Once a week the mail bag was taken on horseback over the route. Postage on a letter was twenty-five cents, and was paid by the one receiving it. Each person had to learn how to fold a letter written on fools-cap paper, as there were no envelopes. It required about a month to get a letter from western New York to southern Michigan, a distance of about 500 miles. When a person was to make a visit to his friends in the east, all the neighbors took advantage of the fact and sent letters by the traveler.

There were very few papers, no such thing as a magazine, and very few books to be found in the houses of the pioneers. I remember only two books that could interest young persons; one of them was Robinson Crusoe, the other was an account of a man by the name of Robinson, who kept a diary while he was wandering about the Sahara desert as a captive by Arabs.

The schoolhouse was cheap, home-made, and inconvenient, and school was taught by most any one who could be found willing to undertake the job. The benches consisted of slabs supported by legs inserted in auger-holes from the round side of the slab. There was a chance to write in a copy book, the teacher making pens out of goosequills. School tax was paid by rate bills, a rule which was favored by most of the wealthiest men, especially those with small families. There was no grammar taught and no black-board on the walls. The teacher usually boarded around. Attending college was not thought of. Science was crude and elementary. No women served as clerks in stores or anything of the kind.

Amusements were very few and simple in character. There were tea parties, quilting, husking, logging bees, and barn raisings. Boys were enthusiastic over washing sheep, visiting a neighboring lake for a swim, and for catching fish.

Science had not yet become prominent enough to prevent the reign of superstition. Farmers relied on the almanac for the phases of the weather, and the moon, learning by these rules when to plant potatoes, kill hogs, and other operations. Gradually a kind of aristocracy crept in, the first symptoms of which were the possession of a large brass kettle, and a large iron kettle, known as a potash kettle. This was convenient for scalding hogs, cooking food for cattle, and for various other pur-

poses. Later some of the wealthiest purchased some silver-plated knives and forks and a silk dress now and then.

Religious exercises were usually held in the nearest schoolhouse about once a month, or once in two weeks. The country doctor rode on horseback for long distances, carrying medicines in saddlebags.

The roads were almost always poor, and often terrible. People frequently went on foot from place to place, or rode in lumber wagons, sometimes over a road of poles on stringers a quarter of a mile long without dirt or gravel on top. This was a corduroy road, long to be remembered by any one who has ever ridden over such a thing in a wagon without springs.

Through a piece of clay woods between Adrian and Rollin, Lenawee county, it is said that men used to make considerable money by having a team ready to help pull out a load that was stuck in a mud-hole,—that in such a region, one with a load sometimes stayed three nights at the same tavern. All there was through the woods to indicate the location of many of the roads was trees blazed with a capital H on the side to indicate the word highway, and a few wheel tracks, or a mere cow path.

In 1833 a charter was obtained for a railroad to extend from Port Lawrence (now Toledo), and from Monroe to Adrian. Cars began running in 1836, and it was not only the first railroad in Michigan, but there was none west of Lake Erie, not even one in all New England, or at most but one, none west of Schenectady in New York. There was soon one built extending from Buffalo to Niagara Falls. The Michigan road consisted of four-by-five scantlings extending lengthwise across ties. This road was 33 miles long, seven-eights of the way through the unbroken forest, and one-third of the way through a densely-timbered swamp. It was operated till June, 1837, by horse power. A locomotive went over the wooden rails. At the last date here given the wooden rail was covered by a strap rail about three inches by three-fourths of an inch and spiked every foot. Up to this time a journey from Adrian to New York could be accomplished, with diligence, in about three weeks.

The early road in this State was first called the Palmyra & Jacksonburg railroad, and later the Erie & Kalamazoo, and still later sold to the Michigan Southern. I remember to have taken a trip with my father over this road. It had no time schedule, and stray cattle were in no hurry to get off the track. The charter provided that stockholders who had a residence along the route had the privilege of using wagons with wheels fitted to the grooves for travel on the track. These wagons, running at ordinary speed, proved no obstruction to the daily train each way, which seldom moved faster than the average speed of a spirited horse.

FOUR PAPERS ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF SHIAWASSEE COUNTY.

BY LUCIUS E. GOULD.*

HISTORIC KNAGGS PLACE.

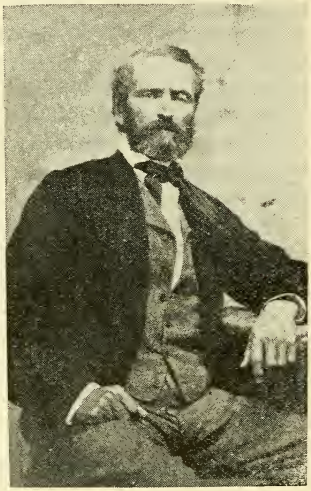
A STORY OF THE FIRST WHITE SETTLEMENT IN SHIAWASSEE COUNTY.

One day in the year 1840 a lad of six years, standing near his father's house, situated in the southeast corner of the town of Shiawassee, not far from where that town touches corners with the towns of Antrim, Burns, and Vernon, saw what to him was a strange and weird sight. It was the passing of a funeral procession. It had come up over the original Grand River road from "Knaggs Place," on the Shiawassee river, and was on its way to the burying-ground near the then new village of Fremont. For at that early date in the history of the county this funeral procession comprised a large company of people. Not only the pioneer farmers had gathered from far and near, but in that moving throng were to be seen nearly all of the white peole who for 20 years resided at or in the vicinity of Knaggs Place.

At no other place in central Michigan would it have been possible to have gathered such a curious and interesting mixture of races, for in that procession there were not only Americans, but English, French, and Indians. They were all vying with each other, in a kindly but rude way, to see who could show the most honor and esteem to the memory of the man who had been a good friend to the man of the woods, to the man who gave to the region known as Shiawassee, a place not only in the history of the State but in that of the nation.

*Lucius E. Gould is a native of Shiawassee county. He was born September 8, 1847, in Antrim township, on a farm lying about one mile west from Knaggs bridge. His father, Col. Ebenezer Gould, and his mother, Irene Beach, were both pioneers of Shiawassee county. In 1849 the Gould family left their farm in Antrim and moved to Owosso. Here their son attended public school until he was eighteen years of age, when he went to Olivet college where he remained for two years; returning to his home in Owosso he there began the study of law in the office of his uncle, Judge Amos Gould. In the fall of 1869 L. E. Gould entered the law department at Michigan University, where he was graduated June, 1871. He was admitted to the bar in the same year and at once began to practice law in company with Judge Gould. In 1872 Mr. Gould was appointed attorney for the First National Bank of Owosso, which position he held for several years. This same year he was elected for the first time to the office of circuit court commissioner, and reëlected four successive terms. About the year 1886 Mr. Gould bought the Vernon *Herald* and he owned and managed this newspaper for one year, when he removed the office to Owosso and established the Owosso *Times*. In 1888 he was again elected circuit court commissioner and held this office for two more terms. He has now discontinued the practice of law, but has devoted himself to literary pursuits for several years. He is now serving his third term as secretary of the pioneer society of Shiawassee county. The accompanying series of papers on the early history of Shiawassee county were prepared during this time. They have been widely read by those persons interested in "Historic Michigan."

The mortal remains which at that time and place were conducted to the grave with so much pomp and ceremony were those of Whitmore Knaggs. The lad who on that day in 1840 saw the funeral procession of Whitmore Knaggs has for many years been a successful farmer and business man, and is now known as Edson L. Lyman. He still resides on the same farm, but in a more beautiful location. The large and comfortable brick house which has long been the home of "the Lymans"



BRADLEY MARTIN.

stands in a grove of forest trees on the brow of a hill that overlooks a lovely intervale of farming lands, through which runs the Grand River road of today. On the opposite hill, across the intervale, can be seen the farm and house that was once the home of the late M. Bradley Martin, which is still beautiful even in its "declining years."

It is a matter of record that the first white man who traversed the region now included in the counties of Saginaw, Genesee, and Shiawassee was a Frenchman by the name of Henry Bolieu. But unlike Conrad Ten Eyke, of Saginaw, Jacob Smith, of Genesee, and Whitmore Knaggs, of Shiawassee, he did not settle at one place, nor did he establish a trading post at any point. Not only was he friendly with the Indians and the traders, but was of great assistance to the pioneers who came

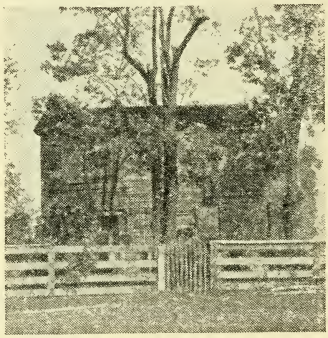
to build themselves homes either in the beautiful "oak openings" or in the marshy, briar, and vine-tangled woods along the Flint and Shiawassee rivers. Long before other white men had followed him into these woods he had discovered where the most convenient places were to ford the streams, and to these river crossings he invariably gave to each the one name, "Grand Traverse." It was Bolieu who guided Jacob Smith to the Grand Traverse of the Flint river, at which place is now located the city of Flint.

At several of these river crossings Henry Bolieu built for himself a small log shanty. They were generally erected over or in a hole on the side of a hill, fashioned somewhat after a Western "dugout." The one exception to this was the log house he built about the year 1816 or 1817 on an Indian clearing in a wide level field at a point on the Shiawassee river, which, in after years, was known as Knaggs Place. Mr. Edson Lyman says that when he was a boy he saw the ruins of this pioneer log house. The only other house that Bolieu was known to have built in Shiawassee county was near Che-boc-way-ting, or Big Rapids, now Owosso. The late Benjamin O. Williams, who came into the county with his brother, Alfred, as early as 1829, was always a friend of the boys of Owosso, and it was but a short time before his death that he pointed out to L. W. Todd, of Boston, then a boy, the exact place where this log shanty of Bolieu's once stood. And, indeed, parts of some of the logs were still in the ground at the time of their visit. It was situated on land now owned by Mr. Albert West, and on the hillside near the river in the rear of his residence on West Oliver street.

In 1820 Whitmore Knaggs came to the crossing of the Shiawassee and established his trading post on the west side of the river, at a point about 80 rods down the river from the iron bridge now spanning the river in the northwest corner of Burns. When Mr. Knaggs arrived at the place which was afterwards to bear his name, no towns had yet been organized in the county, but he found many Indians living there on a reservation of 3,000 acres, which had been reserved to the Shiawassee bands by the Saginaw treaty of 1819. When Gen. Lewis Cass was on his way to Saginaw he visited this reservation, and there met Bolieu and Jacob Smith, who had come up the river to meet Gen. Cass, in order that they might talk over with him a stipulation in the treaty which was to give, and did grant, to the heirs of Smith, who were of Indian blood, lands on the Flint river, all of which in time made a matter of law and equity that took the courts of the State 40 years to settle. At the time of this visit the proposed Indian reservation was located in the north-

west corner of the present township of Burns and southwest corner of Vernon, and comprised also small parts of Shiawassee and Antrim. It was called by the Indians Ketch-e-won-daug-o-ning, or "Big Salt Lick," named after several salt springs which were then to be found on the Indian clearing of the reservation that was on the opposite side of the river from where Knaggs afterward erected his trading post. Bolieu gave to the place the fanciful name of "Grand Saline." But after the coming of Knaggs and his sons this name was never used.

On a beautiful day in September last, the writer, in company with Mr. Edson Lyman, visited the original "Knaggs Place," or crossing. We left our carriage at a convenient place near the so-called Knaggs bridge, and then turned our steps down the stream, along the west bank of the Shiawassee, Mr. Lyman leading the way at so swift a pace that the writer, although a much younger son of a pioneer than he, was quite



B. MARTIN'S RESIDENCE

unable to keep up with him. But he was kind enough to stop now and then to point out the places of historical interest, so that in due time, after climbing hills and scrambling over fences, we both arrived in a handsome field of farming land, now owned by Mrs. Abby Campbell, of Detroit. Here the bank of the river is high, bold, and picturesque, and the margin there is shaded by weather-worn forest trees, that in the old days, of which we write, protected from the hot day's sun these low, rude cabins of Knaggs Place. For here can be seen several holes in the sand that were once cellars under some of the principal cabins. All

of the wood of the structures has long since disappeared excepting small bits of broken boards, which, together with the sands, quite fill up the ancient cellar-rooms, and only leave hollows in the ground to mark the site of the trading post that was once the pride of Central Michigan, when it was but a Territory, and not a State. In one of the hollows from which

"The sand was blowing
And the blackberries growing,"

we found a mere scrap of iron which shows that the settlement was not without some of the advantages of civilization, and while there are no records to show that there were books, schools, or churches in or about Knaggs Place, yet there is left to us a bit of iron—relic of an "iron age." Some blacksmith, with a rude forge set up, either beside his log cabin or at some camp-fire on the river bank, did fashion, with considerable skill, a latch for a door of one of the buildings of that ancient trading post.

Whitmore Knaggs chose a sightly location on which to erect his cabins, from whence we look across the river only to see a wide entrance of farming lands. Mr. Lyman points to the location of the Indian clearing, to the place where the Salt Licks once flowed their brackish waters, and also to the site where once stood the log house of Henry Bolieu. But he does not show to us the owner thereof, and as we gaze through the mists from the stream, we longingly, though vainly, strive to pierce the myths of the past, that we may see, or seem to see, the figure of that Henry who was once the "Leather Stocking," the "Pathfinder," and the "Deer Slayer," of the Shiawassee and the Saginaws.

In 1829, when Alfred L. and Benjamin O. Williams arrived at the Ketch-e-won-daug-o-ning reservation, they found its trading post in charge of John B. Cushway, acting agent for a Mr. Godfroy, who was the immediate successor to Whitmore Knaggs.

Henry Bolieu sent his daughter, Angelique, when she was twelve years of age, to Detroit, where she received a tolerable education. When Angelique returned from Detroit she lived for a while at Knaggs Place. She succeeded, with the assistance of some of her French and Indian girl cousins, who came now and then over from "the Flint" to visit her, in creating a social atmosphere at the post of no small degree. Although her mother was an Indian woman, Angelique possessed a sweet voice for singing. She taught the young people about her to sing the songs of the day, as well as her own gay French songs. It was thus that Angelique, while posing as the belle of the first settlement in Shiawassee,

made life happier for the bright "French girls" who in those days made Knaggs Place famous throughout the Territory for its gayety.

The late Governor Begole, but two or three years before his death, related to the writer, how, in the early '30's he made his way from his school in New York to Toledo and walked from Ohio to Knaggs Place, in Michigan. The governor said: "At the academy, where I attended school, I studied surveying, and when I came to Michigan I brought my compass with me, and found it very useful to me in finding my way through the woods.

"I walked all the way from Toledo to Knaggs Place. I arrived at the Shiawassee in the afternoon, just before dark. I was guided by the hundreds of Indian camp-fires that were burning along the river for over a mile. John Knaggs, a son of Whitmore, was in charge of the store, or trading post. Mr. Knaggs gave me not only a hearty welcome, but something to eat and a place to sleep. At that time the Knaggs post comprised three log shanties with bark roofs. I slept in the loft of the store building that night. There was a square hole in the upper floor, and we climbed up through this by placing our hands and feet in some notches that had been cut in the ends of the logs, where they projected at a doorway. The next morning I learned that there were 1,200 or 1,300 Indians on the reservation, who had gathered to receive their annuity, from the agent of the United States government. That day I made my way down to the river about a mile and a half to the 'Shiawassee Exchange,' or to the 'Williams Trading Post,' as it was then called. At that time the building was a story and a half double log house, in which I found Alfred L. Williams. I asked him for a guide to the Flint river settlement. He told me that he was alone and could not go with me, and that his brother, Benjamin, had gone down the river to the Big Rapids, now Owosso. Mr. Williams was pleased when he saw my surveyor's compass, and told me if I would stay overnight with him he would start me on my way in the right direction. The next morning he took me across the river to the top of a hill, where he gave me the points of direction, and I set my compass. Mr. Williams went back across the river, and I started into the woods towards the settlement on Flint river, which I reached in good time. That settlement is the present city of Flint.

The governor also informed us that the time when he was at the Williams trading post they were getting out the timber for a new frame building which for many years has been known as the "Shiawassee Exchange."

John Knaggs continued the trading post which his father had established until 1839.

In 1838 the township of Burns voted $50 to pay for a bridge at Knaggs Place. The only convenient river crossing at that time was the old one discovered by Henry Bolieu. Its approach to the river on its west side was quite near the cabins, down through a deep, narrow gully, which breaks the hill and makes it possible for teams to go up and down to the stream. At this point, then, the first Knaggs bridge was built. It was a rickety affair and did not last long; all of its successors were built about 80 rods farther up the stream, on a new line of the Grand river road.

The handsome iron structure that now spans the river at this place is far from the site of the old trading post and its bridge; yet there still clings to this new bridge the name of "Knaggs."

The location of the Williams trading post, established in 1831, was at a point about a mile east of Bancroft, where the Chicago & Grand Trunk railway crosses the Shiawassee river. The 80 acres of land on which the buildings were erected lie not far from the north line of land that was once the Ketch-e-won-daug-o-ning reservation, and on the west joins the farm formerly owned by the late Hon. N. G. Phillips.

Soon after the visit of Governor Begole the facilities for business at the trading post were enlarged by the erection of a frame building to take place of the log house which was now used for a store house. The Williams brothers, after carrying on a successful business here with the Indians of Shiawassee and Genesee for several years, abandoned the post in 1837. Their new building, known as the Shiawassee Exchange, was for many years both a social and business center for a wide range of country, in fact, central Michigan. It was a large two-story, roomy building with some attempt at architectural embellishment. The gables were decorated with fan-shaped carvings representing nothing so much as the expanding rays of a rising sun. The windows, though set with small panes of glass, were unusually large for those days, and made the building attractive without and within. The lower floor was arranged for a dwelling-house and business office for the fur company or trading post. On the second floor there was a hall for dancing, where many a youth and maiden of two generations ago tripped the light fantastic toe to the enlivening strains of "Money Musk." During its long and interesting history the building was used as a trading post, a bank, a tavern, and finally as a dwelling.

There are no records to show just when the bank was established in the building, but it must have been after the Williams brothers had sold it to the American Fur Company. Before us, as we write, is one of the five-dollar bills that was issued from the Shiawassee Exchange Bank on the 4th of February, 1838. It is printed in the form of a promissory note payable on demand to S. M. Green or bearer, and is signed by A. M. Clark, cashier, and A. Morehouse as president. S. M. Green was the Sanford M. Green, who was not only Owosso's first public school teacher, but one of Michigan's greatest jurists. This bill of old "wild cat" money was never carried from the vicinity of where the Exchange building once stood until it was presented to us in October last by Mr. James Lyman, of Antrim. In the days when this bill was issued the banks, under the law, were obliged to keep a reserve fund of $5,000 in specie on hand. When the bank commissioner came around to Shiawassee he was invariably entertained by the citizens with a supper and ball, which was given in the Shiawassee Exchange building, but not until the money was counted and certified to as the correct amount required by the law. It was then, when the commissioner was escorted to supper and ball room, where if possible he was detained until it was quite morning, and while the dance was on and pleasure at its greatest height, that the gold or silver money which had been officially counted was placed in a stout saddle-bag and given to a trusty lad who mounted a swift horse and rode away to Flint, where the next bank the commissioner was to visit was located. Of course, when the commissioner arrived at Flint and counted the required specie there, he found it exactly correct. But it was the very same money he had been counting for the last three days, first at Ypsilanti, then at Howell, and Shiawassee Exchange, and so on.

Situated on the Ketch-e-won-daug-o-ning reservation, just across the river from the Knaggs trading post, on the evening of a warm spring day in the year 1830, could have been seen the camp-fires of the Indian village In-daug-o-ning. For years the settlement had enjoyed a life of peace and quiet, but on that night all was in an uproar. Fires were being lighted here and there by the hundreds along the banks of the river. For a while it seemed as if all of the inhabitants of the reservation were on their way to the river at a point near the post, which was the place of general rendezvous in time of excitement. Far up the stream, in the woods near, were heard shouts and creams mingled with laughter. Above all that joyous confusion could be heard the sharp, shrill scream of a fife. Yet that was not the real cause of all the commotion on that eventful night, but because for the first time in the Shiawassee region, was heard the roll

of a drum. The tune played was "The Marseillais Hymn," and its inspiring strains were arousing all the latent military ardor of the white men in that moving throng, for nearly all of them had seen service either with the Americans or the English in the war of 1812. Some of the Frenchmen were reminded of other wars fought in the home land across the Atlantic. They were following, with waving firebrands, the coming musicians shouting, *"Vive l'empereur!" Vive Napoleon!"* Even Whitmore Knaggs, who stood with his son John and assistant Godfroy, watching the animated scene from their cabin on the high river bank, was recalling not only the victories and defeats of the war of 1812, but of that earlier time when he, too, was stepping to the tap of a drum on the heights of old Quebec. The music ceased, and out into the light of a huge camp-fire on the opposite bank of the stream came the fifer and the drummer. The former was Antoine Beaubien, who was well known in the settlement, but the latter was a new arrival, who was afterwards known as "Phylier, the French drummer." Phylier was proud of the fact that he had beat that same drum, not only within the hearing of "Napoleon the Grand," but on more than one of that great soldier's battlefields.

In 1836 Morris Jackson with his wife, Eunice, and their family of children, arrived at Knaggs Place, where they stopped over-night. They were kindly cared for and entertained by John Knaggs, who at that time, with Antoine Beaubien, was in charge of the post. Mr. Charles Jackson, now a business man of Owosso, relates that the long journey from Ohio had made his mother weary and sick. "It was in the strawberry season," Mr. Jackson says, "and on the next morning after the family arrived, an Indian girl went over to the Indian clearing and gathered some strawberries and brought them to my mother." They were the berries of the woods, the kind that Henry Van Dyke says are the most delicious that grow. The kindness of that Indian maiden, as well as the pleasures of her sweet refreshment, always remained in the memory of Mrs. Jackson, and today the strawberry incident makes a charming story for her children to tell of the time when "the Jacksons" first crossed the Shiawassee at the old Indian ford, Knaggs Place. The next night, after leaving Knaggs Place, the entire Jackson family found a comfortable lodging in the tavern kept by Lucius Beach and his wife, "Aunt Abby," all of which, and the incidents relating thereto, go to make a story which remains to be told at another time. But in due time Morris Jackson removed his family to a small house which was then standing not far from, and just northwest of, the home of Liberty Lyman. The house which the Jacksons were glad to move into was small and built of logs, with a shook roof and a stick chimney plastered with mud.

If the indulgent reader will bear with us for a moment he will soon discover why we are so accurately tracing the journeys the Jacksons made before they found a permanent home in Shiawassee, and will also learn where the history of that interesting family touches that of Whitmore Knaggs and his "Place."

"My parents," says Mr. Jackson, "afterwards occupied a house with William Warren, which was situated a little northwest of the present village of Bancroft. From there they moved to a place one mile west of Fremont, where, on the border of a big marsh, they built for themselves a comfortable log house. It was on this farm that I saw Whitmore Knaggs mowing hay for my father. Whitmore Knaggs made his home with his son John while he was cutting hay and doing other farm work for my father and his neighbors."

Mr. Jackson relates that when he first visited Knaggs Place, Whitmore Knaggs was not living in a log shanty with a bark roof, but in a comfortable log house with a shook roof, which was also the home of his son John. The statements of Mr. Jackson, as well as those of Mr. Edson Lyman, prove that at least for a short time before his death Whitmore Knaggs resided in the near vicinity where his trading post was once located, and that he died in the year 1840, and was buried with public honors at Fremont. While it is a fact that he left the management of his trading post on the Ketch-e-won-daug-o-ning reservation to his agents for a long period, it is not true that he did not reside at his post after he had established it in 1820, as has been stated in one of a series of articles recently published in the *Evening News,* purporting to give a history of the Knaggs Place.

Antoine Beaubien was a hunter and trapper and was also a comrade of Whitmore Knaggs in the woods. In Antoine's home, which was not far from the post, were "three splendid French girls, old enough for good company," so the Rev. R. C. Crawford, of Byron, writes us, in a very interesting letter, giving us some facts about that early settlement at the crossing of the Shiawassee known as Knaggs Place. At a very early date Mr. Crawford became a Methodist preacher and traveled a circuit which brought him into that locality in 1834.

The writer of these articles does not claim them to be a history of the settlement which grew up around Knaggs' trading post over 80 years ago, but only folk-lore stories, some of which he learned from the lips of his mother, and others were also told to him in his boyhood by Lucius Beach and his good wife, Abby, M. Bradley Martin, N. G. Phillips, William Warren, Elisha Brewster, Benjamin O. Williams, Alfred L.

Williams, and his father Ebenezer Gould, all of whom are now deceased. To Mrs. Martha Martin, Mrs. Howlett, and Mrs. Mary Lyons of Corunna, Mrs. Rhoda Snell, Mrs. Lucinda Shears, Mrs. Helen Beach Tillotson, Mrs. A. H. Parkill, and to E. L. Lyman, John Martin, M. K. Phillips, Judson Dowell, Daniel Herrick, Hiram and Aaron Herrick, J. H. Woodbury, Hon. Josiah Turner, Hon. Jerome W. Turner, Charles Jackson, Register of Deeds, J. D. Royce, Frank M. Peacock, Thomas B. Allen, and Elbert Allen, who have recently related to us the folk-lore stories as I have recorded them, we owe many thanks. We have not had the advantage of records and written evidence, as has Mr. R. B. Ross, who has been writing for the *Evening News,* of Detroit, "A History of the Knaggs Family." Mr. Ross states that Whitmore Knaggs died in Detroit, in 1827, and that it was his son Peter W. who established the post on the Shiawassee. He also states that John Knaggs died in Toledo, in 1846. That was about the time that John Knaggs, of Knaggs Bridge, died and was buried at Newburg.

If the Knaggses, of Shiawassee, were what they claimed to be, or even if they were not, Mr. Ross has left out of his history several important members of the famous Knaggs family. We admit that on the 3d day of May, 1843, Peter W. Knaggs was in the county of Shiawassee, just three years after the death of the Whitmore Knaggs known to the people of this county, where on that day, at some place in the county, he, P. W. Knaggs, made a quitclaim deed to David Bush, Jr., of his interest in the lands of the Shiawassee reservation, which deed is duly recorded in the office of register of deeds of this county. But in the same office, in the year 1839, another deed was recorded in which Anthony, Joseph, and Mary Beaubien sell their interest in the same lands. Mr. Ross' history shows that the Beaubiens were related to the Knaggs family of Detroit.

In answer to Mr. Ross' statements, and to the deeds of record, we give the statement of Mrs. Snell, Mrs. Shears, and others, who are positive that they knew Whitmore Knaggs and his son John at the time they lived on the river in the town of Burns.

At one time in the history of the small log cabin which was destined to be the last home on this earth of both Whitmore Knaggs and his son John, it was entirely enclosed by a pretty hedge of thorn apple trees entwined with wild vines from the woods. There were arches of vines over the gateways that led to the cabin.

About 50 years ago Mrs. Mary Gould and her husband, the late David Gould, on their return from Flint to Owosso, crossed the river on the old bridge which was located at a point near the house of John Knaggs.

They rode up through a deep gully on the west side of the river to the top of a high hill which overlooked the stream, and there facing the road stood a log house enclosed with a board fence. Mrs. Gould says: "We went into the house to warm. We found a man and his wife and children, and David said to the man when we went in: 'Hello, John!'"

Mr. J. H. Woodbury, of Sciota, also adds his story of when he, with his parents, more than half a century ago, came from New York to Ohio and from there to Knaggs bridge. Mr. Woodbury says: "The bridge was not only built of logs but was very shaky. I remember the log cabin at the top of the hill on the west side of the river."

Mr. Daniel Herrick called our attention to the fact that his father, John Herrick, built this first Knaggs bridge. Mr. Aaron Herrick gives the names of the men who had charge of the work: John Herrick, M. B. Martin, Lucius Beach, and Ebenezer Gould.

Mr. Daniel Herrick said: "I have often heard my father tell the story of the Indian and his dog. While father was at work on the bridge with his broad-axe an Indian said, 'What makes white man's dog run faster than Injun's dog?' 'Because Indian's dog's tail is too long,' said one of the men. 'Me want dog to run like white man's.' So the Indian took father's axe while the man held the dog on the log, and just as the Indian was about to strike at the dog's tail, some one gave a jerk and the Indian cut his dog in two! In all the folk-lore history of Knaggs Place this is the only tragedy we have to record."

It was only the other day that Mr. J. H. Woodbury informed us that while his nephew, Mark Woodbury, was on the river at Knaggs bridge a few years ago he discovered there in the bend of the stream a regular log block house. This was a startling fact, if true, to us who from boyhood have been familiar with the river in that locality. Now, whenever we mentioned the block house story to any of the old settlers at Bancroft we were met by roars of laughter. "Why," said they, "don't you remember 'Old Hi. Warren' and his flintlock musket? 'Old Hi.' you know lived down on a bend in the river in a log house on your uncle Grove Phillips' farm on the reserve. 'Old Hi,' used to shoot ducks on the river without going out of his house. He cut holes through the logs of his house on the side towards the river, through which he would fire his old gun."

We visited the home of Mrs. Rhoda Snell, where she made the following statements: "I came to Shiawassee county with my parents in 1836. Father's name was Sidney Seymour. On our way to Newburg, in the town of Shiawassee, we stopped at Byron for two hours, and then came on to Knaggs crossing. When we got to that place there was no bridge

upon which to cross, but just as we were about to drive into the river we found a sober Indian and he pointed out to us the exact place where to ford the stream. We afterwards learned that there was a large rock in the river which we surely should have driven upon, and would have been overturned, if it had not been for the kindness of the sober Indian. We crossed in safety and drove up out of the water to Whitmore Knaggs' home. It was a small log cabin. We could not see anybody about for there was no one there. The door was locked; the latch string was in. The Indian made us understand that he could get hold of the string if he only had a knife. Mr. Stout, our teamster, who had brought us from Detroit, was so frightened that he would not let the Indian take his knife to open the door with. All this took place just after dark. We then went on to Newburg and stopped with Hosea Baker. We got there at 3 o'clock in the morning. On our way to Baker's we drove by the Exchange but did not stop at that time. The building at the Exchange was a double log house and the frame to the house, which afterwards was known for many years as the Shiawassee Exchange, was just up. In a little while after we went to Bakers we moved into a log house which in those days stood just across the road from the present Methodist church in Newburg. My mother did washing for neighbors and earned money to pay for our living until father came with the rest of our goods."

WHITMORE KNAGGS.

Just at this point in this interesting narrative we pause to call the attention of the reader to the remarkable statements Mrs. Snell is about to make in regard to the man known for several years as Whitmore Knaggs.

Mrs. Snell here goes on to say: "I was just about 15 years old when I first saw Whitmore Knaggs at the Shiawassee Exchange. When I first saw him he was over 60 years of age, I should think. He was a fine looking man, tall and stout, with broad shoulders. Whitmore Knaggs was an intelligent man and a good and interesting talker. He was always a perfect gentleman.

"It was in harvest time, and when I was living at the Exchange, Whitmore Knaggs, or 'Old Whit,' as some of the people called him—but our parents would never let us children call him that—came to the Exchange. I was all alone at the time and Whitmore Knaggs came to me and asked for some whiskey. I did not tell him I didn't have any, for that would not have been true, but I told him that he could not have

any, as I had nothing to put it in. Knaggs pulled off his boot, and with a great laugh said, 'Pour it in there.' I told him again he could not have any whiskey. He then gave a great Indian whoop and left me. The next day he told father about it. Knaggs said to father, 'You have got a brave, smart girl there. I wanted some whiskey, but I didn't get it that time.'

"About that time I made Whitmore Knaggs a shirt. He came to the Exchange and brought with him a piece of pretty calico and wanted me to make him a shirt from it. I made the shirt for him just as he wanted it. He did not pay me any money for making the shirt for him, but afterwards, when he came from Detroit, brought and gave me a cabinet-made work-table. The table was made of cherry and was very pretty. After the time of making the shirt I saw Whitmore Knaggs quite often. He was at our house, the old Exchange, every few days. The people always called him 'Old Whit.' He never gave us the name of Peter. He always held himself out to be Whitmore Knaggs.

JOHN KNAGGS.

"I knew John Knaggs. He would come to our house there at the Exchange on the river; then he would go to Fremont and to Newburg. At the time I knew him he was as much as 30 years of age. John Knaggs was not as tall as his father, Whitmore, but was a short man and quite thick set. At one time he had charge of the trading post which his father had established at the turn in the river from the Exchange. He was a hunter and trapper. At the time John Knaggs died we were living in Newburg, and I saw the funeral procession go by our house to the burying-ground.

"One day, some time before the death of John, I walked over to Fremont to attend a meeting there, and as I was going along the road Whitmore Knaggs and his son John came up and walked along with me. I have never forgotten that walk. Both Whitmore and John were not only kind to me but were gentlemanly and entertaining, and I shall always remember the time when I walked to meeting with Whitmore and John Knaggs.

"Whitmore Knaggs told father that he liked me because I was so brave. There was one time I was frightened by an Indian, though. It was when I lived at the Exchange. I was out at the back door washing my hands, when I heard a noise in the house. I looked in and there stood an Indian with a knife in his hand. I was whiter than a ghost, I was so frightened; for the Indian stood with his knife holding on to the bed

near where two children lay. 'Bushue Scho-moke-mon-squaw!' I felt better, because all he wanted was to grind his knife on our stone. I sent him down where the stone was, and the men were, and that was all there was to that.

"When we came to Shiawassee there was only one frame building in the town. I knew the Jacksons, the Lymans, and the Beaches in those early days. I often saw Antoine Beaubien. When he would come along the river he would stop at our house. Beaubien was a Frenchman and he was a companion of Whitmore Knaggs. The other Frenchmen, Gaudei and Tinklepaugh, I knew. I also knew John and Richard Godfroy."

Mrs. Lucinda Shears, who resides in Newburg, corroborates the foregoing statements of her sister, Mrs. Snell. Mrs. Shears sends word to us by her nephew, Judson Dowell, that she saw the funeral procession of Whitmore Knaggs, but while he was buried at Fremont, his son John Knaggs was buried at Newburg, in the old burying-ground. The "old burying-ground" was located near where stands the building known as "Carruthers' old store."

Mrs. Shears says that she not only attended the funeral of John Knaggs, but went to the burying-ground and saw the interment.

The Hon. Josiah Turner, of Owosso, adds the testimony of a scholar to the folk-lore of nearly three generations, which has gathered around the spot known by the names of "Knaggs Post," "Knaggs Place," and "Knaggs Bridge." Judge Turner says: "In 1840, while I was living at Howell, a Mr. Smith sent me a mortgage to foreclose on lands in the county of Shiawassee. The sale came off as advertised, and it was made by Capt. Elisha Brewster, the first sheriff of this county. I came over from Howell with my client and attended the sale at Shiawassee-town, which at that time was the county seat. After we had finished our business at Shiawassee-town we began our return journey to Howell. We stopped at Beach's tavern, on the Grand River road, for a while, and then drove on to Knaggs Bridge. Just at the bank of the river, and not far from the road, there was a comfortable log house, and in front of it stood Whitmore Knaggs. Mr. Smith called my attention to him, and pointing him out to me, said, 'There's Whitmore Knaggs.' Smith was well acquainted with him and knew him personally. There is no doubt that the man we saw there on that day, in August, 1840, was Whitmore Knaggs. I never knew or heard of a Peter W. Knaggs. In those days I knew something of the settlement at Knaggs Place. If there had been a Peter Knaggs there I should have heard of him. I had a good oppor-

tunity of knowing and hearing about the people you mentioned in your article, for I attended court in Shiawassee before the county seat was established at Corunna. I attended the circuit court at Shiawassee-town and at Owosso, and at one time court was held in a log house not far from the Exchange."

The Hon. Jerome W. Turner has furnished us with the following statement in writing:

"In the '60's I went with Simon Z. Kenyon to Detroit and procured a conveyance from Phyllis Knaggs, widow of John Knaggs, of her right of dower in lands. Mr. Kenyon was well acquainted with John Knaggs in his lifetime, and also with his wife, Phyllis. There is no doubt but John Knaggs was a son of Whitmore.

"J. W. TURNER."

While the legends of the trading post have scarcely passed beyond the limits of Shiawassee county, there is a sort of "Captain Kidd" story connected with the history of Knaggs' Place that has traveled so far as to bring many an adventurer to disturb with pick and shovel the quiet bed of the Shiawassee river in search of

KNAGGS' BURIED GOLD.

It was reported at the time speculators were coming into this part of the country to buy lands, that Knaggs had, by foul means or otherwise, gotten possession of the money some of them had, and for safe-keeping had buried it in some locality around Knaggs' bridge. Possibly 20 years after this a man by the name of Hadd dug in many places about the bridge, hoping to find this hidden gold, but without success.

Just before the breaking out of the civil war the land along the river was again dug over in many places by men who came and worked very mysteriously during the hours of the night. Their identity was not known to those who reside in the vicinity of Knaggs' bridge. The above foregoing facts of the origin and history of the search for old Knaggs' gold we give to the reader just as it was written for us by Mr. E. L. Lyman.

Mr. Thomas B. Allen, who for several years kept a store at the present bridge, says that at the time when the gold excitement was at its height, men who were unknown to him would come into his store and ask him in a mysterious manner for the location of a certain spring, or a tree, or of the rock in the river under which Knaggs was supposed to have buried his gold. On more than one night he has seen fires burning along the river bank that were lighted by searchers after Knaggs' gold. Mr. E. O.

Byam states that one time a party of men came to his house and showed to him a map of the river at the bridge. Upon this map was marked the rock, the tree, and the spring. "I told them I would go to the spring with them, but they answered me in mysterious whispers, 'We will come next week; the nights now are so dark, but then the moon will shine.' This talk took place in the day time. I offered to go at once with them and show them the spring and help them, but they seemed to think it must be done at night and in the right time of the moon." He showed them the spring, and they went away. From the fires that were soon afterwards seen at night along the river, he supposes that they must have dug for the lost gold.

The late Hon. N. G. Phillips, who at one time owned the land along the river where the trading post once stood, would tell all the would-be seekers after the buried treasure that he did not believe, from what he knew personally of Whitmore Knaggs, that he ever had any gold.

Mr. Fred Rogers and Mr. John Martin inform us that the gold stories were revived by an Indian girl, a daughter of Wab-ben-ness, a famous Indian, who at one time lived on the reservation. Mr. Rogers said, "While I was living at Duffield I often saw Wab-ben-ness' daughter. She was then the wife of George Stevens, a well-to-do farmer. I went to see her, and she told me that she saw Knaggs in the act of burying an iron pot in the river near a big rock, now known as Indian rock. 'When Knaggs saw me,' said Mrs. Stevens, 'he told me that the Gitche-gan-e would get me if I told any one.' I asked her what Knaggs it was, and she said Whitmore Knaggs."

Mr. Lester Roberts, who for several years was the miller at the bridge, informs us that while he was digging around Indian rock he found a jug of curious and singular pattern.

Such are the folk-lore stories of this trading post, and no writings of Mr. Ross, or any other historian, will ever blot from the memories of the children, perhaps, for all time to come, who are and shall be the descendants of those early settlers who first lived in and about Knaggs' bridge, the names of Whitmore Knaggs, John Knaggs, Antoine Beaubien, and Richard and John Godfroy.

When our third paper on Historic Knaggs' Place had been published in the *Evening Argus* we supposed at the time that it contained our last words on that subject. But within a day or two important papers have been placed in our hands, facts have been related which throw additional light upon the history, or rather upon the stories that go to make up the history of Knaggs' trading post, as well as some valuable facts about

the men whom the early settlers of Burns and Shiawassee knew as Whitmore and John Knaggs.

It is a matter of record that in 1820 a license was issued, not only by the general government, but by the Territory of Michigan, to Whitmore Knaggs, of Detroit, granting to him and his assigns the exclusive right to establish and carry on a trading post on lands included in the reservation of Ketch-e-won-daug-o-ning.

In our first paper we stated that this trading post was visited by Alfred L. and Benjamin O. Williams in 1829. Now, this was two years after the death of the above-mentioned Whitmore Knaggs. In that paper we also mentioned that at the time of the visit of the Williams brothers the post was in charge of a Mr. Cushway as agent for Richard Godfroy. These statements we now find to be substantially true, and in accord with a paper read before the Michigan State Pioneer and Historical Society, at Lansing, by the late Benjamin O. Williams several years before his death. Through the kindness of Mr. Charles S. Williams we are here able to give to our readers that portion of his father's paper which describes his first visit to the reservation on which Whitmore Knaggs had established his trading post as above stated, which is as follows:

"The next day we reached the Indian reservation of 3,000 acres on the Shiawassee river, Ketch-e-won-daug-o-ning (Big Salt Lick), then called by the French traders 'Saline,' and since called the Knaggs' Place. At this point we reached the trading post of Mr. Richard Godfroy, in charge of Benjamin Cushway, with whom we were acquainted, a rude log house and stable covered with bark. The goods and furs were all packed on horses and Indian ponies, a great number of which the Indians then possessed. We were very kindly received, and entertained with true French hospitality. The Indians had at that time a small summer settlement and some small corn fields that had previously been quite large. This was the summer residence of Wasso, the principal chief of the Shiawassee bands of Chippewas."

Our readers will discover the origin of the name of our beautiful city if they will but prefix the letter O to the name of the Indian chief mentioned by Mr. Williams in his valuable paper, O-was-so, or as we spell it today, Owosso. The reservation was not only the home of Wasso, but it was also the birthplace of the famous Indian Okemos. He was born in a wigwam which was situated not far from one of the salt springs. This spring is still sending forth its brackish waters, but not so abundantly as in days of yore.

We have learned since our last writing, by reading a portion of a printed copy of the treaty of Saginaw, that among the things the government agreed to do for the Indians, provided they would remain upon the several reservations named in the treaty, was to establish and maintain on each reservation a blacksmith shop. This accounts for the scraps of iron that are occasionally found on the reservation.

On a pleasant day in June, in 1834, a wagon load of people left the village of Pontiac on their way to Owosso. In that wagon was Araminta D. Vanwormer, now known to the people of Corunna as Mrs. Robert Lyon. At the time she made that historic ride with her parents from Pontiac to the future site of Owosso, she was but 13 years of age. But the Araminta of today well remembers all the things the Araminta of 1834 heard and saw while on that, to her, eventful journey. After fording streams and cutting their way through the forest, this party arrived, all in good time, at Knaggs' crossing of the Shiawassee. Just before they began to ford the stream Mrs. Lyon remembers that she saw a clearing on the right-hand side of the road. Here she saw many Indians in camp. It was also here that she saw for this first and only time Indian wigwams built so high up on posts that the floor was several feet from the ground. The river was deep and wide, but they drove across in safety, and then up through a deep gully to the top of the high bank of the stream, where they found two small huts, one on each side of the road. The log hut on the north side of the road was the home of the Beaubiens. Mrs. Lyon is the first one of the many pioneers with whom we have conversed since writing these papers to mention the exact location of the first home on that reservation of that interesting family, the Beaubiens. From there the party drove down to the river to the home of Mr. Black and the Tinklepaughs, where they found some of their friends who had not yet gone on to Owosso. It was here, Mrs. Lyon says, that they gave her wild strawberries with their hulls and stems on. How well the pioneers remember the days of the wild strawberry! Even the writer begs to mention the time when he gathered six or eight quarts of long-stemmed, large, red, wild strawberries in a field near the present site of the Catholic church of Owosso. After a while the whole of the party drove on to the "Rapids" where Araminta soon after saw her uncle and his men complete the first house ever erected within the limits of the present city of Owosso by an actual settler.

Bela Hubbbard, who has left a written record of the geological surveys he made in this county, says, in describing his canoe trip in 1837 down the Shiawassee from Byron to Owosso: "The Indian trading houses

were a frequent feature that served to connect the wildness of savage life with the incoming civilization. Five miles above Shiawassee-town was a small Indian village upon what was known as Knaggs' reservation and at a short distance from which the home of trapper Beaubien."

Mr. Benjamin O. Williams states that in his paper, now a part of the Michigan pioneer collections: "The Beaubiens in 1837 settled permanently on the reservation." But in the office of the register of deeds, there is a record, as we have before stated, of a deed, in which the Beaubiens quitclaimed all their interest in the lands of the reservation. This deed was recorded at Shiawassee-town in 1839, by the deputy register, Lucius Beach!

In 1843 a quitclaim deed was executed by Non-e-dash-e-maw, alias P. W. Knaggs, or Peter Whitmore Knaggs, as the justice of the peace who took his acknowledgment certifies his name to be. By this deed P. W. Knaggs sells all his interest in the reservation to David Bush, Jr. The deed gives the residence of this Knaggs as Shiawassee. It leaves us to guess whether P. W. Knaggs was at the time a resident of the county, town, or village of Shiawassee: At this time the town of Burns had been organized for several years, so he could not have been a resident of the place where the store and post was situated and where John Knaggs lived. This deed was made three years after the death of the man whom Mrs. Snell and so many others knew as Whitmore Knaggs. Mr. E. L. Lyman has recently stated to us that at one time there was on the reservation a James Knaggs. So then we have the following names of the famous Knaggs family: Whitmore Knaggs, Whitmore Knaggs, Jr., or 2d, John Knaggs, James Knaggs, and Peter Knaggs.

Mr. W. D. Garrison, of Vernon, said to us the other day, "I was about six years old when Whitmore Knaggs died and was buried at Fremont. When I was a boy Sidney Seymour told me that Whitmore Knaggs was buried at Fremont." This corroborates the statements of Mrs. Snell, Mrs. Shears, Edson Lyman, Charles Jackson, and others.

Were there two men named Whitmore Knaggs? Let us examine that question. The Peter Whitmore Knaggs above mentioned we dispose of by stating that he was a younger man than the Whitmore Knaggs who died on the reservation and was buried at Fremont in 1840. Besides, Peter W. died early in the '60's, in Toledo, as stated by Mr. Ross.

We place before the reader a statement which the late B. O. Williams has left in writing, which may clear up this matter somewhat. He states that the John Knaggs who lived on the reservation was "a half breed of French descent." This same John Knaggs held himself out to be the son

of Whitmore Knaggs, who died in his (John's) house and was buried at Fremont. This reminds us of a statement made by Mrs. Snell that she never saw the wife of Whitmore Knaggs, but she said "I always heard he had a squaw for a wife."

It appears, then, that both these men were of Indian descent. Was this last Whitmore Knaggs, then, a half brother or son of the Whitmore Knaggs of Detroit, who established the trading post in 1820. And if so, then the John Knaggs referred to in these papers was a cousin or a half brother to the John Knaggs of Maumee. Who can tell?

When John Knaggs, in 1839, closed the trading post of the reservation which his uncle or his grandfather(?), Whitmore Knaggs, of Detroit, and of Saginaw treaty fame, had established in 1820, not far from the house above described, he without doubt retained what goods there still remained for his new enterprise.

This new store of John Knaggs has never been mentioned to the writer by any one except Mr. Vanderhoof. The store occupied the whole of the west room of the house. On the west side of this room were shelves on which were displayed cotton cloth, calico, pipes and tobacco, and other things that were kept in a pioneer store. There were no stoves in the building, but there were three large fire-places, one in the kitchen, one in the dining-room, and one at the south end of the store. No stone or bricks were used in the construction of these fire-places and their wide-open chimneys, but they were built of sticks plastered with mud. If the fire chanced to burn through, or the plastering fell off at any place it was mended at once by plastering more mud which was always kept ready mixed.

Cornelius A. Vanderhoof, of Owosso, saw the log house of John Knaggs when he first came into the county, on his way to Owosso, in 1843. Trapping and trading must have been a prosperous business with John, for the mere hut that Mrs. Lyon saw in 1834 and Mrs. Snell afterwards saw in 1836 had by the time of the coming of Mr. Vanderhoof grown into a comfortable double log house with kitchens and sheds thereto attached. Mr. Vanderhoof, in 1845, began to drive teams for Amos Gould, of Owosso. For several years he drove Mr. Gould's teams between Pontiac and Owosso. In driving to Pontiac and return, Mr. Vanderhoof so arranged his going and coming that he would either stop for dinner or for supper at John Knaggs' place. Of all the pioneers who have kindly furnished us information about this house of John's, Mr. Vanderhoof has not only the clearest recollection of how it looked, but has drawn for us a plan of the interior of the building just as it was at the time when he "teamed

it" for Judge Gould 50 years ago. This house of John Knaggs was the last of all that "village" (as Bela Hubbard calls it) which had so much to do with the early history of central Michigan. The house which Mrs. Lyon and Mrs. Snell saw, had been enlarged at the time of which we write, by building upon its east side almost its duplicate. So close were the buildings together that it was an easy matter to cut the wide doorway which practically made them one structure. It was what was known in those early days as a "double log house," although, as in this case, not necessarily a large one. At night the teamsters, sometimes from four to six, would find lodgings in the loft just under the roof over the store. The east room next to the river bank of this log "store and tavern" was both its dining and sitting-room. A door from this room led to the kitchen. Mrs. Knaggs always kept the dining-room pretty and neat; she was an excellent cook, and her fame was known to all the teamsters of the Grand river road, who preferred to stop at Knaggs' bridge rather than at the more pretentious taverns which were to be found in those days here and there along that historic highway. If

"The way was long, the wind was cold."

Mr. and Mrs. John Knaggs' "Travelers' Home" was an ideal place for the worn and weary traveler to find both warmth and comfort. At such a time roaring fires were always found burning brightly on the great hearth of the store room and the dining-room. After the eating of one of Mrs. Knaggs' suppers, the flavor of which still lingers in the memory of our old teamsters, "the men" would gather around the fire-place in the store, and while they watched the flames as they curled up through the wide chimney to meet the whistling wind high above the roof of the cabin, would listen to the stories as well as the news that was then going the rounds. The talk would begin, perhaps, by some one wondering what it was that made Jack Wood so late in getting to the bridge that night. "I wonder if Jack has missed the bridge again tonight and is now in the river?" But all those wonderings would cease when Jack's hearty voice would call out from the darkness, "Never mind boys! It ain't the bridge nor the river tonight." Then all would gather around Jack before the fire to hear his story: "Boys, what do you think? Just as I was coming along in the edge of the woods by the Indian orchard the biggest wild cat I ever heard of jumped right out from that stone chimney of old Hank Bolieu's house. You see, it was just like this: I was driving along at a good gait, for my eye caught sight of this fire light which was a-shining down through the window over the bridge, and thinking how easy I was going to make the bridge tonight, and all about the good

supper Mrs. Knaggs was saving for me, when zip-swish! swish! zip! and the wild cat went clean over, and my team backed into the bushes and me into the woods. But here I am, and now for supper." This story of Jack's set them all to talking about wild cats and bears. But just as he followed Mr. Knaggs to the supper room some one remarked, "That's another one of Jack's stories. He's only made it up to get a good supper from the old lady." But soon the fireside talk would reach a higher plane, when some one gave out that the government agent down at the Exchange had brought news that we are going to fight Mexico and all creation. That set them to discussing the question, Who shall lead our army to victory in that far-away land? Will it be General Scott or General Taylor? While some went so far as to discuss the probability of General Taylor's becoming the next president of the United States. They were like

"The broken soldier, kindly bade to stay,
Sat by his fire and talked the night away."

John Knaggs' wife at this place was always spoken of as "Mrs. Knaggs," not Phyllis. While the store room was sometimes called a bar-room, Mr. Vanderhoof says he never saw John Knaggs or any one else sell liquor there.

Mrs. Frances Cordelia Carruthers, of Newburg, who came into the county with her parents at a very early date, states that she is familiar with many of the facts and stories that have been related in these papers. Mrs. Carruthers informs us that the building which is known in Newburg as "Carruther's old store," was erected on the site of the old burying ground. Mrs. Carruthers is quite sure that under the old store building there are several graves which have never been disturbed.

The late Andrew Huggins, the pioneer surveyor, who was a friend of John Knaggs, made a search for his grave at the time the new burying-ground was established. The writer once heard Mr. Huggins state, in a pioneer meeting, that he was never able to locate the grave of John Knaggs, but that he (Huggins) believed it was under the old store building.

Mr. J. H. Howe, of Owosso, informs us that when he came into the county, in 1842, he crossed the Shiawassee on the old, or first, Knaggs bridge. He well remembers seeing the home of John Knaggs. It was a cabin, and stood on the high bank of the river not far from the bridge, and a little ways from the Grand river road. Mr. Howe says that the bridge was built of logs; its floor was covered with poles, and that it was without a railing. After describing the bridge, Mr. Howe then stated

that John Knaggs was not only a Frenchman, but a tall and fine-looking man.

On the margin of a leaf of a book in the office of the register of deeds which contains an abstract of the history of the titles to the lands of the Ketch-e-won-daug-o-ning reservation is written this statement: "The lands of this reservation were opened for settlement in the year 1851." In due time the government of the United States sold all the land of the reservation to actual settlers. The quitclaim deeds to these lands made by the Beaubiens and Peter W. Knaggs were never recognized by the government.

The block house, or "Old Hi." Warren's cabin, which once stood down on the river at a sharp bend in the stream, was built after the reservation was opened to settlers. The late Hon. N. G. Phillips owned the land upon which "Old Hi." built his house. He was allowed to occupy the land provided he would clear five or six acres for Mr. Phillips. But "Old Hi.," after building his house did not clear the land as he agreed to, and thereafter his home was in first one log shanty and then in another. At last there came a day when poor "Old Hi." Warren was found, not only alone, but dead, in a rude hut on the east side of the river.

It was only recently we discovered that for several years prior to 1852 the government maintained upon the reservation a school for Indians. This school was held in a log house situated on the south side of the road only a few rods east of the present Knaggs bridge. Miss Lucinda Lyman taught this school in 1852, and she was the last teacher to receive pay from the United States government in this county. This important fact in the history of the schools of our county, we believe, is here published for the first time. This schoolhouse and the wigwams of the Indians are gone. There are no buildings left along the river bank where once stood the settlement and trading post of John and Whitmore Knaggs. The bank of the river is now covered by a beautiful grove of second growth forest trees. On a summer night, when the fires of the seekers after the buried gold burn brightly, do they not remind the old settler of other fires that were once kindled along the Shiawassee, lighting up perhaps the home of Marie Coutant the Indian mother of Angelique? And now let Gitch-e-gan-e, the muse of the river, whose home is still beneath Indian rock, sing the last words of the folk-lore story:

When across the western sky the summer sunlight shines aslant,
Where Shiawassee's shimmering stream rolls so wide and deep,
Sweetly sings papoose's mother, Marie Coutant,
"Sleep! my Indian babe, my little—Angelique!"

UNPUBLISHED HISTORY.

SECOND SERIES OF ARTICLES ON THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF SHIAWASSEE COUNTY.

In writing this second series of stories of the first white settlement in Shiawassee county, we purpose to give the history of those events which led to the organization of our first township, Shiawassee, and finally to that of the county.

We beg the privilege of giving some account, from time to time, of the doings in early days of those pioneers who first settled along the Grand River road from Knaggs bridge to Fremont, and in the villages of Shiawassee town and Newburg. We should be glad to mention the names of all the first pioneers, but it will be impossible to do so within the limits of these papers. Neither will it be our aim to give alone the names of those settlers who were first in everything, but rather the story of the pioneers in our county who first set in motion the organizations that were to keep the covenant between the general government and the people of the Territory of the Northwest, as it was written in the ordinance of 1787, to wit: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.

For more than half a century prior to the year 1822 the boundaries of that wild and mysterious region known as Shiawassee were indefinite. In 1822 Shiawassee appeared upon the map of Michigan for the first time. It was during that year its boundaries were first established by a proclamation issued by Governor Lewis Cass. That part of his proclamation which relates to our country reads as follows: "All the country included within the following boundaries, beginning on the principal meridian where the line between the eighth and ninth townships, north of the base line, intersects the same, and running thence south, to the line between the second and third townships, north of the base line; thence east, to the line between the sixth and seventh ranges, east of the principal meridian; thence north, to the line between townships numbered eight and nine, north of the base line, thence west to the place of beginning; shall form a county, to be called the county of Shiawassee."

Notwithstanding the fact that General Cass' proclamation greatly reduced the limits of the Shiawassee known for years to the Indians, the trader, and the trapper, it still contained within its legal boundaries the northeast quarter of the county of Ingham, the north half of the

county of Livingston, and eight townships now in the county of Genesee. However, as time went on the above-named counties were organized, one by one, and each new organization drew from the territory of the original Shiawassee till it was reduced to its present limits, one of the smallest counties in the State.

It is now 86 years since Henry Bolieu first paddled his birch-bark canoe from the headwaters of the Saginaw into the river that flows through the country of which we now write. Henry had heard of the great salt springs which were to be found in a wonderful country far up the river, and he then was on his way to visit them. In his journey up the Saginaw he came to so many rivers, both great and small, that he was puzzled to decide which was the right stream to follow. Should he take that deep, rapid river to the east? Or was it better for him to go up that broader stream, which, not far away, was pouring its waters into the Saginaw? Or, upon the whole, was it not best for him to keep on his way in the stream where he was then paddling the deep, though narrow, "straight-ahead river"? Henry, to be sure of the matter, called to his friends, the Indians, who were not far off in another canoe, "What was-see (running water or river) will best float Sho-mok-e-mon's canoe to the was-see of the Ketch-e-won-daug-o-ning?" And the answer shouted back to him was this: "Shia (straight or straight-ahead) was-see" (Shiawassee, or the straight-ahead river). Thus it was that Henry Boileu paddled on up the stream into that region which has been known to the world from that day till this as Shiawassee.

The arrival of Henry Bolieu at the Big Salt Licks, in 1816, marked the beginning of the geographical history of Shiawassee. During that year or the season following, Bolieu built his first cabin. It was constructed of logs, and was covered with a bark roof. For 20 years this cabin was a famous landmark in central Michigan. Situated as it was on the east side of the Shiawassee river, about 80 rods below the present Knaggs bridge, in the township of Burns, not far from a point where three Indian trails converge for the purpose of crossing the river at the one convenient place which was afterwards known as Knaggs' Ford, Bolieu's cabin became as well known to the Indians and the *voyageur des bois* as was the log house of John Knaggs at a later date.

The stone chimney of Bolieu's cabin was built of boulders taken from the bed of the river. It was a French chimney. The same kind can be seen today attached to the small farm houses just outside of the city of Quebec. Long after Bolieu's cabin and the cabins of historic Knaggs Place had entirely disappeared, and even after the log houses of the

pioneers of that vicinity were gone, that stone chimney was still standing, not unlike a monument to the heroic deeds of both the "Pathfinder" and the "old settler."

Henry Bolieu showed great foresight in locating his cabin. It was an ideal place for the home of the trader and trapper. We are quite sure the reader will pardon us for again mentioning the reasons why Henry built his cabin on the old Indian clearing of the Ketch-e-won-daug-o-ning, when he learns that the building of that cabin was the beginning of a series of historical events, which, by the year 1822, resulted in the setting apart of portions of the region of the Shiawassee to be and become one of the counties of the Territory. To the traveler of the wood, the practical value of the location of the cabin was that it marked for him the exact place where to cross the river in safety. If the *voyageur* chanced to be a stranger to the wilderness of the Shiawassee, and if he asked for directions when about to leave either Detroit or Toledo, the answer he received was usually in the words: "You must go through the woods to the north or northwest till you come to the seventh river."

"How will you know when you come to it?"

"Why, the Shiawassee makes more noise than all the rivers in that whole country. Before you get within six miles of it you will hear the boom and the roar of its rapids. Now, when you reach the Shiawassee you must search along its east bank until you come to a large clearing, in which, at a short distance from the river, stands one of the cabins of 'Hank' Bolieu. It is surrounded by some apple trees and a patch of corn which the Indians have planted. But you will know the cabin, for it has not only an outside oven but also a stone chimney. Going on to the Looking-glass are you? Well, in that case you will find the cabin an excellent place to stop over-night. Never mind if the owner is not there. Pull the latch string and go right in. Build a fire on the great stone hearth and make yourself at home. Must go right through, short of provisions and haven't time to hunt? Why, the rapids just above the crossing are full of fish. You can catch them with your hands. Now, when you are ready to make the ford, be sure to go down to the river on a line due west from the cabin door, and there, on the other side of the river, you will notice a deep, narrow gully which leads up from the water to the top of a hill. Don't make for the gully, but for a tall maple tree with a blaze. Keep your eyes on that blaze and you will get over all right."

The Hon. B. O. Williams once stated in a pioneer meeting held at Lansing, that when he arrived on the river, in 1829, at the place above described, "the bottom of the stream was covered with fish."

When Henry Bolieu made his first voyage up the river into the region of the Shiawassee, he found three Indian villages or settlements. The first one he came to was the Chippewa village of Che-as-sin-ning, or "Big Rock," and today known as Chesaning. At this place Henry found not only the largest village on the river, but one of those "Indian orchards" that made the country through which the Shiawassee flowed famous not only to the Indians, the trader, and trapper, but also to the actual settler. After stopping for some time at the "place of the Big Rock," Bolieu paddled on up the stream for several days until he came to the village of Shig-e-mas-king, or "The place of the Soft Maple." The word ing or ning at the end of an Indian name means "the place" or "spot." From Shig-e-mas-king it was but a short journey to the place of the Big Salt Licks, or the village of Ketch-e-won-daug-o-ning.

Although Henry was well acquainted with the reputation of this place as being the center of valuable hunting grounds, which furnished to all the Indians of the region a constant supply of food, and such provisions as were in those early days gathered from the woods, he was more interested in ascertaining the quantity and value of the fur-bearing animals of the country, upon which his own living and comfort depended. In fact, our trader and trapper made his voyage up the Shiawassee not so much for the purpose of seeing the Indians and their orchards and gardens, as to visit a colony of beavers that were said to inhabit some of the creeks and marshes which were two or three miles to the southwest from the river. Therefore, all in due time, Henry again took to his canoe, this time with a guide, and paddled up the stream from the clearing of the Ketch-e-won-daug-o-ning to a small creek which was then, and still is to this day, pouring its waters into the Shiawassee from the west. Here Bolieu left his boat, and his guide conducted him along a well-worn Indian trail which now and then crossed the creek as they travelled to the west. This trail and the creek led them over land which in after years was, and is now, known as the "Bradley Martin farm." At this point they changed their direction from due west to south, and when they had journeyed about a mile, were stopped by a large pond of water. This pond was formed by a dam which had been made by beavers. The ruins of this beaver dam were something like 200 feet in length, and were well known to the early settlers of the town of Antrim. After making a careful examination of this colony of beavers, and measuring the length of the dam, as well as estimating the number of lodges contained in the pond, Henry followed his guide in a southerly direction until they came to an Indian orchard of plum and apple trees. From this point they traveled

to the southwest for nearly a mile, when they arrived at a group of Indian mounds. From there they turned southwest, and after a short walk through the woods, came out on the banks of a lake which the Indians in those days called Ketch-e-gan, or Big lake, as it is named on the map of Antrim of today.

Now, when Henry Bolieu returned to his camp on the river, he was so well pleased with what he had found while on his tramp in the woods, and was so well satisfied with the information he had gained in regard to the resources of the country, that he determined to establish his summer home at the Ketch-e-won-daug-o-ning. All this happened in the year 1816, or about four years before Whitmore Knaggs established his trading post at this point on the river. But the buildings Knaggs erected were shanties compared with the one we have before described as the cabin home of Henry Bolieu. For many years before a white man paddled a canoe on the swift waters of the Shiawassee a band of Chippewa Indians had made their home at Ketch-e-won-daug-o-ning. The early settlers found evidence of the truth of this statement in the large Indian burying-ground located at this point on the river. But there were other places here and there along the river and in that vicinity which the Indians had used, at a very early date, for the interment of their dead. We here briefly refer to the

INDIAN MOUNDS.

It is something like 40 years since we first visited the most interesting group of Indian mounds that were then to be found in all this region. They were located on non-resident land in the eastern portion of the township of Antrim, not far from Big lake. From the clearing of the forests, and the leveling of the land for farming purposes, these mounds have now almost wholly disappeared. The mounds at the time of our first visit were situated in a dense forest of heavy timber. The mounds themselves, three in number, were not only covered with brush and shrubs, but trees of considerable size were growing from their sides and tops. Owing to the thick growth of the forest, we were unable to determine the exact size of the mounds, but the largest of them was about 12 feet in height. We did not discover that the mounds had ever been disturbed in any way. In 1882 we again visited these mounds. We found them or what was left of them, in a field on a farm then owned by Mr. Warren Clough, situated on the west half of the southeast quarter of section 12, 25 rods north of a road running east and west between sections 12 and 13, in the township of Antrim. The farmer and his plow had still left enough

of the mounds so that we were able to locate them. We found them on a sandy ridge which had recently been plowed, running parallel with the road. There was some marsh land on both the north and south sides of the ridge. At the time of this last visit the surface of nearly the whole field was covered with small fragments of human bones which had been plowed or dug from the mounds. It appeared that the mounds had been located by their ancient builders but a few feet apart, and if they had been bounded by a line they would have been represented by a triangle, whose base was north.

The northeast mound was the largest by one-half.

In about the year 1864 the writer, in company with other boys, visited one of the

INDIAN ORCHARDS

then to be found in the woods on the eastern side of the township of Antrim. Inasmuch as the Indian orchards had something to do with the fixing of the points of the first settlements in the county, we deem it will not come amiss if we here give some interesting facts concerning them. When the excursion to the Indian orchard in Antrim was organized we were, of course, well acquainted (what boy was not, in those days?) with the wild plum and crab apple of the woods. As we traveled into the deep, thick woods we supposed we were being conducted by our companions only to some favorite place for gathering the well-known fruit. Imagine our surprise, then, when we arrived at the Indian orchard of plums—not of that pretty pink variety, which we were so familiar with, but a large yellow plum, growing upon exceedingly tall and scraggy trees. These trees were surrounded by a dense growth of bushes and shrubs, and so choked were they with the vegetation of the forests that only a few branches of each plum tree were alive. But we managed to secure a few plums. They were oblong in shape and of great size. Those plums were a novelty to us and we have never forgotten them. We leave it to the reader to fancy just how good they tasted to a boy in the woods on that by-gone day. Another Indian orchard which was of benefit to the early settler was situated at or near the springs of Ketch-e-won-daug-o-ning. One of its apple trees is still alive, and marks the spot on which the Indians once grew corn and pumpkins. It was only recently that Mrs. Cordelia Carruthers, of Newburg, informed us there was an Indian orchard on the Tinklepaugh farm in the township of Shiawassee. Mr. Thomas E. Clary, in speaking of the old Indian orchard, informed us that in 1857 he plowed a field on the Tinklepaugh farm on which stood some of

the Indian apple trees, as well as some Indian plum trees. The apples at that time on the tree were small and hard while the plums were of a singular shape, being not only large but quite long. This corroborates the statements we made about the plums we found in one of the Indian orchards of Antrim. Mr. Clary's farm is situated on section 13 of the township of Shiawassee. It is the farm his father began to clear and subdue 50 years ago. Mr. Clary informed us that when his father had prepared a piece of ground for an orchard he went to one of the Indian orchards and procured small apple trees with which to plant it. At another time his father brought home scions that he had cut from some of the Indians' apple trees, with which he grafted apple trees that were then growing on the farm. There was one kind of apple which grew in nearly all of the Indian orchards which was not only a novelty but a great favorite with the early settlers. This apple is known today as the Surprise, but at an early date it was called Squaw apple. While the skin of this apple is of a delicate yellow, its fruit or flesh has the color of a pink rose.

As we write these words, it is with pleasure we strive to look across both miles of space and years of time to the place and the hour when we, with other boys, picked Squaw apples from the tree that stands by the road which leads from the farm gate to the house on the hill that was once the home of our uncle, Bradley Martin. What a pleasure it was to pretend that we were startled when we bit into the bleeding, rosy fruit, and how our taste was heightened when we were informed for the fortieth time, at least, that the twig which then formed the tree once grew in some of the old Indian orchards. Mr. Peter Smith, of Owosso, has mentioned to us that the Squaw apple tree is to be found in nearly all the old orchards along the Grand River road. We do not claim that all of the Surprise apple trees now in the county first came in by way of the Indian and the French trader, but it is of interest to know that the most of them had their beginning in the old Indian orchards of which we have written above.

The history of the establishment of the Christian religion in Michigan is a wonderful one. It is now 261 years since Father Marquette first told the story of the cross to the Indians of Pointe St. Ignace. The good works of that early missionary still follow him. In several localities of our State there still remain evidences of both the spiritual and material works of Father Marquette and his followers.

There is no record of the time when the gospel was first preached in Shiawassee, but it is quite certain that long before the coming of the first white man many of the Indians of this region had heard of Him who died to save the world.

Nearly all of the first settlers of Knaggs Place adhered to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic church. After reading the written record, and after listening to many folk-lore stories of that first white settlement in our county, we do not learn that those early Catholics of Shiawassee ever erected cross, shrine, or any other permanent place of public worship on the Indian reservation. When the first actual settlers of the county arrived at this point on the river, they were both pleased and surprised to learn that the Indians were maintaining a Christian organization, if not a church, in the Indian village at Knaggs Place.

It is now 55 years since the Sunday when George A. Parker, of Bancroft, first listened to a sermon preached by an Indian in the village of Ketch-e-won-daug-o-ning. At that time George had come over from his parents' home in the eastern part of the State to Knaggs Place to visit his grandparents, Ashel and Mary Rust, who were then living on a farm now owned by Roger Sherman in that vicinity. On that day the entire family of Mr. and Mrs. Rust attended the Indian meeting at the village. This village of about 300 Indians was situated on the river 40 rods below Knaggs bridge, on land which was afterwards "taken up" from the government by Richard Gaylord. The meeting was held in a large wigwam, or tent, built of poles covered with bark. In the center of the tent, under a hole in its roof, burned a great fire, over which a kettle of corn and beans, or suc-co-tash, was cooking. The preacher stood in the center of the tent by the fire, while the people, both white and Indian, were seated around him in a circle. This made an exceedingly convenient arrangement, for those who did not care to look upon the fiery Indian preacher and his weird gestures could watch the boiling and steaming of the beans and corn over the fire. Besides the sermon and the boiling of the corn and beans, George remembers that the singing of the congregation was fine. The Indians were well provided with singing books. The arrangement of these books was after a plan made by Henry R. Schoolcraft, who at one time was a citizen of Michigan, and who did much to give the Indians a written language. On one page of the book the hymns were printed in English, while on the opposite page they were set forth in the language of the Indian. The singing of the mixed congregation when once heard was never to be forgotten. The deep mellow voice of the Indian gave forth low but sweet music. To this, at times, character was added by the high, clear ringing voices of the "French girls" who were present, and could sing as if they were birds, in the Indian tongue. The meetings were attended by Indians, French, English, and Americans, and while it was true that all present did not understand the words of

the Indian preacher, yet when the voice of song arose the hearts of those who had come to worship were touched as if by fire. The harmony of the hymn knit soul to soul, and its sweet influence, aided by faith, led the spirits of all upward to the same great white throne. At the close of the meeting the preacher announced that at the service to be held on the following Sunday an interpreter would be present, in order that all might enjoy the sermon. The name of this Indian preacher was Ick-wa-co-mick. He was well known throughout the region of Shiawassee. At times he was assisted in his work by Wa-ba-tang-wa, another Indian preacher. But it was Ick-wa-co-mick the people loved to hear best. He was both fiery and eloquent. He had a habit, which he perhaps learned from some good Catholic Father, of making his words impressive by holding aloft a small cross; yet while so doing he preached the doctrines and conducted his services according to the simple form of the Methodist church, which was so dear to many pioneers in those early days.

Nearly three-quarters of a century has passed since the first wagon load of settlers approached that country

"Where Shiawassee's shimmering stream rolls so wide and deep."

The "oak openings" of the southern portion of our county were a continual delight to the pioneer. Before those openings were reached the weary travelers journeyed for many miles over mere cart tracks, through dense and tangled forest. They often found it necessary to stop for hours to clear with the axe a road for their patient teams. But with what joy the early settler and his family beheld the oak openings for the first time. To their wondering gaze it seemed a veritable paradise. In more than one wagon there were children, and how they fairly screamed with delight as some lovely vista opened to their view sparkling lakes, groves of giant oaks in grassy meadows bright with flowers. Reader, were you one of those children? If so, do you remember the flowers which grew in the forest and meadows of that long ago? How many years is it since you went in search of those blossoms of your childhood and found none? You surely have not forgotten that bright, early summer morning when you were allowed to clamber down from the high lumbering wagon and pick the flowers that seemed to grow everywhere in the oak openings. There was the brilliant fire weed that flashed up its red flame from some inaccessible place on the edge of the forest. Longingly you turned away from that to gather the Indian pink, which grew in sandy places under the trees. You called it, perhaps, the Indian pink, but its true name was the "painted cup." I say was, for you know, as well as I, that it is many years since that deep red flower has ceased to bloom in the forests and

fields of our county. It has been called the forerunner of civilization, for, like a true "Leather Stocking," it cannot live in forests that have been disturbed by the axe of the settler. You will remember that the wintergreen grew with the Indian pink, but both seem to be things of the past with us. If you wandered far from the slow-moving wagon into the deep woods, perchance you found nestled in the mould at the foot of some great tree the Indian pipe, or "ghost flower," a blossom that has much to do with the romance of Michigan. The ethereal whiteness of your ghost flower so pleased and startled you that you took no note of time or place, and how surprised you were, upon hearing a faint halloo, to look up and find that the wagon was not only far in the distance, but that it had stopped and was waiting for you to come up with it. Now, when you arrived at the wagon, and after you had clambered up into your old seat, the one which you had occupied for so many days, then it was that the shining waters of a river were pointed out to you. The margin of the stream was less than half a mile away. Do you remember how, during the whole of your journey, you longed for this very hour to arrive, when you could cross the Shiawassee over into what seemed to you and your people a land of promise? Surely it was such a land, for you have dwelt there "even unto this day." You also noticed that along the uplands of the river the forest trees were scattering, and were quite free from underbrush, and the semblance was that of a beautiful park, while the lower levels of the valley of the Shiawassee were covered with a rugged forest of maple, oak, ash, hickory, and black walnut. How your delight and wonder grew when, for the first time, you saw the tall, slender hazel bushes that fringed the margin of the stream with their unripe fruit. What was that which caught your eye? Was it the bright red wing of a bird that hovered over the bushes near the water? Ah, no, it was but the scarlet plume made by the fruit of the high cranberry, as it waved in the wind.

In these latter days it is easy for you to remember all about how your party camped on the bank of the river under the shelter of your wagons that night. How in the morning your father went to one of the cabins of Knaggs' trading post and procured a guide who conducted your party over the river, up the hill, and through the woods to the exact quarter section of land which your grandfather, all in good time, had taken up from the government for your father and mother, upon which to build a home. The incidents and facts of the founding of that home, the building of the log cabin, the clearing of the land, and the planting of the first crop, all go to make another story which must be told at another

time and place. Thus it was that the families of the pioneers came, one by one, into the region of the Shiawassee. And by the year 1836, 13 families of actual settlers had forded the river at Knaggs Place. The most of them found homes in the township of Shiawassee, while others settled in Vernon, Owosso, Caledonia, and Sciota.

The years of 1836-37 were eventful ones in the history of our county. Not only was the material growth rapid, but there came into the county during that period a number of men who at once began to make Shiawassee famous throughout the then new State. One of those men was

MORTIMER BRADLEY MARTIN.

Mr. Martin arrived at Knaggs Place in 1836. He came to Michigan from Illinois, where he had spent two years as agent of a New York syndicate to purchase lands in the west. Although at that time he was still a young man, he had already completed a successful business career in the state of New York, where he was born at Jamestown, in 1806. On Mr. Martin's arrival at Knaggs Place, he was entertained by John Knaggs, who was then in charge of the post. He never forgot the first breakfast Mr. Knaggs gave him, consisting of two dishes only, boiled raccoon meat and stewed pumpkin! He never lost the flavor of that meal. At least he told the story of that first meal in Shiawassee for years with such a quality and flavor that his friends never grew weary of it. After that breakfast was over, Mr. Martin went through the woods until he came to the hill on which is now located the beautiful home of the Lymans, where he looked across an intervale to another lovely elevation that faced the river, which was less than a mile away. He was so pleased with this hill and its picturesque situation that he looked no farther for a place on which to build his home. He soon purchased this land, with other lands in Antrim, where he resided until his death, in 1884. In 1848-50 he represented this county in the legislature at Lansing. He was for 16 years supervisor of his town. But it is not of his eventful life we now wish to write, but to briefly tell something of the beautiful home he established, which was one of the things that went to make Shiawassee famous in those early days.

Since the publication of our third paper in the second series on the early settlement of our county, in which we gave some account of a religious meeting held by the Indians in their village at Knaggs Place, over 50 years ago, Mrs. Helen Beach Tillotson, of New York, has written an interesting letter giving the following additional facts about those old-time missionaries and Indian preachers: "The first missionary to preach

to the Indians in the region of the Shiawassee was the Rev. George Brown. It was he who wrote the New Testament in the Indian language. The Rev. Mr. Brown came among the Indians in 1836. He took two young Indians to the Albion school where they received something more than an ordinary education. They returned to the reservation as preachers. It was one of those two Indian preachers that Col. George A. Parker heard preach. I well remember the time, for it was 'Grandfather Beach' who helped Mr. Brown in sending the two young Indians to the school after they became Christians."

Bradley Martin stood for a long time upon the hill on which he had decided to build his home. To him the beauty of the situation was enchanting. As he looked toward the south an unbroken forest, tangled with vines, met his view. But the prospect to the eastward delighted him most. While in this direction Mr. Martin saw but another forest, yet it was a beautiful one. It filled the whole horizon, and as he beheld this pretty bit of the valley of the Shiawassee, to his delighted vision the rounded tree tops seemed to fall away one beyond another not unlike the receding tidal waves of some great inland sea. That first view of the forest in the valley, as well as the distant woods which marked the trend of the river, made a scene that ever remained green in the memory of Mr. Martin so long as he lived. After lingering on this beautiful spot for nearly an hour, Mr. Martin slowly made his way for a few rods in a southerly direction, down a gentle declivity and over the very place where he afterwards built his first house, until he came to one of the three Indian trails which crossed the Shiawassee at Knaggs Place. At this time the trail was but a blazed path through the woods, running almost east and west until it reached the river at a point where the present Knaggs bridge is located. Today the well-traveled highway, which has for many years divided the Bradley Martin farm into two parcels, and from thence on from the Five Corners runs easterly to Knaggs bridge, is built on the line of the Indian trail that Mr. Martin followed when he walked to the river from the west for the first time, 66 years ago. As he walked along his eye caught sight of two columns of smoke which rose in the distance above the trees that grew along the bank of the river. He was well aware that the smoke he saw curling above the tree tops of the woods down the stream came from the campfires of the Indian village. But whence the source of that column of smoke to be seen high above the trees, at some distance up the river? Here was a mystery, and Mr. Martin began to explore it at once. After making his way with considerable difficulty up and along the banks of

the Shiawassee, he came to a place where the forest was thick with vines and underbrush, and it was here, while he was struggling to reach the margin of the stream, that the silence of those deep woods was broken by words of a song poured forth into that wilderness by wild sweet voices. It was here that Bradley Martin heard the singing of the French girls for the first time. He had come as if by chance upon the cabins of Antoine Beaubien. The cabins were three in number and were situated on a pretty cove which was there formed by the bank of the river. Mr. Martin found the cabins on land that was afterwards owned by the late Mr. T. H. Reeves. In the largest cabin were the three famous daughters of Antoine Beaubien, who, with one or two girl friends, had assembled to hold what today would be called a private dancing party. There was no music except that which came from the sweet voices of the girls as they sang. And while so doing they kept time with their feet to the rhythm of their song. At times the figures of the dance were formed by a slow but stately walk which would end in a more lively but graceful promenade. Again the figures would change upon the singing of the following couplet:

"Oh, when I meet Peter Gray
I'll turn and walk the other way."

This is a free translation of the French Canadian patois in which Mr. Martin, the cultured New Yorker, heard the Beaubien girls singing

"The while with light step
Keeping time to the music."

as he passed their father's log house, when following the Indian trail to Knaggs Place.

And now that we have told you when and where it was that Bradley Martin got his first glimpse of the social world of historic Knaggs Place, we must hasten to tell you something of the beautiful and hospitable home he made on the hillside, in the northeast corner of the town of Antrim. The field in which he built his first dwelling house originally contained 28 acres. He always took great delight in calling this entire field his door-yard. And well he might, for no dwelling or building in the county was ever surrounded by a finer door-yard or more beautiful grounds. In 1841 Joseph H. Howe, of Owosso, while journeying from the county of Washtenaw to his new home in the county of Shiawassee, saw this door-yard. Like all travelers of that day who came into this region for the first time, Mr. Howe was greatly surprised at the extent of Mr. Martin's grounds, and he marveled at the beauty of their ornamentation. It was a garden of delight lying in the midst of the forest. At another time Mr. Howe drove through this door-yard quite after the manner of

people of today, who find across these grounds a short route from the Grand River road to the road running east and west through the town of Antrim. While enjoying the grounds with their neatly kept beds of flowering plants and shrubs, Mr. Howe saw what to him was a most beautiful sight. He was passing in the rear and just to the northeast of the house. It was there that he saw a great bed, triangular in shape, of rose bushes. The margins of this bed were lined with tulips. But it was a tree which grew from the center therof that held his admiring and wondering gaze. While the tree was tall and stately, all of its branches were covered with a cloud-like bloom of white blossoms that filled the air for a great distance round about with their delicate fragrance. In speaking of that tree, the beauty of which has not faded from his memory after all these years, Mr. Howe said: "It was one of the prettiest things I ever saw; I never saw a tree like it before, nor have I seen one since; and I do not even now know the name of it." It was only recently that we related this incident of Mr. Howe's seeing that tree so long ago in the door-yard of Bradley Martin to Mrs. Louisa A. Gould, who in 1843 came from New York to Owosso with her husband, Judge Amos Gould. Mrs. Gould, after hearing the story, exclaimed, "I can tell you the name of that tree." She then went on to state that in those early days she was in the habit of visiting at the home of Bradley Martin, and that more than once she saw that same beautiful tree. It was a hawthorne tree. At one time after Mrs. Gould had paid an especially delightful visit to the home of Mr. Martin, and as she was about to leave for Owosso, he gave her a sprout from his hawthorne tree. She brought it to Owosso and planted it in the east door-yard of her home on North Washington street, which place is now the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Fred H. Gould. The sprout took root and grew to be a fine large tree. It is still standing where it was planted by Mrs. Gould years and years ago. It is in the same door-yard that was one of the best play places of the writer in his early boyhood days. And in those times he knew well this tree, but he did not know until recently that it was a hawthorne tree, neither did he know until, as related, that it came from the famous home of Bradley Martin. We have spoken of the bed of roses surrounding the rare English hawthorne, and we further wish to state that the first roses set in Shiawassee were planted in the door-yard about his romantic log house in the oak openings by Mr. Martin. These roses were brought from the estate of Governor Troop, in central New York. The first roses brought to Owosso were transplanted in gardens in this city from the grounds of Mr. Martin. One of the varieties, the "Field-of-cloth-of-gold," with its

rich crimson petals faced with orange, is well known by the older residents of Owosso. A few of these rose bushes are still to be found in the city, blooming luxuriantly every June. They are a foreign rose, and came directly from Italy, shipped to Owosso, his nearest railway station, for Mr. Martin. The plants were sent by his uncle, Governor Troop, then minister to Italy. We again refer to the grounds to state that at one time they contained 37 varieties of trees, some of which were natives of the forest, while many were ornamental trees, planted by Mr. Martin, who possessed in no small degree the artistic skill of a landscape gardener. The orchard, which was situated over the hill to the northwest of the house, was well stocked with all the well-known fruit trees that grew in this county in those early days. Both George A. Parker and Charles F. Coles, of Bancroft, admit that they still long for just one more taste of those delicious red rareripe peaches which grew in the long ago so abundantly in Bradley Martin's orchard.

Mr. Martin's first dwelling was something more than a log cabin, and while it was true that its upright was built of logs, the wings were frame, constructed of lumber brought from Pontiac and from the historic mill on the Thread river, near Flint. It was the porch of this quaint and curious structure that created the atmosphere of romance which hovered over and about the whole place. It, too, was built of logs and was under the roof of the building. In the summer time, when this porch and its graceful roof were covered by the Virginia creeper or the trumpet vine, with its large, red blossoms, it made a sight, we assure you, that was beautiful to behold. In the west end of this porch we remember that there hung a large cage of "stuffed" birds, of all the most brilliant plumage imaginable. In those days of old, both the aged and the young people came from a great distance, not only to visit Mr. Martin and his charming home, but to see that far-famed cage of birds.

Since the writing of these papers we have often been asked this question: "How is it you are able to remember all about those old times and of the things you write?" We can answer that question only in part. And we will here once and for all admit that the only things that were in and about Bradley Martin's first dwelling-house of which we have a remembrance are: First, the humming birds, as they darted in and out of the great trumpet flowers that blossomed over the doorway; second, that wonderful cage of stuffed birds; and finally, those rareripe peaches! How can we ever forget them!

Northward from the city of Owosso the easterly bank of the Shiawassee river is high, bold, and picturesque. Not many years ago this

region just north of our city, through which the river flows, was covered with a beautiful forest. On the narrow strip of land along and between the real easterly bank of the stream and the water's edge grew in great profusion, not only the thorn apple and the crab apple, but the wild plum tree. Here, at the riverside, even though the growth of the forest was small, the landscape possessed a beauty and wildness given to it by the vine of the wild grape which here and there covered even the very tops of some of the trees. The land to the eastward of the river's highest bank is rolling, and, at the time of which we write, was covered with a noble growth of forest trees. On the brow of the hill, or the east bank, which overlooks the stream, there grew in more than one place groups of pine trees. The trunks of those tall trees, with their scraggy tops, towered so high above the surrounding foliage of the forest, that they could be seen for many miles around. At this point on the Shiawassee river, not far from where now runs the northern boundary line of our city, in the year 1837-8 might have been seen the ruins of a rude log cabin. This cabin was a small one, but situated as it was on a few acres of partially cleared land in the midst of a dense forest, high above the deep and dark waters of a swiftly-flowing river, its location was a lonesome one. The windows of the cabin are open, through which the birds dart into the vacant rooms and from thence fly upward through the broken bark roof out into the clear air again. In their almost ceaseless flight through and about the deserted cabin the birds alone disturb the solemn stillness and solitude of the forest with their screams. And the birds are never weary. The luxuriant grass is the only barrier, slight as it is, to the wide-open doorway of the cabin. The tall tender stalks of this forest grass are so delicately balanced that the zephyrs of the woods, which are never at rest, slowly swing them to and fro with a motion that never ceases.

Down the hill, not far from the margin of the river, is an unused spring of clear cold water. A well-worn path leads up from this spring to the cabin door. West from the cabin door, beside this path, on the high land, and not far from the bank of the Shiawassee river, can be seen the grave of the pioneer who once lived in that deserted cabin. In his lifetime, and in the year 1835, he was well known to all the settlers who at that early date lived in this county. His name was

KILBURN BEDELL.

His fame as a pioneer rests upon the following facts: He was the first actual settler to clear a piece of land, and build a house thereon, within the present limits of the township of Owosso. Kilburn Bedell made the

first settlement in Owosso township, outside of the village, early in August, 1835. He was the first one of the early settlers to die within the present boundaries of the city of Owasso, and he was the first actual settler to be buried in the township of Owosso. The following is the brief story of his death and burial: Some time in March, 1836, while on his return from the Shiawassee Exchange to Owosso, and when he had arrived at a point near the Methodist church on Corunna avenue, he was taken seriously ill. One of his companions hurried forward to the settlement on the river, where he notified both Mr. Van Wormer and Mr. Overton of Mr. Bedell's condition. They brought him as quickly as possible to their cabin. But Kilburn Bedell was beyond all earthly aid, and that night he died. On the next day his remains were taken to his own cabin in the woods, when, after a prayer by Elias Comstock, he was buried on his own land, which he had purchased from the government on the 20th of June, 1835. This land is described as follows: The east part of the southwest fractional quarter of section 12 of the township of Owosso. For years the grave of Kilburn Bedell could have been seen not far from the banks of the Shiawassee river, but now there is no trace of the mound remaining. The location of that grave was such a lonesome one that we have taken the liberty of adapting from one of the popular songs of our childhood days this stanza:

"They made his grave too cold and damp
For a heart so warm and true,
And he's gone to the lake of the Dismal Swamp,
Where all night long by the firefly's lamp
He paddles his light canoe."

Through the courtesy of Stanley E. Parkill, the writer lately enjoyed the opportunity of a visit with Nathan Findley, of Chesaning, a pioneer who came to Owosso with his parents in August, 1835, and who was in the city visiting his son, Hiram Findley. To Mr. Nathan Findley we are indebted for most of the facts given in this paper.

Mr. Findley began his interesting story by stating that when he was 13 years old he attended the school kept by Dr. Charles P. Parkill, in the frame schoolhouse which once stood on the southeast corner of Washington and Williams streets during the school year of 1846-7. It was Nathan's father, Lewis Findley, who in the earliest years of the history of our city owned so much of the land now included within its limits.

Lewis Findley's first entry for land now situated in the city of Owosso was dated June 6, 1835. This land was afterwards known as the David Ingersoll farm. Although Mr. Findley owned other large parcels of land

in the village, it is this particular piece we are most interested in at this time. Early in July, 1835, David Van Wormer and John D. Overton, with their families, arrived at Owosso, where, on Mr. Comstock's land, they had just built a small log cabin. This was the first house built in Owosso, and it was situated on the west bank of the river, just a few rods south of Main street. Van Wormer and Overton belonged to the Comstock colony. This colony was made up of a party consisting of Elias Comstock, Lewis Findley, Kilburn Bedell and wife, John D. Overton, wife and one child, and David Van Wormer, wife and one child. This movement was inaugurated by Elias Comstock, Lewis Findley, and Kilburn Bedell, a son-in-law of Findley. But Mr. Findley and his son-in-law did not bring their families, nor did they begin any settlement on their land until the 2d day of August, 1835. Upon their arrival Mr. Findley at once built a log cabin on a portion of his land, which we have described to you as the Ingersoll farm, while Kilburn Bedell and his wife located a short distance north of his father-in-law, on land now in the township.

Nathan Findley stated that his father and Mr. Bedell located their cabins on the Shiawassee because the river in those days was the common highway. The cabin was a small one with a shanty roof covered with elm bark. "My parents moved into it before it was completed," said Mr. Findley. "But like true pioneers they made the best of everything that came their way. It was a long time before father could procure doors and window sash, but they hung up blankets before the windows and doorways, and so got along in that way."

This cabin of Lewis Findley was of great interest to all of the early settlers. It was the second dwelling to be erected within the village, now city, of Owosso. Owing to Nathan Findley's statement that the cabin was situated on the river, alone, we were unable to locate it. But we were able to determine its situation when Hiram Findley called our attention to the fact of his father's pointing out the site of his grandfather, Lewis Findley's log cabin, as they rode past it on their way from Six-Mile creek to Owosso, when he was a boy. He said it stood west of Ada street, on the highest point of the hill. And when we had reached a place a little farther to the south, on Mulberry street, "father would point out to me the old well which was located just on the west line of the street and on the east edge of the cat hole, and but a short distance from where Mr. Julian Dutcher's house now stands, and say: 'That was your grandfather's well.'" Mrs. Araminta Lyon, of Corunna, who when a child was familiar with the Findley cabin, confirms this statement as to its location.

Recently it was our pleasure to visit the Ingersoll farm in company with Mr. Fred H. Gould, who now owns the land on which the cabin of Lewis Findley once stood, and Mr. William Fletcher, who has resided in Owosso since 1836. Mr. Fletcher pointed out to us the direction and location of the road which once led through the woods up from the village. He had traveled it often when a boy in his visits to the Findley cabin. And when asked the question: "Where do you locate it?" He at once went to the highest point on the hill and fixed upon the very place Hiram Findley had called our attention to. Mr. Fletcher did this without the knowledge of Mr. Findley's story as to the location of this cabin.

Mrs. Araminta Lyon tells the following story of her visit to this cabin of Lewis Findley: "My maiden name was Araminta D. Van Wormer. I was but 13 years old in 1835, when, with my parents, I visited the Van Wormers and the Overtons at Owosso. I stayed with them that summer. We all lived in the cabin on the river, but it was not finished until some time after our arrival in July, 1835. There was no village at the time, and the cabin was at that time the only dwelling in Owosso. Afterwards, in August, Mr. Findley and Mr. Bedell built other cabins down the river.

"It was one day quite late in the summer when the wolves chased a large deer into the river just in front of the house. My brother, David Van Wormer, was in the house, where he had been sick for some time. But he managed to get out and shoot at the deer. He did not kill it, but only wounded it. The deer was so crazed that it could not run away, but climbed out upon the bank, where it stayed until I went down the river, about a half a mile, to the Findley cabin, where I found Bedell, who returned with me and killed the deer. The Findley cabin, as I found it that day, stood on high ground in an opening. Some bushes grew there, but no large trees. The cabin faced the south. From the west end of it I could not see the water of the river, only its high, rolling banks, and they were at a considerable distance from the cabin. Of the three cabins built in Owosso and vicinity in 1835, the best one was that owned by Kilburn Bedell. When I left Van Wormer's cabin to go after help with which to secure the deer, I waded across the river to the east side, just above the iron bridge now on Main street. At that time there were a great many large stones in the river. I skipped from one to the other until I came to the east side, where I had to wade. In going to Findley's I did not follow the river, but went far enough east until I found a path through oak openings which took me to the top of the hill near where the Goodhue house now stands. From there I went through the woods in a northwesterly direction till I came to Findley's cabin. I had always

lived in the east and I was afraid. But in those days I was young and when I went through those woods you ought to have seen me 'clip it.'"

Early in the year 1838 Daniel Ball planted cuttings of sprouts of the yellow willow along the banks of the mill-pond at Owosso. It was Bradley Martin who procured those willow cuttings for Mr. Ball. Mr. Martin received them from central New York, and some of them came from a farm that once belonged to Secretary Seward. In time those yellow sticks, planted by Mr. Ball, grew to be the tall and graceful trees that lately stood on the banks of the mill-pond in Owosso. Reader, have you forgotten them? Mr. Martin, by an arrangement with Mr. Ball, secured some of the willow sprouts for himself, some of which he planted at the gateway that opens from the Grand River road into his own door-yard. When the summer time comes perhaps the reader will visit that charming spot. If so, he will pass under wide-spreading willow trees through an open gateway where Bradley Martin often stood in the days of old, to welcome both friend and stranger to his beautiful home.

While it is pleasant to record that Mr. Martin never turned the stranger or the needy from his door, we know that he entertained in his home many men of distinction. Soon after his home was completed, the one which we have heretofore described, it was his pleasure to entertain for several days General Lewis Cass. At another time, and a later date, a young merchant from Detroit paid Bradley Martin a visit. That young merchant was afterwards known to the American people as the Hon. Zachariah Chandler, senator from Michigan. Governors and other officers of our State in those early days often "made" it convenient to stop for days at the pretty home on the hillside.

We have still with us residents of Owosso who remember with pleasure not only Bradley Martin but his home. In that home there was to be found a rare collection of books. While it was not a large one, it was the first library ever brought into this county. Among those books were copies of Sir Walter Scott's novels and a choice edition of Shakespeare, all of them printed almost a hundred years ago.

Not long after that portion of the Grand River road which now divides the Lyman farm from the Martin farm was surveyed, Mr. Martin was greatly in need of additional help to do the road work in front of his premises. The only available man in all that region was "Elder" Brigham, who was a Baptist minister. He was one of those good men who in those early days found their way, quite mysteriously, into the settlements of Shiawassee. He went about doing good, and was a very busy man. At times, on a Sunday, he would walk ten miles to some rude

cabin where he would preach to a small congregation of pioneers. Then after the service he would walk back to his own log cabin which was situated not far from the home of Liberty Lyman.

Now, it was on a Saturday morning when Mr. Martin paid the elder a visit for the purpose of hiring him for the day to work on the road. Elder Brigham lived alone, and was attending to his domestic duties when Bradley Martin made his morning call. The elder appeared at the cabin door, wearing his kitchen apron. After the usual salutation had been passed he apologized for his appearance, and said, "I am just a shining up the Sunday dinner pot." "Why, Elder!" replied Bradley, "it is not Sunday; today is Saturday." "Well! Well! I guess I ought to know when Sunday comes," exclaimed Elder Brigham. "Besides, there on the door I have kept my count of the days. When you came knocking at my cabin door I was just reckoning up to make sure that today is Sunday. Look! There on the door is my Sabbath-day notch which I cut this very morning." Elder Brigham's system of reckoning time was fashioned after the famous almanac kept by Robinson Crusoe. The elder began his count of the days on the Sabbath by cutting a wide deep notch up on the edge of the frame of his cabin door. And thereafter, on each consecutive working day, a smaller notch was cut by him on the door frame. Both of the men went over to the door and counted the notches that the elder claimed he had cut during the week. They went over them carefully, naming a day for each notch, and sure enough, the elder's count made the day Sunday, and not Saturday. For a while both of the men were greatly puzzled. But Mr. Martin, who enjoyed the luxury of a printed almanac, assured Elder Brigham that the day was not Sunday but Saturday. Then Mr. Martin called his attention to the fact that he would pay him six shillings for his day's work. "Well! Well!" said the elder, "if you will say, Mr. Martin, that today is not Sunday, I will go with you." Bradley Martin again assured him that it was Saturday, and so they together went through the woods and down the hill to the new line of the Grand River road. On the way the elder compared himself to the laborer mentioned in the old, old story, who came at the eleventh hour, but received the full price for his work. When they arrived at the road where the elder saw nearly all of his neighbors at work, once more he exclaimed, "Well! Well! Bradley, I ought to know when Sunday comes, but it seems I don't." That night, when the elder went to his cabin home, bearing with him six shillings in silver, he was a very happy man. He made those shillings last him for many a day, and yet with them he was able to buy for himself a number of useful things. Will some political

economist kindly explain why it was that the six shillings of Elder Brigham, a day's wages of 60 years ago, had as great purchasing power as a dollar and half of our money of to-day possesses?

For many years Elder Brigham was a useful man in all that region, and as time went on it came out like unto murder that on the day before the elder worked upon the road for Bradley Martin an ungodly neighbor visited his cabin while he was away and cut an extra notch on the tally he kept to tell when the Sundays came. It being an extra notch that the unknown wretch cut, it only added one day to the elder's reckoning, and as it turned out, great good was done him instead of harm. Elder Brigham was far more fortunate than that minister who lived on the other side of the town, and who, when he learned of the tally almanac, laughed at it, and wagered that he could keep the Sundays in his head, without any such new-fangled(?) arrangement as that. But the minister who lived across the town came to grief when his neighbors found him at work on a log heap in his back lot. For the day when they so found him was Sunday.

One morning in the month of May, in the year 1847, all of the Indians of the reservation of Ketch-e-won-daug-o-ning were gathered at the river-side on the east side of the stream, near the present location of Knaggs' bridge. There, in an open field, shaded by forest trees, both the old and young were engaged in rude but joyful pastimes.

> "And many a gambol frolick'd o'er the ground,
> And sleights of art and feats of strength went round."

But at that time the sport was one for which the Indians of the reservation were famous. It was that of throwing an arrow straightaway and high into the air for a great distance, from where it would fall to the ground in a wide but graceful parabolic curve. The arrow was short, with a large head, and to its smaller end was tied a long string of rawhide. The only mechanical arrangement which the Indian thrower called to his aid was that of an elm log from which the bark had been removed. This was placed across another log so that it pointed up and in the direction which the shot was to be made. The end that pointed up was raised to an angle of about 30 degrees in the opposite direction from where the Indian stood when the arrow was thrown. The Indian who was to throw the arrow would grasp its string and walk back 20 feet or more from the log. Then rapidly whirling the arrow around his head,

with his eyes fixed upon some point on the log he wished to strike with it, he would run forward and let go the string. Then, if his arrow struck near the upper end of the log it would shoot away and even fly over the tops of the far-distant forest trees. On the other hand, if his arrow struck near the end of the log that rested on the ground, it would fly high into the air. Such a shot would always be greeted with shouts and jeers of derision that could be heard for miles around. The distance that the arrow would travel depended not only upon the strength and skill of its thrower, but also upon the law that, "The angle of reflection is equal to the angle of incidence."

FROM HAND PRESS TO THE "DISPATCH."

A REMINISCENCE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRINTING BUSINESS IN OWOSSO—A GREAT STRIDE IN THE MECHANICAL EQUIPMENT.

The placing of a Babcock "Dispatch" double feed newspaper press, with a capacity for printing 3,000 impressions per hour, in the new press rooms of the Argus Publishing Company, marks an era in the printing and publishing of newspapers in Owosso. It is now 62 years since Edward L. Ament established the *Shiawassee Express and Clinton Advocate* in Owosso. This was the pioneer newspaper of the county. Mr. Ament soon followed this publication with another paper, named the *Owosso Argus*. This last publication was the first paper to be devoted to the interest of Owosso only. The name *Argus*, therefore, was very properly given to the first daily paper established in our city. It is not our purpose to here give a history of journalism in Owosso, but to point out and make a note of the time when any one of the printing offices of our town, not only of the past but the present, made a marked improvement in the mechanical department of printing, which gave to us a new epoch of progress in the printer's art. The press used by Mr. Ament was an old-fashioned hand-press even at that early date. It was not furnished with any mechanical device for distributing the ink or for inking the type. When the late Dr. C. P. Parkill came to Owosso, in 1841, he worked in this old *Argus* office, and we well remember hearing him describe the manner of how, on press day, he applied the ink to the type with a large cushion, or ball, covered with buckskin. This printing office was located in the front dwelling house, Mr. Ament's home, which stood on the west side of Washington street, about the present site of Osburn & Son's store. This same house now stands on the south side of Mason street, nearly opposite the Baptist church. Along with the invention of the Hoe drum cylinder press came

the composition ink and distributing roller, which was and now is used on all power presses, but it could be and was used on the hand press. Just when these composition rollers found their way into an Owosso printing office is not now known, but the writer well remembers when, in 1854, Rev. Mr. Goodell & Sons established the *Owosso American*. This office was supplied with a new Washington hand press fitted out with a composition ink roller, as well as wooden distributing rollers, and was located in the room, which is now used for a saloon, in the National Hotel. At that time this hotel was a two-story brick building, and was owned and managed by Mr. William Ament, father of our Rev. W. S. Ament. The *Owosso American* was afterwards purchased by John N. Ingersoll, who changed its name to the *American and Peninsular State Times*. Mr. Ingersoll did not bring to town any new presses or printing material, but he did have with him a printer, Andrew J. Patterson, who not only was a printer, but became a soldier in the war for the Union, and then a business man in Owosso, and for many years was the owner of the National Hotel.

In 1862, after Mr. Ingersoll had removed his printing office to Corunna, Mr. Benton Hanchett, the famous lawyer, of Saginaw, who was then a resident of Owosso, together with Gilbert R. Lyon, Esq., founded the *Owosso Press*. The establishment of this paper marked a new era in the journalism of our city. This paper from the first was well edited. It was bright and entertaining; it not only filled a "long-felt want," but had come to stay, and is with us even to this day. In 1863 the *Owosso Press* was purchased by Green & Lee. John D. Lee, or "Jack," as we all called him in those days, soon became sole proprietor. When Mr. Lee took the office it contained two presses, a Washington hand press and a small job press, fashioned somewhat after the Washington. At one time Mr. Lee purchased an old and worn-out Ruggles foot-power press, but it was so rickety he never could make it work. It was the first power press owned by an Owosso printer.

In 1867 a change took place which brought to Owosso the commencement of great improvements, and from that day until this the business of printing has progressed steadily and surely. The good beginning of all this was brought about by the purchase of the *Owosso Press* by John H. Champion and Mrs. Jane A. Church. The firm name of J. H. Champion & Co., printed at the head of the *Owosso Press*, found its way into nearly every home in this county. At the time of which I write the *Owosso Press* office was located in the second and third stories of the brick building on Washington street, now occupied by Duff & Thorne. Up to the time of

the coming of J. H. Champion & Co., all of the job work had been printed upon hand presses. In making this statement we do not refer to the traveling printer, who in the early days, now and then, would come to town with a small portable office and power press, when, after he had done all the printing he could get to do in the village, would move on to the next place. Now, when J. H. Champion & Co. placed in their office a small Gordon job press, it certainly marked the beginning of better times, not only for the printers, but for the business men of Owosso. In time a large Gordon press was added to the job department of the office. These two presses are still in use and are doing good work today in the old *Owosso Press* office.

During all these first years of prosperity the *Owosso Weekly Press* was still living, printed upon a Washington hand press. About the time the *Owosso Press* was removed by J. H. Champion & Co. to its present substantial home, a stereotyping outfit and other novel and useful appliances found their way into the office. About this time Captain A. B. Wood, who had for some time before this been publishing a paper in Owosso, organized a publishing company and commenced to print a paper for the State Grange, called the *New Era.* The office was located in the two-story brick building on the northwest corner of Washington and Comstock streets. The paper was printed upon an old-time Fairhaven, small-cylinder power press. The power, of course, at that time, was furnished by a man or boy, who turned a crank. The *New Era,* then, was the first newspaper that was printed in Owosso upon a cylinder power newspaper press.

Very soon after this J. H. Champion & Co. replaced their hand press with a large new drum cylinder power press. But it was some time before a press was operated by mechanical power in Owosso. After this, printing offices came to us thick and fast. T. V. Perkins ("Jake") established in the basement of the Gregory & McHardy block, now occupied by the Owosso Hardware Company, a job office with a new improved Gordon for a press. In some unaccountable way Morton A. Gregory and "Jake" Perkins came together and organized the Odd Change Publishing Company, with an office on East Exchange street, from which the *Shiawassee Reporter* is now published. We do not mention the *Odd Change* for the purpose of giving you a history of its unique, laughable, yet at times brilliant existence in Owosso, but only to mention that it was the first office in the city to operate a press, an improved Gordon, by steam or mechanical power. In brief, the story is this: At that time the late Charles Patterson, as captain, and the late H. Walker Merrell, as engineer, were

navigating the Shiawassee river between Owosso and Corunna with a small steamboat. When winter came on and navigation ceased Walker hit upon the happy plan of renting the boiler and engine of the steamboat to the Odd Change Company. We were there the night the first paper was printed by steam power. Others were there, too, for the office was crowded with men and boys to see the wheels go round. The smoke-stack from the upright boiler was attached directly to the chimney in the room. The steam exhaust from the engine discharged with a short, loud, quick puff into the smoke-stack. A family of colored people who were living in the second story were so frightened that they abandoned their home for the night. The noise disturbed people for blocks away, but when morning came the *Odd Change* was published. After a few months this same steamboat engine found its way to the *Press* office, where for several years it did good work until it was replaced by a modern gas engine. About this time George W. Owen came to Owosso, where, with what was left of the *Odd Change,* together with wreckage from the *New Era,* he published the *Shiawassee Republican.*

The *Owosso Times,* of which E. O. Dewey is editor and publisher, was the next paper to come to Owosso. It was first established in a small way by the writer of this article, and afterwards sold to the late Hon. George M. Dewey. The old hand press upon which it was first printed has long ago disappeared.

The first attempt to publish a daily was inaugurated by J. N. Klock and R. C. Eisley, who, on July 22, 1892, printed the first issues of the *Evening Argus.* It was a four-page, seven-column paper. There were many predictions of failure, but the publishers were plucky and would not die. Since 1897 Mr. George T. Campbell has published the *Evening Argus* in a manner that has won him the confidence and patronage of the public in a marked degree.

OWOSSO SCHOOLS FIFTY YEARS AGO.

REMINISCENCES OF A SCHOOL BOY OF THE LAST CENTURY, AND INTERVIEWS WITH OTHER PUPILS OF THE OLD SCHOOLS, YET LIVING.

On the 2d day of October, in the year 1837, a school meeting was held in the village of Owosso at which Benjamin O. Williams, director of school district No. 1, made his first "annual" report to the township board of school inspectors. In his brief report he stated that the whole number of children in this district between the ages of 5 and 17 years was 30, and that there had been no school taught in the district and no moneys had

been received by him. He also reported that the district had voted $500 for a schoolhouse, $75 for the purchase of a school library case, and $10 for the purchase of books.

My school days did not begin until the year 1851, therefore I am indebted to Mrs. Elizabeth Comstock Rogers, Mr. William Fletcher, and Mr. George W. Collier for facts in regard to the first school taught in the village of Owosso. It is very pleasant to have with us still these three pioneers of our town. In the month of June, 1836, while Mrs. Rogers, then a child, was living with her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Elias Comstock, in their log house near the west bank of the Shiawassee, on what is now West Main street, Rufus Collier arrived in Owosso, bringing with him, as well as other members of his family, his son, George W., a lad of about 15 years of age. A few months after this Daniel Fletcher and his son, William, came to Owosso, or to "The Rapids," as it was called, at an early date. So it is that these three pioneers have seen more of the life and history of Owosso than any other person or persons now living. They have seen every school building in Owosso, from the humble log house in which the first white children in the settlement were taught, to the magnificent structure just completed and now occupied by our excellent public schools, under the supervision of Mr. E. T. Austin, assisted by an able corps of teachers.

Mr. Fletcher says that he attended the first school in Owosso, and that it was held in a log house, and was taught by Samuel N. Warren, in the winter of 1837-38. Mr. George W. Collier not only remembers this log schoolhouse, but, as soon as his attention was called to it, at once gave the name of Samuel Warren as Owosso's first school teacher. Mr. Collier, after stating that he was one of Mr. Warren's scholars, kindly went with me and pointed out the place where this log house, which was used for a school building in 1838, once stood. To my surprise he located it near, and just southeast of the ruined walls of the engine rooms and chimney, all that is now left of L. E. Woodard's planing mill and factory, and upon grounds afterwards occupied by the foundry and machine shop of William Howell and Charles Cossett, which was destroyed by fire a few years ago. William Howell, whose parents, Mr. and Mrs. Simon Howell, brought him to Owosso in 1837, when he was but a year old, says that when he had grown to be quite a lad the "old double log house," in which Mr. Warren for a time taught school, was still standing. Mr. Fletcher also agrees with Mr. Collier and Mr. Howell as to its location.

Although the school district in 1837 had voted $500 for a schoolhouse, it was not until 1840 or 1841 that a public or district school building was

erected. This schoolhouse, around which so much of the early history of Owosso clusters, stood on the southeast corner of Washington and Williams streets, where it remained for many years, in fact until the year 1892, when it was removed to the south side of East Mason street to make room for the new German Lutheran church. It is now owned by that society. At this time, strange as it seems to some of us, school for small children is maintained in it. When Mrs. Louisa A. Gould came to Owosso for the first time, in August, 1841, she saw this pioneer schoolhouse. She remembers that it stood, not upon the corner of any street, but in the center of a wide field or commons, with no buildings near it.

At the time of Mrs. Rogers' first school days there were some bushes and small trees growing along the north side of Williams street in the corners of a rail fence, north of the schoolhouse. The shade trees that are there now were planted by Dr. John B. Barnes, Owosso's first physician. The first house that was erected anywhere near the school building was built by a Mr. Goss, and was afterwards occupied by Mr. Janes and family for a long time. It is now the home of Lewis Struber, and I mention it because it seems inseparable from the history of the schoolhouse. Judge Josiah Turner, who is distinguished for having had much to do with the making of the early history of our State, saw this school building at a very early date. He came to Owosso and delivered a lecture in the schoolhouse soon after it was finished. At the time of which I write, the structure was somewhat shorter than it is now. But it was lengthened and made a two-room school building long before my day at school. Mr. Collier says that at that time the Presbyterians were holding meetings in the house, and wanted more room for church purposes, and that it was through the efforts of the Rev. Seth Hardy that the district was prevailed upon to enlarge. The early records show that the Rev. Seth Hardy paid taxes in Owosso for the year 1844. I will state, without discussing further, that this old Presbyterian church was organized in a schoolhouse near the "Five Corners" in Owosso township, and not here in the village. The interior arrangement of this pioneer school building, when it was new, would be something of a novelty to the pupil of today, according to the statement of Mr. Amos Williams, one of the "big boys" on the back row of seats, in the '40's. At the east end of the room, on an elevated platform, stood the teacher's desk. On a platform so high that it required several steps to ascend, and running north and south on either side of the room, was arranged against the wall a row of long seats, three or four in number, with large box-like desks. In front of this row, but upon the floor, stood a similar row of seats and desks. Against and in

front of these last-named desks were benches without desks for little children. This arrangement was convenient, for it brought the foes face to face when a battle with paper wads was on. And what battles were then and there fought! The desks make excellent forts for the big boys to dodge behind as soon as they had opened the fight, but the little people on the unprotected benches in front would usually get more than their share of the paper cannon balls from the enemy on the opposite side of the room. In the middle of the room stood a large box stove which had much to do, from time to time, with the history of the school.

On the 4th day of December, 1837, the circuit court for the county of Shiawassee convened for the first time. As soon as the court was organized application was made by Sanford M. Green, who was then a resident of Owosso, to be admitted as an attorney and counsellor-at-law. After examination he was not only admitted but appointed to be the county's first prosecuting attorney. Mr. Collier, in speaking of Mr. Green, says: "I have seen him get out of a ditch where he had been digging for hours when called to go to court. He would do anything he could get to do." Mr. Green was just as ready to teach a school as he was to try a lawsuit or dig a ditch. So it came about that in the years 1840-41 the first term of school held in Owosso's first and only district schoolhouse was taught by the Hon. Sanford M. Green. Mr. Collier and Mr. Fletcher both attended Mr. Green's school. Mr. Fletcher says: "I remember about it because I lived with Mr. Green that winter while I was going to school." Mr. Green must have made a famous school master, for since his residence in Owosso he has been prominently identified with the history of the State. In 1842 he was elected to the State senate. He was appointed commissioner to revise the statutes in 1844. Soon afterwards he was appointed judge of the supreme court, which office he held until May, 1857, and for two years he was chief justice of Michigan. For many years he held the office of circuit judge, and at one time this county was included in his circuit. But Judge Green is best known to the public today as the author of "A Treatise of the Common Law of the State of Michigan," a book that has been held to be an authority by all the courts of Michigan for more than 40 years. Now that I am about to write some of the early history of the district and public schools of our town I will tell you about those who taught or attended school prior to 1851, not from my own knowledge, but from information I have gathered from some of our citizens who attended school in Owosso before the date. In giving the names of some of the teachers who taught the district school prior to the year 1851, Mrs. Rogers mentions the name of a Mr. Avery as

the teacher who succeeded Judge Green. But be that as it may, not long after Judge Green's time, Samuel Goodhue, brother of the late Deacon Charles L. Goodhue, taught several terms of a very successful and popular school. Mrs. John N. Ingersoll, of Corunna, and Mrs. Rogers both speak highly of Mr. Goodhue's school. You will remember that there was no schoolhouse in the village prior to 1851 except the one in which Judge Green taught and the log building I have before mentioned. Early in the history of the county there came into it the Rev. F. A. Blades, who is now the comptroller of the city of Detroit. He was followed by his brother, Henry, who, with the influence of his reverend brother, secured the position of teacher for the village school. Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Collier and Mrs. Rogers attended his school. The next name I shall mention is that of one who was not only well known throughout the county, but for many years an honored citizen and business man of Owosso, Dr. Charles P. Parkill, who taught school in the historic building some time between the years 1843 and 1845. Nearly all the old-time scholars I have mentioned well remember the doctor's school. Amos Williams, who was one of his youngest pupils, says that the greatest impression he ever made upon him was when he knocked a red squirrel out of a tree for him with a stone. Mr. Nathan Findley, who lives near Oakley, also went to school to Dr. Parkill. I have been able to learn the names of only two ladies who taught in the building prior to 1851. Miss Jane Simmons, who was afterwards the wife of Deacon Erastus Barnes, must have taught a successful school, for the impression that lingers in the memory of Amos Williams as to her ability to keep order is a pleasant one unto this day. Mrs. Mary Ann Eldridge, wife of Rev. James R. Eldridge, was a most excellent teacher. The following words as to her character are from Mrs. John N. Ingersoll: "She was a beautiful lady, with a mild and lovely character, and we all loved her." It is agreeable to learn that our old friend, Henry Becker, also taught school in Owosso at some time during the period of which I am writing. His home was in Shiawassee county for many years, but he now resides in Florida. About all I can learn of a teacher by the name of Tibbits is that the boys of his school who are with us, after all the years that are come and gone, are still mad because Tibbits applied his big flat ferule to the hands of "pretty Lib Comstock," who was looked upon at that time as the young lady of the school. Before me is an *Owosso Argus*, dated September 14, 1843, which contains the following advertisement:

"4th Term of the Select School,

"To Commence on Monday, September Twenty-fifth.

"Scholars taken for no shorter period than half a term. Board can be had in respectable families at one dollar per week.

"J. N. GRAHAM."

"Aug. 20, '43.

Mr. Graham was the father of Mrs. Charles C. Duff, George H. Graham, of Owosso, and Mrs. Hattie Carr, of Chicago. Mr. Graham's school was the most famous of any select school in all central Michigan. His school room was in the second story of Gould & Fish's frame store building, which stood on the southwest corner of Washington and Exchange streets, where the Citizens' Savings Bank block now stands. This old store building several years ago was removed to the east side of the city, near Mason street. If you desire to see the first frame store building in Owosso, go hunt it up. Flint, Fentonville, Howell, and Byron sent scholars to Mr. Graham's school. Among the Owosso pupils were Miss Elizabeth Comstock and her sisters Caroline and Jane, and Julia Hammond, whom I have heretofore mentioned as Mrs. John N. Ingersoll. I am informed by Mrs. Duff that she has heard her father state upon more than one occasion that he also taught one or more terms of school in the old house. When Dr. Graham left Owosso for college, Miss Julia Hammond succeeded him as instructor of the select school. In after years Dr. Graham resided in Chicago, where he became one of the most noted and skillful physicians of that city.

For years the schoolhouse, which was also used for a church by all the religious societies in the village, was without a bell. Mrs. John N. Ingersoll relates a very interesting story about the buying of the first school or church bell in Owosso. She says, "It was about the year 1846, and I was getting to be quite a young lady, at least I thought so at the time, when I organized a sewing society of young girls, among whom were Elizabeth and Jeanette Barnes, who were well known in Owosso as Mrs. James L. Wright and Mrs. John Kelly. Each member of our society paid an admission fee of six cents(!). We decided to use our money towards purchasing a bell for the schoolhouse. We went to the five or six merchants of the village, and they gave us thread, bits of silk, and ribbons with which to make fancy articles. Now, when we had enough finished, we held a fair and sold what we had made. When we counted our money we found that we had over $30. With this and what money was added by the school committee, a bell was purchased in the east." Mrs. Ingersoll

concluded by saying, "In organizing that little society, it was about the best thing I ever did." How well some of us remember that bell! Its clear ringing tones are sounding in our memories still. For more than 20 years it called the youth of Owosso to "come to learn." Besides, it was the only church bell in the town until the year 1856. We were all of us glad to have this bell go up with us to the new union school building in 1858, where it remained until Governor Bagley's bell was placed upon the high school building that was destroyed by fire.

Before closing I must tell you about W. D. Cochran, one of the most famous instructors of all the teachers who taught in the old schoolhouse. When he went away from Owosso for Detroit, he left behind him a record that has not been forgotten by the six or seven of his scholars who reside in Owosso. William Fletcher states that Mr. Cochran came to Owosso from Brooklyn, N. Y., where he had for some time taught in a seminary, and that he was a scholarly man and a fine teacher. Mrs. John Sidman, of North Water street, who was known to Mr. Cochran's pupils as Angeline Perkins, says, "In the school year of 1846-47 I came to Owosso and attended Mr. Cochran's school. I lived with my aunt, Mrs. Louisa A. Merell. Mr. Cochran was an excellent teacher, and we all learned very fast."

The first day of school in those old times was a great day. It was usually a day of battle between the teacher and his scholars, a trial to see whether he or the scholars were to govern the school. When Mr. Cochran appeared for his trial he was not only pleasant but calm and exceedingly dignified. He went about his work in a quiet and orderly manner. Some of the older boys mistook that repose, which he exhibited to a great degree in all that he did, for fear. But they soon found out that they had all made a great mistake, much to the pain and sorrow of some of them. He "called up" the reading class in a very dignified way: "The first class in the Rhetorical Reader will take its place." It so happened that the only scholar to respond was "Bill" Vanderhoof. Bill thought it was his time to make some fun for the boys, so he got himself into as awkward a shape as possible and limped and twisted himself along into somewhere near the proper place. The teacher very politely said, "Mr. Vanderhoof, will you please take your seat?" Again came the formal call: "The first class in the Rhetorical Reader will take its place." Bill again went through the same funny performances, as he thought, and was again as politely dismissed to his seat. Mr. Cochran for the third time called the class in the same quiet, stately manner to its place. Bill by this time thought the new teacher was "too easy for anything." But just as he was twisting

himself into place, out flew the teacher's arm and fist, like a flash, as swift as one of "Jim Fisher's arrows" ever flew, and Bill went flying half way across the little school-room to the floor; while the calm voice of the teacher said to the excited boys, "Please keep your seats, gentlemen." This story is from Amos Williams, who was in the room at the time, and it shows how it came about that the "big boys" were willing thereafter to allow the school to be governed and taught by William D. Cochran.

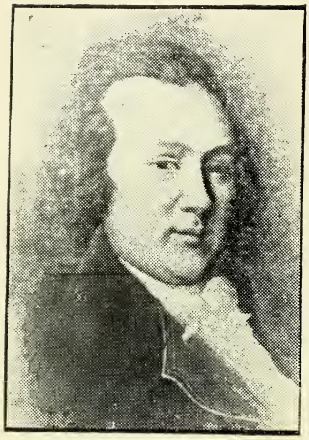
Mrs. Rogers calls attention to the fact that John and Fred Bagley and John Beach attended Mr. Cochran's school. "Yes," says Mrs. Sidman, "I remember the Bagley boys, Fred and John, and John Beach. They attended school that same winter I did. John Beach made a great deal of fun for us all. One time he put one of the girl's shawls on and went over to where the girls were sliding on a little pond, where the Congregational church now stands. The girls called it their sliding place, but he would come over there with a shawl on and mimic them. William Tillotson was with him, but he was a little boy then. They made fun of us, and bothered us until the schoolmaster came out and drove them into the schoolhouse with his ferule."

Mr. T. D. Dewey, who went to school to Judge Green, also says, "In 1846-47 John Bagley worked for me in my store, the old brown store that Mr. Goodhue built for me. It stood down on Murray & Terbush's corner, while John Beach clerked for B. O. Williams in the store on the opposite corner in the Gould & Fish building. Owosso has sent out a great many bright men and boys." Mr. Dewey here stopped in his story long enough to mention Charley Towne as one of them. Then he went on to say that John Beach and John Bagley did not go to school a day after they left Mr. Cochran's school. They went to Detroit, where John Bagley in time not only made a fortune but became one of Michigan's most famous governors. John Beach did not stay in Detroit long, but went to Cincinnati for a while, and then to St. Louis, Mo., where he became a wealthy man. No boy has yet gone forth into the world from Owosso's schools who has made so great and successful a business man as Mr. Beach.

Mr. Cochran closed his term of school in the summer of 1848, but he remained in Owosso until September of that year. Mr. Collier, in fixing that date, says, "Mr. Cochran sold his household goods at auction, and I bought several articles which I needed very much at that time. I had no money to pay for them, but I gave my note for nine dollars and some cents. I afterwards paid the note in installments of 25 or 50 cents at a time." When asked to fix the date of the auction Mr. Collier produced the note. It was dated September 7, 1848, and the small payments made

from time to time were indorsed on the back thereof, all in due form. Mr. Cochran went to Detroit where he established a famous commercial school. In 1855, according to a handsome diploma, Amos Williams graduated from Mr. Cochran's school. Perhaps Mr. Williams' "sheep-skin" was the first one ever granted to an Owosso school boy.

At this late day it is impossible to mention all of the scholars who went to school in the old schoolhouse before the year 1850. But here are the names of some who have not yet been spoken of by me: Henry, Ephraim, and Ebenezer Gould, William and Simon Howell, William and Whiting Tillotson, Antoinette, Frances, and Belle Collier, Elizabeth and Jeanette Barnes, Mary Amelia Shattuck, Caroline Barnes, and Delia Collier, whom we all know now as Mrs. Gilbert R. Lyon. There are others that I could give, but the most of them attended school in my day, and I will hereafter mention the names of some of them. Harriet Overton, whose father built for Judge Comstock the first house in Owosso, also attended school at a very early day.



JOHN JOHNSTON.

MRS. JOHN JOHNSTON

MRS. HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT.

JOHN McDOUGALL JOHNSTON.

THE HISTORIC JOHNSTON FAMILY OF THE "SOO."

BY C. H. CHAPMAN.*

Compiling such records of the Johnston family as limited time and space would permit, the writer has endeavored to preserve and verify the historical correctness of events and dates, even at the sacrifice of several good stories. The compilation is made largely from the writings of early travelers to the Lake Superior region and from some of the works not in general circulation, of Henry R. Schoolcraft, the historian, who married the eldest daughter of John Johnston. An intimate acquaintance with John McDougall Johnston, youngest son of John Johnston, and all of the sons and daughters of John McDougall Johnston, for nearly a quarter of a century, has made the compilation of the following pages a work of much pleasure, and enabled the writer to correct a number of errors and add a few historical events heretofore unpublished. The following letter from Miss Anna Johnston, granddaughter of John Johnston, is self-explanatory:

Sailors Encampment, June 5, 1902.

Mr. Charles H. Chapman, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan:

Dear Sir:—Mrs. Anthony sent your letter to us, thinking that we could give you some information about our aunt, Mrs. Henry R. Schoolcraft. She was the third child of John Johnston and the eldest daughter, who was born January 31st, 1800, and died May 22, 1842, at Niagara, Canada West, we think while on a visit to her sister Mrs. McMurray. We have no record of her marriage. She lived at Sault Ste. Marie for eleven years after her marriage, and for eight years at Mackinaw in the "Old Agency." She was the mother of two children, Janie, who died a few years ago in Richmond, Va., and Johnston Schoolcraft, who died some time after the civil war. I think he was in the Southern army. We have a photograph of Mrs. Schoolcraft taken from a painting, also one of our grandfather taken from the painting we have at home. Mrs. Jameson, an English writer was acquainted with our people and pictures Mrs. Schoolcraft, "with features decidedly Indian, accent slightly foreign, a soft plaintive voice, her language pure and remarkably elegant, refined, womanly and unaffectedly pious." * * * With regard to our grandfather, we have several papers pertaining to his life, which I could not copy now, but will send them to Mrs. Anthony so that when you visit DeTour you may look them over and copy whatever you may see fit. Hoping that you may get a little help with your paper from what I have written, I am,

Very truly yours,

ANNA M. JOHNSTON.

*Charles H. Chapman was born in the township of Pontiac, Oakland county, Michigan, April 9, 1854. When four weeks of age his parents moved to Kentucky and resided there until the fall of 1859, when they returned to Michigan and settled on a farm at Elizabeth Lake, in Waterford township, Oakland county. At the age of sixteen he left the farm and learned the printer's trade. In 1874 he was a reporter on the Saginaw Courier and the Detroit Free Press and in 1875 was a reporter on Cincinnati Commercial and several other papers in the southwest. In 1876 he established the Pontiac Commercial which he published until 1879, when he sold the paper and took charge of the mechanical department of the Western Newspaper Union, Detroit, and continued there until the spring of 1882 when he went to Sault Ste. Marie and took charge and published the Chippewa County News until 1887, when he sold that paper and was elected register of deeds of Chippewa county and began the study of law and was admitted to practice before the supreme court four years later. In 1896 he was elected probate judge for Chippewa county, which office he resigned on the outbreak of the Spanish war. He raised a company and served about ten months as first lieutenant in the 35th Mich., U. S. Vol., regiment. About one-half of his service was that of company commander. Upon being mustered out with his regiment he was appointed deputy commissioner of railroads for Michigan, which office he now holds. August, 1901, he established the Lake Superior Journal at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan.

John Johnston, the head of the Johnston family, so well known to the historian, the traveler, and the resident of Michigan and the great Northwest, during the first quarter of the last century, was born in Antrim county, Ireland, near the village of Coleraine, in 1763. His father was a civil engineer, who planned and executed the waterworks at Belfast. His mother was a sister of Mary Saurin, wife of Bishop Saurin, of Dromore, and also sister of the attorney general for Ireland. Mr. Johnston emigrated to the new world in 1792, and was received by Lord Dorchester, governor of Canada, and presented such strong letters of recommendation that the governor urged the young Irishman to remain in Montreal until an opening for him should occur in the British service. Johnston soon joined a trading party bound for Lake Superior. He spent some months at the Saut* and then followed Lake Superior as far west as La Point, opposite the Twelve Apostles islands, where he established a trading post. Soon after his arrival there he met a beautiful Indian girl, the daughter of the head chief, Wab-o-jeeg or the White Fisher, a bold and successful warrior. The following year, 1793, Johnston and the Indian girl were married and settled at Saut de Ste. Marie, where he continued to reside until his death, which occurred September 22, 1828. For 35 years he was a leading frontier merchant, and although far removed from the comforts of civilization there was always a refined and cultured atmosphere about his modest home.

In 1814 Lieut. Col. Croghan of the United States Army was sent to capture the British position at Mackinac, then commanded by Col. McDowell. The latter, hearing of the intentions of the Americans, sought the aid of Johnston and his friends at the Saut, and it appears to have been freely given. Not only did a band of 100 men set out for Mackinac under Johnston, but this force was provisioned and equipped by him. The American, Col. Croghan, appeared to understand the situation thoroughly, and dispatched Major Holmes to intercept the Indians; but the Johnston party took the unknown route west of Sugar island, now the Hay Lake channel, and then through the West Neebish, and escaped. On the arrival of the Americans at the Saut, they found that those whom they had set out to intercept had eluded their vigilance, and, being urged on by rage and duty, destroyed the trading village near the falls. After this Major Holmes returned to aid in the assault under Col. Croghan. He was among the 17 soldiers killed in that affair August 4, 1814. His sword was stolen by the Indians and presented to George Johnston, second son of John Johnston.

Subsequently, after the peace of 1815, when the republic had driven all her active enemies from her soil, Mr. Johnston appealed to the powers that once were to compensate him for his loss and expenditures. The British very gracefully refused to acknowledge his assistance or recompense him for the loss incurred in aiding them. Johnston then presented his claim to the United States government for loss of property, and met with no success, owing to his loyalty to the British cause. The testimony and correspondence in Vol. 4 of American state papers, on pages 697-701, show that John Johnston was an officer in the British service during the war of 1812, and it was largely for this reason that the commissioner of the general land office at Washington refused to confirm his claim to a tract of land at Saut de Ste. Marie which had been improved and a large number of buildings, including the Johnston residence, yet standing, store, warehouses and farm buildings, built thereon. The title to this land was finally confirmed by Congress in 1853, and is known as private land claim 105 in the city of Sault Ste. Marie. The annexed map was first sketched from memory by John McD. Johnston, son of John Johnston. It was

*Mr. Chapman has followed the old way of spelling Saut de Ste. Marie and has taken great pains to verify the spelling of some of the Indian names, accepting the best authority for these. No quotation marks have been used for letters or legends as they can, we think, be easily recognized as such.—Editor.

afterwards drawn to scale by Col. E. S. Wheeler, of the United States government engineering corps, who now owns and for many years resided in the old Johnston homestead. Col. Wheeler compared and corrected the map by an old map in the records of Fort Brady, made by Lieut. Wescott early in the last century.

There were eight children in the Johnston family, all born at the Sault: Louis, born 1793, died at Malden 1825; George, born 1796, died at Sault Jan. 6, 1861; Jane, born 1800, died at Niagara May 22, 1842; Eliza, born 1802, died 1888; Charlotte, born 1806, died 1878; William, born 1811, died at Mackinac 1866; Anna Maria, born 1814, died at Pontiac 1856; John McDougal, born 1816, died at Sault Feb. 14, 1895.

Of the children, several were prominent actors in making history three-quarters of a century ago: Louis served on board the Queen Charlotte when she was captured by one of the United States gunboats under Commodore Perry on Lake Erie in 1813. George served in the British army, and was in the engagement at Mackinac Island August 4, 1814. William was an Indian interpreter at various times for the United States government. John McD. was for a number of years Indian interpreter to his brother-in-law, Henry R. Schoolcraft, and afterwards acted in this capacity for the United States government. Jane was a woman of great beauty, highly accomplished, and of much ability, and was married in 1823 to Henry R. Schoolcraft, the writer and historian. Eliza, a woman of great beauty and accomplishments, never married. Charlotte became the wife of an Episcopal clergyman named McMurray, a missionary at the Sault at the time, but subsequently archdeacon of Niagara. Anna Maria, the youngest daughter. was the wife of James L. Schoolcraft, who was murdered at the Sault in 1846 by Lieut. Tilden of the United States army.

All of the early travelers to Lake Superior speak of the interesting Johnston family and the hospitality and entertaining ability of John Johnston. During the month of July, 1826, Colonel Thomas L. McKenney, of the Indian Department at Washington, and a joint commissioner with Governor Cass in negotiating the treaty of Fond du Lac, in company with the governor, visited the Johnston family at the Sault, and in a letter to his wife, describes the girls and the home as they appeared to him at that time. Col. McKenney says:

We spent this evening, I mean the Governor, Colonel Croghan and myself, at Mr. Schoolcraft's, where we met Mr. Johnston, the patriarch of the place, and his family, except his wife, who, though not of the party this evening, I have seen.

Mr. Johnston is by birth an Irishman, and his connections in the "old country" are among the nobility. He has been in this country nearly forty years. His wife is a woman of the Chippewa, or, as it should be called O-jib-way nation, and daughter of the famous Wab-o-jeeg, the great chief formerly of La Point, of Lake Superior, a man of renown, and one who ruled both in wisdom and valour, and proved himself in every emergency, to have been worthy of the station he held as chief of his band.

A personal acquaintance with Mr. Johnston and his family I esteem to be among the most interesting circumstances of my, so far, agreeable travels.

Mr. Johnston is in his 64th year, and Mrs. Johnston in her 54th. He is feeble and decrepit. A free liver in earlier life, he now feels the burden of 64 winters to be great; and in addition to the infirm state of his health, he has the dropsy in one foot and ankle, which at times occasions him great pain, and often deprives him altogether of ability to walk, which he never does without limping, and then by the aid of a staff. His education and intercourse with polished society in early life, indeed up to his 30th year, have given him many very striking advantages over the inhabitants of those distant regions, and indeed fit him to shine anywhere; whilst

the genuine Irish hospitality of his heart has made his house a place of most agreeable resort to travelers. In his person Mr. Johnston is neat; in his manners affable and polite; in conversation intelligent. His language is always that of thought, and often strikingly graphic. He is always cheerful—even when he is afflicted most. There is something charming in such an autumn. It gives place to winter so gradually as to make its retirement imperceptible. It is beautiful to see those bright gleams of setting life thus shining upon the evening hours of such a man.

In height Mr. Johnston is about five feet ten inches; and before he was bent by age and infirmity his figure was doubtless fine. His hair is of the true Scotch yellow, intermixed with gray. His forehead, though retreating, is high and full, especally about the brows. His eyes are dark, small, and penetrating, and full of intelligent expression. His nose and mouth (except that the loss of teeth has changed the character of the latter some, though his lips have yet great firmness) are well formed, and judging from what is left, and from a portrait which hangs over the fireplace in the drawing-room of his residence, he must have been very handsome when young.

Mrs. Johnston is genuine Chippewa, without the smallest admixture of white blood. She is tall and large, but uncommonly active and cheerful. She dresses nearly in the costume of her nation—a petticoat of blue cloth, a short gown of calico, with leggins worked with beads, and moccasins. Her hair is black. She plaits and fastens it up behind with a comb. Her eyes are black and expressive, and pretty well marked, according to phrenologists, with the development of language. She has fine teeth; indeed her face, taken altogether (with her high cheek-bones, compressed forehead, and jutting brows) denotes a vigorous intellect and great firmness of character, and needs only to be seen to satisfy even a tyro in physiognomy like myself that she required only the advantages of education and society to place her on a level with the most distinguished of her sex. As it is she is a prodigy. As a wife she is devoted to her husband, as a mother tender and affectionate, as a friend faithful. She manages her domestic concerns in a way that might afford lessons to the better instructed. They are rarely exceeded anywhere, whilst she vies with her generous husband in his hospitality to strangers. She understands but will not speak English. As to influence, there is no chief in the Chippewa nation who exercises it, when it is necessary for her to do so, with equal success. This has been often tested, but especially at the treaty of cession at this place in 1820. Governor Cass, the commissioner, was made fully sensible of her power then; for, when every evidence was given that the then pending negotiation would issue not only in resistance on the part of the Indians to the propositions of the commissioner, but in a serious rupture, she, at this critical moment, sent for some of the principal chiefs, directing that they should, to avoid the observation of the great body of Indans, make a circuit and meet her in an avenue at the back of her residence, and there, by her luminous exposition of their own weakness and the power of the United States, and by assurances of the friendly disposition of the government towards them and of their own mistaken views of the entire object of the commissioner, produced a change which resulted on that same evening in the conclusion of the treaty.

I have heard Governor Cass say that he felt himself under the greatest obligations to Mrs. Johnston for her co-operation at that critical moment; and that the United States is debtor to her, not only on account of that act, but on many others. She has never been known in a single instance to counsel her people contrary to her conceptions of what was best for them, and never in opposition to the views of the government. Her Indian name is O-shaw-gus-co-day-way-qua. The Daughter of the Green Mountain.

So much for the father and mother. I will now make you acquainted with some of their children. Of Mrs. Schoolcraft you have heard. She is wife, you know, of H. R. Schoolcraft, Esq., author of travels and other works of great merit, and Indian agent at this place. She is a little taller and thinner, but in other respects as to figure, resembles her sister, Mrs. McMurray, and has her face precisely. Her voice is feeble and tremulous; her utterance slow and distinct. There is something silvery in it. Mildness of expression, and softness, and delicacy of manners, as well as of voice, characterize her. She dresses with great taste, and in all respects in the costume of our fashionables, but wears leggins of black silk, drawn and ruffled around the ankles, resembling those worn by our little girls. I think them ornamental. You would never judge, either from her complexion or language or from any other circumstance, that her mother was a Chippewa, except that her moderately high cheek-bones, her dark and fine eye, and breadth of jaw slightly indicate it; and you would never believe it, except on her own confession or upon some equally responsible testimony, were you to hear her converse, or see her beautiful, and some of them highly-finished, compositions, in both prose and poetry. You would not believe it, not because such attainments might not be universal, but because, from lack of the means necessary for their accomplishment, such cases are so rare. Mrs. Schoolcraft is indebted mainly to her father, who is doatingly fond of her, for her handsome and polished acquirements. She accompanied him some years ago, and before her marriage, to Europe; and has been the companion of his solitude, in all that related to mind, for he seems to have educated her for the sake of enjoying its exercise. The old gentleman, when in Edinburgh, had several propositions made to him to remain. The Dutchess of Devonshire, I think it was, would have adopted Mrs. Schoolcraft; and several propositions beside were made to settle upon her wealth and its distinctions; and his own friends and connexions joined to keep him among them by offers of great magnitude. But he told them he had married the daughter of a king in America, and although he appreciated, and was very grateful for, their offers to himself and his Jane, he must decline them and return to his wife, who, through such a variety of fortune, had been faithful and devoted to him. Mrs. Schoolcraft is, I should judge, about 22 years of age. She would be an ornament to any society; and with better health (for at present she enjoys this great blessing but partially) would take a first rank among the best improved, whether in acquirements, taste, or graces.

Charlotte comes next in order, being younger than Mrs. Schoolcraft by some two or three years. Here again, without the advantages of education to the same extent, or equal opportunities for improvement, but with no deficiencies in these matters, you have a beautiful specimen of female of mixed blood. This interesting young lady has but little of the mother's complexion. She possesses charms which are only now and then seen in our more populous and polished circles. These are in the form and expression of a beautiful face, where the best and most amiable and cheerful of tempers—the loveliest and most captivating ornament of the sex—sits always with the sweetness of spring, and from whence the graces seem never to have departed even for a moment; and all this has imparted to it an additional interest in her own total unconsciousness of their presence, and of her powers to please. Her eyes are black, but soft in their expression, and between her lips, which I have never seen otherwise than half parted with a smile, is a beautiful set of ivory. Her style of dress is neat, and in all respects such as we see in our cities. She would be said to be rather tall; yet her person is good. She sings most sweetly, but seems unconscious of it; and, lest I should forget it, I will copy into this letter a beautiful song which she sings with her most enchanting effect, called the "O-jib-way Maid." Having prevailed upon her to sing this song several times, I have learned the air

with a view of having it written out in parts. Mrs. Schoolcraft has oblingingly favored me with the original, and with her literal translation of it, in prose; and Charlotte has presented me with a version of it by a major of the United States army. I have heard this little song sung in both the original and its version. The airs are different; both are plaintive, and both sweet, but that in which the original is sung is the wildest. My opinion of Charlotte is that she would be a belle in Washingon, were she there, as I find she is here. No one speaks of her but in terms of admiration of her amiable disposition, and in praise of her beauty; and according to my own observation and taste, she merits richly all the praise that is bestowed.

Eliza, who is next younger than Mrs. Schoolcraft. I have never yet got her to consent to speak English. I have not, therefore, been able to judge of her improvement. She appears to be a fine young lady, and of excellent dispositions. Her complexion is more like her mother's than the rest. The youngest, Anna Maria, is now about twelve years old, and is growing up, I think, in most respects, like Charlotte. She certainly bids fair to be handsome.

When I look upon this group of interesting children, and reflect that their mother is a native of our wilds, I wish, for the sake of the Indians, that every representative of the people, and all who might have influence to bring about a complete system for the preservation and improvement, of at least the rising generation, could see them too.

But lest I forget it, I will now copy.

THE O-JIB-WAY MAID.

ORIGINAL OF THE O-JIB-WAY MAID.

Aun dush ween dò win ane
Gitchy Mocomaun aince
Caw auzhaw woh da mode
We yea, yea haw ha, etc.

Wah yaw burn maud e
Ojibway quainee un e
We maw jaw need e
We yea, yea haw ha, etc.

Omowe maun e
We nemoshain yun
We maw jaw need e
We yea, yea haw ha, etc.

Caw ween gush sha ween
Kin wainyh e we yea
O guh maw e maw seen
We yea, yea haw ha, etc.

Me gosh sha ween e yea
Ke bish quaw bum maud e
Tehe won ain e maud e
We yea, yea haw ha, etc.

Literal Translation by Mrs. Schoolcraft:

Why. What's the matter with the young American? He crosses the river with tears in his eyes. He sees the young Ojibway girl preparing to leave the place; he sobs for his sweetheart, because she is going away, but he will not sigh long for her, for as soon as he is out of her sight, he will forget her.

VERSION.

That stream, along whose bosom bright,
With joy I've seen your bark appear;
You cross, no longer with delight,
Nor I, with joy, your greeting hear.

And can such cause, alone, draw tears
From eyes, that always smil'd before?
Of parting—can it be the fears;
Of parting now—to meet no more?

But heavily though now you sigh;
And tho' your griefs be now sincere,
To find our dreaded parting nigh,
And bid farewell to pleasures dear—

When o'er the waters, wide and deep,
Far—thine Ojibway Maid shall be,
New loves will make you cease to weep,
Nor e'er again, remember me.

Saut de Ste. Marie, July 6, 1826.

Mrs. Johnston and some of her remarkable ancestors deserve more space and time than I can here give. However, I will introduce the father of this talented Indian woman with one of his war songs, as he used, together with his warriors, to sing it and as translated by Mr. Johnston:

Where are my foes? say, warriors, where? No forest is so black,
That it can hide from my quick eye, the vestige of their track:
There is no lake so boundless, no path where man may go,
Can shield them from my sharp pursuit, or save them from my blow.
The winds that whisper in the trees, the clouds that spot the sky,
Impart a soft intelligence, to show me where they lie,
The very birds that sail the air, and scream as on they go,
Give me a clue my course to tread, and lead me to the foe.

The sun at dawn, lifts up its head, to guide me on my way,
The moon at night looks softly down and cheers me with her ray.
The war-crowned stars, those beaming lights, my spirit casts at night,
Direct me as I thread the maze, and lead me to the fight.
In sacred dreams within my lodge, while resting on the land,
Bright omens of success arise, and nerve my warlike hand.
Where'er I turn, where'er I go, there is a whispering sound,
That tells me I shall crush the foe, and drive him from my ground.

The beaming west invites me on, with smiles of vermil hue,
And clouds of promise fill the sky, and deck its heavenly blue,
There is no breeze, there is no sign, in ocean, earth or sky,
That does not swell my breast with hope, or animate my eye.
If to the stormy beach I go, where heavy tempests play,
They tell me but, how warriors brave, should conquer in the fray.
All nature fills my heart with fires, that prompt me on to go,
To rush with rage, and lifted spear, upon my country's foe.

Wab-o-jeeg was the second son of the famous Mongazida. He was generally victorious, and so entirely defeated the Ottagamies that they never afterwards ventured to oppose him, but retired down the Wisconsin river, where they settled.

But Wab-o-jeeg was something more and better than merely a successful warrior: he was remarkable for his eloquence, and composed a number of war songs, which were sung through the Chippewa villages, and some of which his daughter often repeated. He was no less skillful in hunting than in war. His hunting grounds extended to the river Broule, at Fond du Lac; and he killed any one who dared to intrude on his district. The skins he took annually were worth $350, a sum amply sufficient to make him rich in clothing, arms, powder, vermilion, and trinkets. Like Tecumseh, he would not marry early lest it should turn his attention from war, but at the age of 30 he married a widow, by whom he had two sons. Becoming tired of his elderly helpmeet, he took a young wife, a beautiful girl of 14, by whom he had six children; of these Mrs. Johnston was the eldest. She described her father as domestic and affectionate. There was always plenty of bear's meat and deer's flesh in the lodge. He had a splendid lodge, 60 feet in length, which he was fond of ornamenting. In the centre there was a strong post, which rose several feet above the roof, and on the top there was the carved figure of an owl, which veered with the wind. This owl seems to have answered the purpose of a flag; it was the

insignia of his power and of his presence. When absent on his long winter hunts the lodge was shut up, and the owl taken down.

The skill of Wab-o-jeeg as a hunter and trapper brought him into friendly communication with Mr. Johnston. While on one of his expeditions, when encamped at Red Cliff Point southwest of the Twelve Apostles islands, and trafficking with Wab-o-jeeg, he saw the eldest daughter of the chief, and no sooner looked than he sighed, no sooner sighed, than he asked himself the reason, and ended by asking his friend to give him his beautiful daughter. "White man!" said the chief with dignity, "your customs are not our customs! You white men desire our women, you marry them, and when they cease to please your eye you say they are not your wives, and you forsake them. Return, young friend, with your load of skins, to Montreal; and if there the women of the pale faces do not put my child out of your mind, return hither in the spring and we will talk further; she is young, and can wait." The young Irishman, ardently in love, and impatient and impetuous, after the manner of his countrymen, tried arguments, entreaties, presents, in vain; he was obliged to submit. He went down to Montreal, and the following spring returned and claimed his bride. The chief, after making him swear that he would take her as his wife according to the law of the white man, till death, gave him his daughter, with a long speech of advice to both.

Mrs. Johnston relates that previous to her marriage she fasted, according to the universal Indian custom, for a guardian spirit. To perform this ceremony she went away to the summit of an eminence and built herself a little lodge of cedar boughs, painted herself black, and began her fast in solitude. She dreamed continually of a white man, who approached her with a cup in his hand, saying, "Poor thing! why are you punishing yourself? Why do you fast? Here is food for you!" He was always accompanied by a dog which looked up in her face as though he knew her. Also she dreamed of being on a high hill, which was surrounded by water, and from which she beheld many canoes full of Indians coming to her and paying her homage; after this she felt as if she was carried up into the heavens, and as she looked down upon the earth she perceived it was on fire and said to herself, "All my relations will be burned!" but a voice answered and said, "No, they will not be destroyed; they will be saved;" and she knew it was a spirit, because the voice was not human. She fasted for ten days, during which time her grandmother brought her at intervals some water. When satisfied that she had obtained a guardian spirit in the white stranger who haunted her dreams, she returned to her father's lodge carrying green cedar boughs, which she threw on the ground, stepping on them as she went. When she entered the lodge she threw some more down upon her usual place (next her mother), and took her seat. During the ten succeeding days she was not permitted to eat any meat, nor anything but a little corn boiled with a bitter herb. For ten days more she ate meat smoked in a particular manner, and she then partook of the usual food of her family.

Notwithstanding that her future husband and future greatness were so clearly prefigured in this dream, the pretty O-shaw-gus-co-day-way-qua, having always regarded a white man with awe, and as a being of quite another species (perhaps the more so in consequence of her dream, seems to have felt nothing throughout the whole negotiation for her hand but reluctance, terror, and aversion. On being carried with the usual ceremonies, to her husband's lodge, she fled into a dark corner, rolled herself up in her blanket, and would not be comforted nor even looked upon. It is to the honor of Johnston that he took no cruel advantage of their mutual position, and that she remained in his lodge ten days, during which he treated her with the utmost tenderness and respect, and sought by every gentle means to overcome her fear and gain her affection; one traveler, referring to this

incident, says it was touching to see how tenderly and gratefully this was remembered by his wife after a lapse of 36 years. On the tenth day, however, she ran away from him in a paroxysm of terror, and, after fasting in the woods for four days, reached her grandfather's wigwam. Meantime her father, Wab-o-jeeg, who was far off in his hunting camp, dreamed that his daughter had not conducted herself according to his advice, with proper wife-like docility, and he returned in haste, two days' journey to see after her and finding all things according to his dream he gave her a good beating with a stick, and threatened to cut off both her ears. He then took her back to her husband, with a propitiatory present of furs and Indian corn, and many apologies and exculpations of his own honor. Johnston succeeded at length in taming this shy wild fawn, and took her to his house at the Saut de Ste. Marie. When she had been there some time she was seized with a longing once more to behold her mother's face, and revisit her people. Her husband had lately purchased a small schooner to trade upon the lake; this he fitted out, and sent her, with a retinue of his clerks and retainers, and in such state as became the wife of the great Englishman, to her home at La Point, loaded with magnificent presents for all her family. He did not go with her himself, apparently from motives of delicacy, and that he might be no constraint upon her feelings or movements. A few months' residence amid comparative splendor and luxury, with a man who treated her with respect and tenderness, enabled the fair O-shaw-gus-co-day-way-qua to contrast her former with her present home. She soon returned to her husband, and we do not hear of any more languishings after her father's wigwam. She lived most happily with John Johnston for 36 years, till his death, which occurred in 1828.

At the treaty of Fond du Lac, concluded August 7, 1827, was given to O-shaw-gus-co-day-way-qua, wife of John Johnston, to each of her children and to each of her grandchildren, one section of land. Part of this land was selected from the high lands of Sugar island, a few miles below the Saut. Following the death of her husband, she turned her attention to the manufacture of maple sugar on her estate and each year marketed several tons. In the fall she would go with her people in canoes to the entrance of Lake Superior to fish in the bays and creeks for a fortnight, and return with a load of fish cured for the winter's consumption. In her youth she hunted, and was accounted the surest eye and fleetest foot among the women of her tribe. Her talents, energy, activity, and strength of mind, and her skill in all the domestic vocations of the Indian women, have maintained comfort and plenty within her dwelling in spite of the losses sustained by her husband, while her descent from the blood of their ancient chiefs renders her an object of great veneration among the Indians around, who, in all their miseries, maladies and difficulties, applied to her for aid or for counsel.

She inherited the poetical talent of her father Wab-o-jeeg and here is a little fable or allegory which was written down from her recitation, and translated by her daughter:

THE ALLEGORY OF WINTER AND SUMMER.

A man from the north, gray-haired, leaning on his staff, went roving over all countries. Looking around him one day, after having traveled without any intermission for four moons, he sought out a spot on which to recline and rest himself. He had not been long seated before he saw before him a young man, very beautiful in appearance, with red cheeks, sparkling eyes, and his hair covered with flowers; and from between his lips he blew a breath that was as sweet as the wild rose.

Said the old man to him, as he leaned upon his staff, his white beard reaching down upon his breast, "Let us repose here awhile, and converse a little. But first we will build up a fire, and we will bring together much wood, for it will be needed to keep us warm."

The fire was made, and they took their seats by it, and began to converse, each telling the other where he came from, and what had befallen him by the way. Presently the young man felt cold. He looked around him to see what had produced this change, and pressed his hands against his cheeks to keep them warm.

The old man spoke, and said, "When I wish to cross a river I breathe upon it and make it hard, and walk over upon its surface. I have only to speak, and bid the waters be still; and touch them with my finger, and they become hard as stone. The tread of my foot makes soft things hard; and my power is boundless."

The young man, feeling every moment colder still, and growing tired of the old man's boasting, and morning being nigh, as he perceived by the reddening east, thus began:

"Now, my father, I wish to speak."

"Speak," said the old man, "my ear, though it be old, is open—it can hear."

"Then," said the young man, "I also go over all the earth. I have seen it covered with snow, and the waters I have seen as hard as stone; but I have only passed over them, and the snow has melted; the mountain streams have begun to flow, the rivers to move, the ice to melt; the earth has become green under my tread, the flowers blossomed, the birds were joyful; and all the power of which you boast vanished away!"

The old man drew a deep sigh, and shaking his head, he said, "I know thee, thou art summer?"

"True," said the young man, "and here behold my head—see it crowned with flowers! and my cheeks, how they bloom—come near and touch me. Thou art winter! I know thy power is great; but, my father, thou darest not come to my country; thy beard would fall off, and all thy strength would fail, and thou wouldst die!"

The old man felt this truth; for before the morning was come he was seen vanishing away; but each, before they parted, expressed a hope that they might meet again before many moons.

O-shaw-gus-co-day-way-qua (Mrs. Johnston) died at Sault Ste. Marie in November, 1843. Several grandchildren and great grandchildren of Mr. and Mrs. Johnston now reside at the Sault, Neebish, and De Tour, on the Straits of Ste. Mary's.

During the first quarter of the last century, the Johnston family's old homestead, with its spacious sitting-room, large, open fire-place, and highly-polished beams and woodwork, was to the traveler, the resident of the Saut, and the army officer from Fort Brady a place of the most pleasurable resort, taking the place of the opera house in the cities. During the long winter evenings while Kabbebonicca (the northwest storm spirit) was breathing his icy breath of the severest blasts, "with no earth beneath and no sky above," the visitors, who would be seated with the family and who always found this home a welcome retreat, would frequently observe a sudden commotion, and find, from the countenances of the family, that agreeable news had arrived. "Old ——— has come!" There is general joy. An old Indian enters, enfeebled by years and no longer able to join warriors and hunters now, perhaps, absent on some dangerous enterprise. He possesses a memory retentive of the traditions of the tribe, and probably an imagination quick at invention or embellishment. He loves to repeat his tales, and all dearly love to listen. The old man, seated and surrounded by an attentive circle, begins his tale; and as the interest rises, and the narrative requires it, he now changes his tone to imitate different

speakers, varies his countenance and attitude, or moves across the room to personate the character he describes. Thus the Indians hand down their traditions of different kinds from generation to generation. Some of their tales were evidently forged for the purpose of teaching the duty of subserviency to the priests, others to respect old age and morality, and others to inspire the young to deeds of endurance and bravery in the chase and on the battlefield. A few of the stories thus told are here given:

THE WHITE STONE CANOE.

There was once a very beautiful young girl, who died suddenly on the day she was to have been married to a handsome young man. He was also brave, but his heart was not proof against this loss. From the hour she was buried there was no more joy or peace for him. He went often to visit the spot where the women had buried her and sat musing there, when, it was thought by some of his friends, he would have done better to try to amuse himself in the chase, or by diverting his thoughts in the war-path. But war and hunting had both lost their charms for him. His heart was already dead within him. He pushed aside both his war-club and his bow and arrows.

He had heard the old people say that there was a path that led to the land of souls, and he determined to follow it. He accordingly set out, one morning, after having completed his preparations for the journey. At first he hardly knew which way to go. He was guided only by the tradition that he must go south. For awhile he could see no change in the face of the country. Forests, and hills, and valleys, and streams had the same looks which they wore in his native place. There was snow on the ground when he set out, and it was sometimes seen to be piled and matted on the thick trees and bushes. At length it began to diminish, and finally disappeared. The forest assumed a more cheerful appearance, the trees put forth their buds, and before he was aware of the completeness of the change he found himself surrounded by spring. He had left behind him the land of snow and ice. The air became mild, the dark clouds of winter had rolled away from the sky; a pure field of blue was above him, and as he went he saw flowers beside his path, and heard the songs of birds. By these signs he knew that he was going the right way, for they agreed with the traditions of his tribe. At length he spied a path. It led him through a grove, then up a long and elevated ridge, on the very top of which he came to a lodge. At the door stood an old man with white hair, whose eyes, though deeply sunk, had a fiery brillancy. He had a long robe of skins thrown loosely around his shoulders, and a staff in his hands.

The young Chippewayan began to tell his story; but the venerable chief arrested him before he had proceeded to speak ten words. "I have expected you," he replied, "and had just risen to bid you welcome to my abode. She, whom you seek, passed here but a few days since, and being fatigued with her journey, rested herself here. Enter my lodge and be seated, and I will then satisfy your enquiries, and give you directions for your journey from this point." Having done this, they both issued forth to the lodge door. "You see yonder gulf," said he, "and the wide-stretching blue plains beyond. It is the land of souls. You stand upon its borders, and my lodge is the gate of entrance. But you cannot take your body along. Leave it here with your bow and arrows, your bundle, and your dog, You will find them safe on your return." So saying, he re-entered the lodge, and the freed traveler bounded forward as if his feet had suddenly been endowed with the power of wings. But all things retained their natural colors and shapes. The woods and leaves, and streams and lakes, were only more bright and comely than he had ever witnessed. Animals bounded across his path with a freedom and a confidence which seemed

to tell him there was no bloodshed here. Birds of beautiful plumage inhabited the groves and sported in the waters. There was but one thing in which he saw a very unusual effect. He noticed that his passage was not stopped by trees or other objects. He appeared to walk directly through them. They were, in fact, but the souls or shadows of material trees. He became sensible that he was in a land of shadows. When he had traveled half a day's journey through a country which was continually becoming more attractive, he came to the banks of a broad lake, in the center of which was a large and beautiful island. He found a canoe of shining white stone tied to the shore. He was now sure that he had come the right path, for the aged man had told him of this. There were also shining paddles. He immediately entered the canoe and took the paddles in his hands, when, to his joy and surprise, on turning round, he beheld the object of his search in another canoe, exactly its counterpart in every thing. She had exactly imitated his motions and they were side by side. They at once pushed out from shore and began to cross the lake. Its waves seemed to be rising and at a distance looked ready to swallow them up; but just as they entered the whitened edge of them they seemed to melt away, as if they were but the images of waves. But no sooner was one wreath of foam passed, than another, more threatening still, rose up. Thus they were in perpetual fear; and what added to it was the clearness of the water, through which they could see heaps of beings who had perished before, and whose bones lay strewn on the bottom of the lake. The Master of Life had, however, decreed to let them pass, for the actions of neither of them had been bad. But they saw many others struggling and sinking in the waves. Old men and young men, males and females of all ages and rank, were there; some passed, and some sank. It was only the little children whose canoes seemed to meet no waves. At length every difficulty was gone, as in a moment, and they both leapt out on the happy island. They felt that the very air was food. It strengthened and nourished them. They wandered together over the blissful fields, where everything was formed to please the eye and the ear. There were no tempests; there was no ice, no chilly winds; no one shivered for the want of warm clothes; no one suffered for hunger; no one mourned for the dead. They saw no graves. They heard of no wars. There was no hunting of animals; for the air itself was their food. Gladly would the young warrior have remained there forever, but he was obliged to go back for his body. He did not see the Master of Life, but he heard his voice in a soft breeze: "Go back," said this voice, "to the land from whence you came. Your time has not yet come. The duties for which I made you and which you are to perform are not yet finished. Return to your people and accomplish the duties of a good man. You will be the ruler of your tribe for many days. The rules you must observe will be told you by my messenger who keeps the gate when he surrenders back your body he will tell you what to do. Listen to him and you shall afterwards rejoin the spirit which you must now leave behind. She is accepted and will be ever here as young and as happy as she was when I first called her from the land of snows." When this voice ceased, the narrator awoke. It was the fancy work of a dream, and he was still in the bitter land of snows and hunger and tears.

WANISHISH-EYUN.

Wanishish-eyun was the wife of a brave young hunter and warrior, by whom she had two children. They lived together in great happiness, which was only varied by the changes of a forest life. Sometimes they lived on the prairies; sometimes they built their wigwam in the forest near the banks of a stream, and they paddled their canoe up and down the rivers. In these trips they got fish, when they were

tired of wild meats. In the summer season they kept on the open grounds; in the winter they fixed their camp in a sheltered position in the woods. The very change of their camp was a source of pleasure, for they were always on the look-out for something new. They had plenty, and they wanted nothing. In this manner the first years of their marriage passed away. But it so happened that as years went by the reputation of her husband in the tribe increased, and he soon became to be regarded as a Weetshahstshy Atapee, or chief. This opened a new field for his ambition and pride. The fame of a chief, it is well known, is often increased by the number of his wives. His lodge was now thronged with visitors. Some came to consult him; some to gain his favor. All this gave Wanisish-eyun no uneasiness, for the red people like to have visitors, and show hospitality. The first thing that caused a jar in her mind was the rumor that her husband was about to take a new wife. This was like a poison in her veins; for she had a big heart. She was much attached to her husband and she could not bear the idea of sharing his affections with another. But she found that the idea had already got strong hold of her husband's mind, and her remonstrances did little good. He defended himself on the ground that it would give him greater influence in the tribe if he took the daughter of a noted chief. But before he had time to bring her to his lodge, Wanishish-eyun had fled from it, taking her two children, and returning to her father's lodge. Her father lived at some distance, and here she remained a short time in quiet. The whole band soon moved up near the pictured rocks, to their hunting ground. She was glad to go with them, and would, indeed, have been glad to go anywhere to get farther from the lodge of her faithless husband. Here the winter wore away. When the spring opened they mended and fitted up the canoes which they had left in the fall. In these they put their furs and departed for the Saut. The night before reaching the destination, the band camped at Point aux Pins, a short distance above the falls. Wanishish-eyun lingered behind a short time the next morning. She then put her canoe into the water and embarked with her children. As she approached the falls, the increasing velocity of the current rendered the paddles of but little use. She rested with hers suspended in her hands, while she arose and uttered her lament:

"It was him only that I loved with the love of my heart. It was for him that I prepared with joy the fresh-killed meat and swept with boughs my lodge-fire. It was for him I dressed the skin of the noble deer and worked with my hands the moccasins that graced his feet. I waited while the sun ran his daily course for his return from the chase, and I rejoiced in my heart when I heard his manly footsteps approach the lodge. He threw down his burden at the door; it was a haunch of the deer; I flew to prepare the meat for his use. My heart was bound up in him, and he was all the world to me. But he has left me for another, and life is now a burden which I cannot bear. Even my children add to my griefs—they look so much like him. How can I support life when all its moments are bitter! I have lifted up my voice to the Master of Life. I have asked him to take back that life which he gave and which I no longer wish. I am on the current that hastens to fulfill my prayer. I see the white foam of the water. It is my shroud. I hear the deep murmur from below. It is my funeral song. Farewell."

It was too late to arrest her course. She had approached too near the abyss before her purpose was discovered by her friends. They beheld her enter the foam; they saw the canoe for an instant on the verge and then disappear forever. Such was the end of Wanishish-eyeun; and they say her canoe can sometimes be seen, by moonlight, plunging down the rapids and into the big falls.

WA-WA-BE-ZO-WIN.

At Gros Cap there was an old hag of a woman living with her daughter-in-law and son, and a little orphan boy whom she was bringing up. When her son-in-law came home from hunting, it was his custom to bring his wife, the moose's lip, the kidney of the bear, or some other choice bits of different animals. These she would cook crisp, so as to make a sound with her teeth in eating them. This kind attention of the hunter to his wife at last excited the envy of the old woman. She wished to have the same luxuries, and in order to get them she finally resolved to make way with her son's wife. One day she asked her to leave her infant son to the care of the orphan boy, and come out and swing with her. She took her to the shore of a lake where there was a high range of rocks overhanging the water. Upon the top of this rock she erected a swing. She then undressed and fastened a piece of leather around her body and commenced swinging, going over the precipice at every swing. She continued it but a short time when she told her daughter to do the same. The daughter obeyed. She undressed, and tying the leather string as she was directed, began swinging. When the swing had got in full motion and well agoing so that it went clear beyond the precipice at every sweep, the old woman slyly cut the cords and let her daughter drop into the lake. She then put on her daughter's clothing, and, thus disguised, went home in the dusk of the evening and counterfeited her appearance and duties. She found the child crying and gave it the breast, but it would not draw. The orphan boy asked where its mother was. She answered, "She is still swinging." He said, "I shall go and look for her." "No!" said she, "you must not—what should you go for?" When the husband came in, in the evening, he gave the coveted morsel to his supposed wife. He missed his mother-in-law, but said nothing. She eagerly ate the dainty, and tried to keep the child still. The husband looked rather astonished to see his wife studiously averting her face, and asked why the child cried so. She said, she did not know—that it would not draw.

In the meantime the orphan boy went to the lake shore, and found no one. He mentioned his suspicions, and while the old woman was out getting wood, he told him all that he had heard or seen. The man then painted his face black and placed his spear upside down in the earth and requested the Great Spirit to send lightning, thunder, and rain in the hope that the body of his wife might arise from the water. He then began to fast, and told the boy to take the child and play on the lake shore.

We must now go back to the swing. After the wife had plunged into the lake, she found herself taken hold of by a water tiger, whose tail twisted itself around her body and drew her to the bottom. There she found a fine lodge and all things ready for her reception, and she became the wife of the water tiger. Whilst the children were playing along the shore, and the boy was casting pebbles into the lake, he saw a gull coming from its center and flying towards the shore, and, when on shore, the bird immediately assumed the human shape. When he looked again he recognized the lost mother. She had a leather belt around her loins, and another belt of white metal which was, in reality, the tail of the water tiger, her husband. She suckled her babe, and said to the boy, "Come here with him whenever he cries and I will nurse him."

The boy carried the child home and told these things to the father. When the child again cried, the father went also with the boy to the lake shore and hid himself in a clump of trees. Soon the appearance of a gull was seen with a long shining belt, or chain, and as soon as it came to the shore, it assumed the mother's shape and began to suckle the child. The husband had brought along his spear, and seeing the shining chain he boldly struck it and broke the links apart. He

then took his wife and child home, with the orphan boy. When they entered the lodge the old woman looked up, but it was a look of despair; she instantly dropped her head. A rustling was heard in the lodge, and the next moment she leaped up and flew out of the lodge and was never heard of more.

MASH-KWA-SHA-KWONG.

Mash-kwa-sha-kwong was a first-rate hunter, and he loved the chase exceedingly and pursued it with unceasing vigilance. One day, on his return home, on arriving at his lodge, he was informed by his two sons, who were but small then, that they were very lonesome, because their mother was in the habit of daily leaving them alone, and this occurred so soon as he started upon his daily chase. This circumstance was not unknown to Mash-kwa-sha-kwong, but he seemed fully aware of it; he took his boys in his arms and kissed them and told them that their mother behaved improperly and was acting the part of a wicked and faithless woman. But Mash-kwa-sha-kwong behaved towards his wife as if ignorant of her vile course. One morning, rising very early, he told his sons to take courage and that they must not be lonesome; he also strictly enjoined them not to absent themselves nor quit their lodge; after this injunction was given to the boys he made preparations, and, starting much earlier than usual, he traveled but a short distance from his lodge, when he halted and secreted himself. After waiting a short time, he saw his wife coming out of their lodge, and immediately after a man made his appearance and, meeting Mash-kwa-sha-kwong's wife, they greeted one another. His suspicions were now confirmed, and when he saw them in the act of carrying on an illegal intercourse, his anger arose; he went up to them and killed them with one blow; he then dragged them both to his lodge, and tying them together, he dug a hole beneath the fire-place in his lodge and buried them. He then told his sons that it was necessary that he should go away, as he would surely be killed if he remained, and their safety would depend upon their ability to keep the matter a secret. He gave his elder son a small bird (Kichig-e-chig-aw-na-she) to roast for his small brother over the ashes and embers where their mother was buried; he also provided a small leather bag, and then told his sons the necessity of his immediate flight to heaven, or to the skies; and that it would be expedient for them to fly and journey southward, and thus prepared their minds for the separation about to take place. "By and by," said Mash-kwa-sha-kwong to his sons, "persons will come to you and enquire for me and for your mother; you will say to them that I am gone hunting, and your little brother in the meantime will continually point to the fire-place; this will lead the persons to whom I allude to make inquiries of the cause of this pointing, and you will tell them that you have a little bird roasting for your brother; this will cause them to desist from further inquiry at the time. As soon as they are gone, escape! While you are journeying, agreeable to my instructions, I will look from on high upon you; I will lead and conduct you, and you shall hear my voice from day to day." Mash-kwa-sha-kwong at this time gave his sons an awl, a beaver's tooth, and a hone, also a dry coal, and directed them to place a small piece of the coal on the ground every evening, so soon as they should encamp, from which fire would be produced and given to them; he told his elder son to place his brother in the leather bag, and in that manner carry him upon his back; he then bade them farewell.

The two boys being thus left alone in the lodge, and while in the act of roasting the little bird provided for them, a man came in, and then another and another, until they numbered ten in all; the younger boy would from time to time point at the fire, and the men inquired to know the reason; the elder boy said that he was roasting a bird for his brother, and, digging the ashes, produced it. They inquired

where their father and mother were; the boy answering them, saying that their father was absent hunting, and that their mother had gone to chop and collect wood; upon this information the men rose and searched around the outskirts of the lodge, endeavoring to find traces of the man and his wife, but they were not successful, and returned to the lodge. Before this, however, and during the absence of the ten men, Mash-kwa-sha-kwong's elder son placed his little brother in the leather bag (Ouskemood), and ran away southward.

One of the ten men observed that the smaller boy had repeatedly pointed to the fire-place, and that they might find out something by digging; they set to work, and found the woman and the man tied together. On this discovery their wrath was kindled, they brandished their weapons, denouncing imprecations upon Mash-kwa-she-kwong, who was, of course, suspected of having committed the deed.

The ten men again renewed their search in order to avenge themselves upon the perpetrator of this dark deed; but Mash-kwa-sha-kwong, in order to avoid instant death, had sought a large hollow tree, and entering at the bottom or root part, passed through and reached the top of it, from whence he took his flight upwards to the sky. His pursuers finally traced him, and followed him as far as the tree, and into the sky, with loud and unceasing imprecations of revenge and their determination to kill him. The spirit of the mother alone followed her children. About mid-day the boys heard, as they ran, a noise in the heavens like the rolling of distant thunder.* The boys continued their journey south, when the noise ceased. Towards night they encamped; they put a small piece of the coal on the ground, then a log of fire-wood was dropped down from the skies to them, from whence a good blazing fire was kindled. This was done daily, and when the fire was lighted, a raccoon would fall from on high upon the fire, and in this manner the boys were fed; and this overruling care they experienced daily. In the evenings at their camping place, and sometimes during the day, the Red Head's voice was heard speaking to his children, and encouraging them to use their utmost exertions to fly from the pursuit of their mother. To aid them in escaping, they were told to throw away their awl, and immediately there grew a strong and almost impassable hedge of thorn bushes behind them, in their path, which the pursuing mother could scarcely penetrate, and thus impeding her progress, tearing away her whole body and leaving nothing but the head. So they escaped the first day.

The next day they resumed their march and could distinctly hear the noise of combat in the sky, as if it were a roaring thunder; they also heard the voice of their mother behind them, desiring her elder son to stop and wait for her, saying that she wished to give the breast to his brother; then again Mash-kwa-sha-kwong's voice encouraging his sons to fly for their lives and saying that if their mother overtook them she would surely kill them.

In the evening of the second day the boys prepared to encamp, and the noise of combat on high ceased; on placing a small piece of the coal on the ground a log and some fire-wood was let down as on the preceding night, and the fire was kindled, and then the raccoon placed on it for their food. This was fulfilling the promise made by their father, that they would be provided for during their flight. The beaver's tooth was here thrown away, and this is the cause why the northern country now abounds with beaver, and also the innumerable little lakes and marshes, and consequently the rugged and tedious traveling now experienced.

On the third day the boys resumed their flight and threw away their bone, and it

*Note by Mr. George Johnston, from whom this tale was received.—Anything of the kind, or a similar noise heard, is attributed by the Indian to this day as an indication of the contention between Mash-kwa-sha-kwong and his pursuers, and hence a prelude to wars and contentions among the nations of the world.

became a high, rocky, mountainous ridge, the same now seen on the north shore of these straits (St. Mary's), which was a great obstacle in the way of the woman of the Head, for this was now her name, because that part alone remained of her whole frame, and with it she was incessantly uttering determinations to kill her elder son; the boys finally reached the fishing place known as the eddy of Wah-zah-zhwing at the rapids of Bawating (Sault Ste. Marie), situated on the north shore of the river. Here Mash-kwa-sha-kwong told his sons that he had himself been overtaken in his flight by his pursuers and killed; and he appeared to them in the shape of a red-headed woodpecker, or a *mama*. This is a bird that is seldom or never attacked by birds of prey, for no vestiges of his remains are ever seen or found by the Indian hunter. "Now, my sons," said the red-headed woodpecker, "I have brought you to this river; you will now see your grandfather, and he will convey you across to the opposite side." Then the boys looked to the southern shore of the river, and they saw in the middle of the rapid an Oshuggay standing on a rock; to the Oshuggay the boys spoke, and accosted him as their grandfather, requesting him to carry them across the river Bawating. The Oshuggay, stretching his long neck over the river to the place where the boys stood, told them to get upon his head and neck, and again stretching to the southern shore, he landed the boys in safety upon a prairie; the crane was seen walking in state up and down the prairie.

The persevering mother soon arrived at Wah-zah-hawing, and immediately requested the Oshuggay to cross her over; stating that she was in pursuit of her children and that she wished to overtake them; but the Oshuggay seemed well aware of her characer, and objected to conveying her across, giving her to understand that she was a lewd and bad woman; he continued giving her a long moral lecture upon the course she had pursued and the bad results to mankind in consequence, such as quarrels, murders, deaths, and hence widowhood.

The woman of the Head persisted in her request of being conveyed across. Objections and entreaties followed. She talked as if she were still a woman whose favors were to be sought, and he as if he were above such favors. After this dialogue the Oshuggay said that he would convey her across on the condition that she would adhere strictly to his injunctions; he told her not to touch the bare part of his head, but to get upon the hollow or crocked part of his neck; to this she agreed, and got on. The Oshuggay then withdrew his long neck to about half way across, when, feeling that she had forgotten her pledge, he dashed her head upon the rocks, and the small fish that were so abundant instantly fed upon the brain and fragments of the skull and became large white fish. "A fish," said the Oshuggay, "that from this time forth shall be abundant, and remain in these rapids to feed the Indians and their issue from generation to generation."

After this transaction of the Oshuggay's landing the boys safely across, and dashing the woman's head upon the rocks, he spake to the crane, and mutually consulting one another in relation to Mash-kwa-sha-kwong's sons, they agreed to invite two women from the eastward of the tribe of the Wassissig, and the two lads took them for wives. The Oshuggay plucked one of his largest wing feathers and gave it to the elder boy, and the crane likewise did the same, giving his feather to the younger; they were told to consider the feathers as their sons after this; one feather appeared like an Oshuggay and the other like a young crane. By and by they appeared like human beings to the lads. Thus the alliance was formed with the Wassissig, and the circumstances of the Oshuggay and crane interesting themselves in behalf of the boys, and the gift to them of their feathers and the result, is the origin of the Indian Totem.

Here Mash-kwa-sha-kwong's sons were told that they would be considered as chieftains, and that this office would be hereditary and continue in their generations. After this they multiplied exceedingly and became strong and powerful. About this time the Obinangoes (or the bears' totem) came down from Shaugah-wah-mickong, near the extremity of Lake Superior. On their way eastward they were surprised on reaching Bawating to find such a numerous population of human beings; they were not aware of its being in existence; fear came upon the Obinangoes, and they devised the plan of securing friendship with the Oshuggays and Cranes by adopting and claiming a relationship with them, and calling them their grandsons. This claim was yielded, and they were permitted to remain at Bawating upon the score of relationship, thus happily attained. The Obinangoes eventually emigrated eastward and settled upon the northern coast of Lakes Huron and Ontario.

Population increased so rapidly at Bawating that it was necessary to form new villages, some settling on the Garden river, some upon the Pakaysaugauegan river, and others upon the Island of St. Joseph's and upon the Menashkong bay and Mashkotay Saugie river.

About this time a person in the shape of a human being came down from the sky; his clothing was exceedingly pure and white; he was seated as it were in a nest with a very fine cord attached to it, by which this mysterious person was let down, and the cord or string reached heaven. He addressed the Indians in a very humane, mild, and compassionate tone, saying that they were very poor and needy, but telling them that they were perpetually asleep, and this was caused by the Mache Monedo who was in the midst of them, and leading them to death and ruin.

This mysterious personage informed them also that above, where he came from, there was no night, that the inhabitants never slept, that it was perpetually day and they required no sleep; that Kezha Monedo was their light. He then invited four of the Indians to ascend up with him, promising that they would be brought back in safety; that an opportunity would thereby present itself to view the beauty of the sky, or heavens. But the Indians doubted and feared lest the cord should break, because it appeared to them so small. They did not believe it possible it could bear their weight. With this objection they excused themselves. They were, however, again assured that the cord was sufficiently strong, and that Kezha Monedo had the power to make it so. Yet the Indians doubted and feared, and did not accompany the messenger sent down to them. After this refusal the mysterious person produced a small bow and arrows with which he shot at the Indians in different parts of their bodies; the result was the killing of multitudes of small white worms, which he showed to them, telling them that they were the Mache Monedo which caused them to sleep, and prevented their awakening from their death-like state.

This divine messenger then gave to the Indians laws and rules whereby they should be guided; first, to love and fear Kezha Monedo, and next, that they must love one another, and he charitable and hospitable; and finally, that they must not covet their neighbors' property, but acquire it by labor and honest industry. He then instituted the grand medicine or metay we win dance; this ceremony was to be observed annually, and with due solemnity, and the Indians, said Nabinoi, experienced much good from it; but unfortunately, the foolish young men were cheated by Mache Monedo, who caused them to adopt the Wabano dance and its ceremonies. This latter is decidedly an institution of the sagemaus, or evil spirits, and this was finally introduced into the metay we wining (i. e., medicine dance), and thereby corrupted it.

The old chief continued his moral strain thus: While the Indians were instructed by the heavenly messenger they were told that it would snow continually for the

space of five years, winter and summer, and the end would then be nigh at hand; and again, that it would rain incessantly as many winters and summers more, which would cause the waters to rise and overflow the earth, destroying trees and all manner of vegetation. After this, ten winters and summers of drought would follow, drying up the land, and mostly the lakes and rivers; not a cloud would be seen during this period. The earth will become so dry, that it will then burn up with fire of itself, and it will also burn the waters to a certain depth, until it attains the first created earth and waters. Then the good Indians will rise from death to enjoy a new earth, filled with an abundance of all manner of living creatures. The only animal which will not be seen is the beaver. The bad Indians will not enjoy any portion of the new earth; they will be condemned and given to the evil spirits.

Four generations, he went on to say, have now passed away since that brotherly love and charity, formerly known, still existed among the Indians. There was in those ancient times an annual meeting among the Indians, resembling the French New Year's Day, which was generally observed on the new moon's first appearance, Gitchy Monedo gesus. The Indians of one village would visit those of another, and sometimes meet one another dancing; and on those occasions they would exchange bows and arrows, their rude axes, awls, and kettles, and their clothing. This was an annual festival, which was duly observed by them. In those days the Indians lived happily; but everything is now changed to the Indian mind, indicating the drawing near and approach of the end of time. The Indians who still adhere to the laws of the heavenly messenger experience happiness; and, on the contrary, concluded the old man, those who are wicked and adhere to the Wabano institution, generally meet with their reward; and it is singular to say that they generally come to their end by accidents such as drowning, or miserable deaths.

He then reverted to the former part of his story. The Oshuggays and the Cranes quarreled, and this quarrel commenced on a trivial point. It appears that the Cranes took a pole, without leave, from the Oshuggays, and they broke the pole; this circumstance led to a separation. The Oshuggays emigrated south, and are now known as the Shawnees.

BOSH-KWA-DOSH.

There was once a man who found himself alone in the world. He knew not whence he came, nor who were his parents; and he wandered about, from place to place, in search of something. At last he became wearied and fell asleep. He dreamed that he heard a voice saying, "Nosis," that is, my grandchild. When he awoke he actually heard the word repeated, and looking around he saw a tiny little animal hardly big enough to be seen on the plain. While doubting whether the voice could come from such a diminutive source, the little animal said to him, "My grandson, you will call me Bosh-kwa-dosh. Why are you so desolate? Listen to me and you shall find friends and be happy. You must take me up and bind me to your body and never put me aside, and success in life shall attend you." He obeyed the voice, sewing up the little animal in the folds of a string, or narrow belt, which he tied around his body, at his navel. He then set out in search of some one like himself, or other object. He walked a long time in woods without seeing man or animal. He seemed all alone in the world. At length he came to a place where a stump was cut, and on going over a hill he described a large town in a plain. A wide road led through the middle of it; but what seemed strange was, that on one side there were no inhabitants in the

lodges, while the other side was thickly inhabited. He walked boldly into the town.

The inhabitants came out and said: "Why here is the being we have heard so much of—here is Anish-in-a-ba. See his eyes and his teeth in a half circle—see the Wyaukenawbedaid. See his bowels, how they are formed;" for it seems they could look through him. The king's son, the Mujekewis, was particularly kind to him, and calling him brother-in-law, commanded that he should be taken to his father's lodge and received with attention. The king gave him one of his daughters. These people (who are supposed to be human but whose rank in the scale of being is left equivocal) passed much of their time in play and sports and trials of various kinds. When some time had passed, and he had become refreshed and rested, he was invited to join in these sports. The first test which they put him to was the trial of frost. At some distance was a large body of frozen water, and the trial consisted in lying down naked on the ice and seeing who could endure the longest. He went out with two young men who began by pulling off their garments and lying down on their faces. He did likewise, only keeping on the narrow magic belt with the tiny little animal sewed in it; for he felt that in this alone was to be his reliance and preservation. His competitors laughed and tittered during the early part of the night, and amused themselves by thoughts of his fate. Once they called out to him, but he made no reply. He felt a manifest warmth given out by his belt. About midnight, finding they were still, he called out to them in return, "What!" said he, "are you benumbed already; I am but just beginning to feel a little cold." All was silence. He, however, kept his position till early daybreak, when he got up and went to them. They were both quite dead, and frozen so hard that the flesh had bursted out under their finger-nails, and their teeth stood out. As he looked more closely, what was his surprise to find them both transformed into buffalo cows. He tied them together and carried them towards the village. As he came in sight, those who had wished his death were disappointed, but the Mudjekewis, who was really his friend, rejoiced. "See!" said he, "but one person approaches; it is my brother-in-law." He then threw down the carcasses in triumph, but it was found by their death he had restored two inhabitants to the before empty lodges, and he afterwards perceived that every one of these beings, whom he killed, had the like effect, so that the depopulated part of the village soon became filled with people.

The next test they put him to was the trial of speed. He was challenged to the race ground, and began his career with one whom he thought to be a man; but everything was enchanted here, for he soon discovered that his competitor was a large black bear. The animal outran him, tore up the ground, and sported before him and put out its large claws as if to frighten him. He thought of his little guardian spirit in the belt, and wishing to have the swftness of the Kakake, *i. e.*, sparrow hawk, he found himself rising from the ground, and with the speed of this bird he outwent his rival and won the race, while the bear came up exhausted and lolling out his tongue. His friend, the Mudjekewis, stood ready with his war-club at the goal, and the moment the bear came up, dispatched him. He then turned to the assembly, who had wished his friend and brothers' death, and after reproaching them, he lifted up his club and began to slay them on every side. They fell in heaps on all sides; but it was plain to be seen, the moment they fell, that they were not men but animals—foxes, wolves, tigers, lynxes, and other kinds, lay thick around the Mudjekewis.

Still the villagers were not satisfied. They thought the trial of frost had not been fairly accomplished and wished it repeated. He agreed to repeat it, but being fatigued with the race, he undid his guardian belt and laying it under his

head fell asleep. When he awoke he felt refreshed, and feeling strong in his own strength he went forward to renew the trial on the ice, but quite forgot the belt, nor did it all occur to him when he awoke, or when he lay down to repeat the trial. About midnight his limbs became stiff, the blood soon ceased to circulate, and he was found in the morning a stiff corpse. The victors took him up and carried him to the village where the loudest tumult of victorious joy was made, and they cut the body into a thousand pieces, that each one might eat a piece.

The Mudjekewis bemoaned his fate, but his wife was inconsolable. She lay in a state of partial distraction in the lodge. As she lay there, she thought she heard some one groaning. It was repeated through the night, and in the morning she carefully scanned the place, and running her fingers through the grass, she discovered the secret belt, on the spot where her husband had last reposed. "Aubishin," cried the belt—that is, untie me, or unloose me. Looking carefully she found the small seam which enclosed the tiny little animal. It cried out the more earnestly, "Aubishin!" and when she had carefully ripped the seams, she beheld, to her surprise, a minute, naked little beast, smaller than the smallest new-born mouse, without any vestige of hair, except at the tip of its tail; it could crawl a few inches, but reposed from fatigue. It then went forward again. At each moment it would *pupowee*, that is to say, shake itself like a dog, and at each shake it became larger. This it continued until it acquired the strength and size of a middle-sized dog, when it ran off.

The mysterious dog ran to the lodges about the village, looking for the bones of his friend, which he carried to a secret place, and as fast as he found them arranged all in their natural order. At length he had formed all the skeleton complete, except the heel bone of one foot. It so happened that two sisters were out of the camp, according to custom, at the time the body was cut up, and this heel was sent out to them. The dog hunted every lodge, and being satisfied that it was not to be found in the camp, he sought it outside of it, and found the lodge of the two sisters. The younger sister was pleased to see him, and admired and patted the pretty dog, but the elder sat mumbling the very heel-bone he was seeking, and was surly and sour, and repelled the dog, although he looked most wistfully up in her face, while she sucked the bone from one side of her mouth to the other. At last she held it in such a manner that it made her cheek stick out, when the dog, by a quick spring, seized the cheek, and tore cheek and bone away and fled.

He now completed the skeleton, and placing himself before it, uttered a hollow, low, long-drawn-out howl, when the bones came compactly together. He then modulated his howl, when the bones knit together and became tense. The third howl brought sinews upon them, and the fourth, flesh. He then turned his head upwards, looking into the sky, and gave a howl, which caused every one in the village to startle and the ground itself to tremble, at which the breath entered into his body and he first breathed and then arose. "Hy kow! I have overslept myself," he exclaimed, "I will be too late for the trial." "Trial!" said the dog, "I told you never to let me be separate from your body; you have neglected this. You were defeated and your frozen body cut into a thousand pieces and scattered over the village, but my skill has restored you. Now I will declare myself to you, and show who and what I am!"

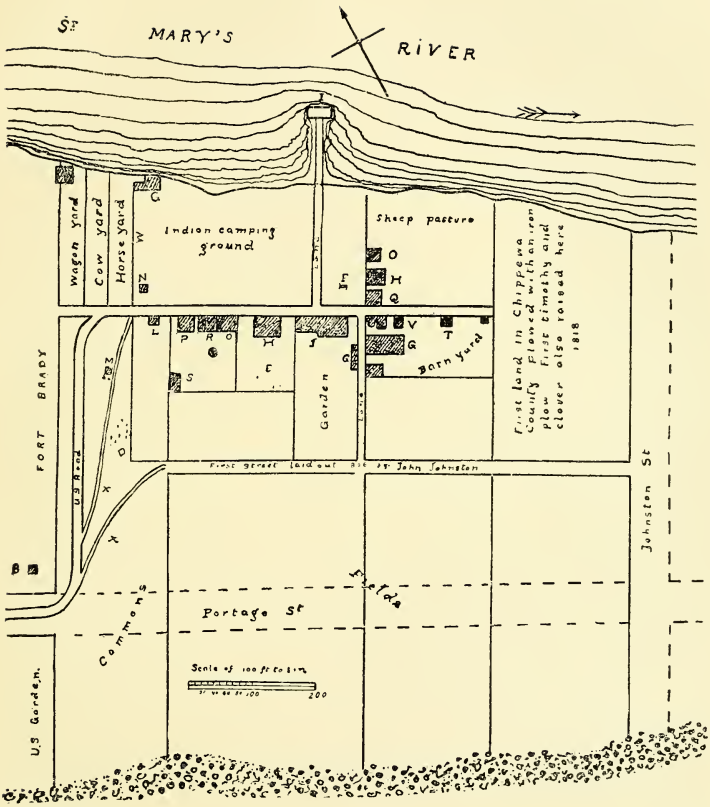
He then began to pupowee, or shake himself, and at every shake he grew. His body became heavy and massy, his legs thick and long, with big clumsy ends, or feet. He still shook himself and rose and swelled. A long snout grew from his head, and two great shining teeth out of his mouth. His skin remained as it was, naked, and only a tuft of hair grew on his tail. He rose up above the

trees. He was enormous. "I should fill the earth," said he, "were I to exert my utmost power, and all there is on the earth would not satisfy me to eat. Neither could it fatten me or do me good. I should want more. It were useless, therefore, and the gift I have, I will bestow on you. The animals shall henceforth be your food. They were not designed to feed on man, neither shall they hereafter do it, but shall feed him, and he only shall prey on beasts. But you will respect me, and not eat my kind.

ODJIBWA FAIRY TALES.*

There was once a little boy, remarkable for the smallness of his stature. He was living alone with his sister, older than himself. They were orphans; they lived in a beautiful spot on the lake shore; many large rocks were scattered around their habitation. The boy never grew larger as he advanced in years. One day, in winter, he asked his sister to make him a ball to play with along shore on the clear ice. She made one for him, but cautioned him not to go too far. Off he went in high glee, throwing his ball before him, and running after it at full speed; and he went as fast as he could. At last his ball flew to a great distance; he followed it as fast as he could. After he had run for some time he saw four dark substances on the ice straight before him. When he came up to the spot he was surprised to see four large, tall men lying on the ice, spearing fish. When he went up to them, the nearest looked up and in turn was surprised to see such a diminutive being, and turning to his brothers, he said, "Tia! look! see what a little fellow is here." After they had all looked a moment, they resumed their position, covered their heads, intent in searching for fish. The boy thought to himself, they imagine me too insignificant for common courtesy, because they are tall and large; I shall teach them, notwithstanding, that I am not to be treated so lightly. After they were covered up the boy saw they had each a large trout lying beside them. He slyly took the one nearest him, and placing his fingers in the gills, and tossing his ball before him, ran off at full speed. When the man to whom the fish belonged looked up, he saw his trout sliding away as if of itself, at a great rate—the boy being so small he was not distinguished from the fish. He addressed his brothers and said, "See how that tiny boy has stolen my fish; what a shame it is he should do so." The boy reached home, and told his sister to go out and get the fish he had brought home. She exclaimed, "Where could you have got it? I hope you have not stolen it." "Oh, no," he replied, "I found it on the ice." "How," persisted the sister, "could you have got it there?" "No matter," said the boy, "go and cook it." He disdained to answer her again, but thought he would one day show her how to appreciate him. She went to the place he left it, and there, indeed, she found a monstrous trout. She did as she was bid, and cooked it for that day's consumption. Next morning he went off again as at first. When he came near the large men, who fished every day, he threw his ball with such force that it rolled into the ice-hole of the man of whom he had stolen the day before. As he happened to raise himself at the time, the boy said, "Neejee, pray hand me my ball." "No, indeed," answered the man, "I shall not," and thrust the ball under the ice. The boy took hold of his arm and broke it in two in a moment, and threw him to one side, and picked up his ball, which had bounded back from under the ice, and tossed it as usual before him. Outstripping it in speed, he got home and remained within till the next morning. The man whose arm he had broken hallooed out to his brothers, and told them his case, and deplored his fate. They hurried to their brother, and as

*(Told by Mrs. Jane Johnston, afterwards Mrs. H. R. Schoolcraft.)



A. Block House.
B. Magazine.
C. Palisade 18 feet high.
D. Old graves.
E. Old Jesuit Cemetery.
F. Fur Press.
G. Barns.
H. Warehouses.
I. Dock on which Governor Cass landed, 1820, and U. S. troops, 1822.
J. The Johnston residence, now owned by Mr. E. S. Wheeler.
K. Fisk House.
L. Mrs. Cadotte's House.
M. M. DeBois' House.
N. Tarder J. Drew wintered 1815.
O. Men's House.
P. Dwelling.
Q. Store.
R. Carpenter Shops.
S. Blacksmith Shop built 1795.
T. Milk and Ice House.
U. Root House.
V. Wine Cellar.
W. U. S. Fence.
X. Paths.

loud as they could roar threatened vengeance on the morrow, knowing the boy's speed that they could not overtake him, and he was near out of sight; yet he heard their threats and awaited their coming in perfect indifference. The four brothers the next morning prepared to take their revenge. Their old mother begged them not to go. "Better," said she, "that one only should suffer than that all should perish; for he must be a monedo, or he could not perform such feats." But her sons would not listen; and taking their wounded brother along, started for the boy's lodge, having learnt that he lived at the place of rocks. The boy's sister thought she heard the noise of snow-shoes on the crusted snow at a distance advancing. She saw the large, tall men coming straight to their lodge, or rather cave, for they lived in a large rock. She ran in with great fear, and told her brother the fact. He said, "Why do you mind them? Give me something to eat." "How can you think of eating at such a time?" she replied. "Do as I request you, and be quick." She then gave him his dish, which was a large mis-qua-dace shell, and he commenced eating. Just then the men came to the door, and were about lifting the curtain placed there, when the boy-man turned his dish up-side-down, and immediately the door was closed with a stone; the men tried hard with their clubs to crack it; at length they succeeded in making a slight opening. When one of them peeped in with one eye, the boy-man shot his arrow into his eye and brain, and he dropped down dead. The others, not knowing what had happened their brother, did the same, and all fell in like manner; their curiosity was so great to see what the boy was about. So they all shared the same fate. After they were killed the boy-man told his sister to go out and see them. She opened the door, but feared they were not dead, and entered back again hastily, and told her fears to her brother. He went out and hacked them in small pieces, saying, "Henceforth let no man be larger than you are now." So men became of the present size. When spring came on, the boy-man said to his sister, "Make me a new set of arrows and bow." She obeyed, as he never did anything himself of a nature that required manual labor, though he provided for their sustenance. After she made them, she again cautioned him not to shoot into the lake; but regardless of all admonition, he, on purpose, shot his arrow into the lake, and waded some distance till he got into deep water, and paddled about for his arrow, so as to attract the attention of his sister. She came in haste to the shore, calling him to return, but instead of minding her he called out, "Ma-mis-quon-je-gun-a, be-nau-wa-con-zhe-shin," that is, "you of the red fins come and swallow me." Immediately that monstrous fish came and swallowed him; and seeing his sister standing on the shore in despair, he hallooed out to her, "Me-zush-ke-zin-ance." She wondered what he meant. But on reflection she thought it must be an old mockesin. She accordingly tied the old mockesin to a string and fastened it to a tree. The fish said to the boy-man, under water, "What is that floating?" The boy-man said to the fish, "Go, take hold of it, swallow it as fast as you can." The fish darted towards the old shoe and swallowed it. The boy-man laughed in himself, but said nothing till the fish was fairly caught; he then took hold of the line and began to pull himself and fish to shore. The sister, who was watching, was surprised to see so large a fish; and hauling it ashore she took her knife and commenced cutting it open. When she heard her brother's voice inside of the fish saying, "Make haste and release me from this nasty place," his sister was in such haste that she almost hit his head with her knife; but succeeded in making an opening large enough for her brother to get out. When he was fairly out, he told his sister to cut up the fish and dry it, as it would last a long time for their sustenance, and said to her never, never more to doubt his ability in any way. So ends the story.

TO HOPE.

(By the late John Johnston, Esq.)

Hope, deceiver of my soul,
Who with lures, from day to day,
Hast permitted years to roll,
Almost unpreceived away.

Now no longer try thine art,
Fools alone thy power shall own,
Who, with simple, vacant heart,
Dream of bliss to mortals known.

Every effort have I try'd,
All that reason could suggest,
Cruel? cease then to deride
One by fortune still unblest.

Ah! yet stay, for when thou'rt gone,
Where shall sorrow lay her head?
Where, but on the chilling stone
That marks the long-forgotten dead.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL LETTERS

of the

LATE JOHN JOHNSTON, ESQ.,

of the Falls of St. Mary's, Michigan.

Introductory Remarks by Henry R. Schoolcraft, 1844.

Few men have connected their names more widely or reputably with the red race of America than the late John Johnston, Esq., to whose life the present lines are devoted. A native of Ireland, he came to this country the year after the adoption of the constitution, a young man, having been brought up in ease and affluence, mixed freely in the polished circles of his time, and knowing nothing of society or the world, but what he had seen in these circles or read of in books. In a spirit of honorable adventure he went up into the region of the great lakes, engaged in the alluring and then half chivalrous pursuit of the fur trade; but intending in a few years to go back to his estate, then in the possession of his mother, in Antrim. With the elasticity of spirits of his countrymen, and the love of novelty, independence, and romance, of which the region in question then furnished stimulants, he pursued this business till he had assimilated his habits to it. He saw in it the means of honorable independency, without submitting to the actual drudgery of the exchanges and traffic at the interior village. His first position was at Chagoimegon, near the southwestern head of Lake Superior, where he married a daughter of a celebrated warrior, who was the reigning chief. He then fixed his residence at the Falls, or as it is commonly called by Americans, the Sault of St. Mary's. In this position he exercised that peculiar species of factorship (although he was himself the outfitter and not concerned with a company), which is necessary to conduct a department of the Indian trade. From his connection with the leading chief, his frank and honorable dealing, the reception he always gave the red men, and his

general intelligence, he exercised a wide influence over the native tribes. His original letters on coming out, and his known connection at home, had given him a reputable standing in the high government and business circles of Montreal and Quebec. His residence at St. Mary's was known as the seat of hospitality. He had early taught the forest maid, whom he had selected and placed at the head of his house, the duty of refined hospitality—a duty, it may be said, easily engrafted on the native stock; and as his children grew up, they soon became adepts in all the arts and attentions of receiving and entertaining company. The greatest pains were taken with their education and manners. He possessed a choice library of standard English works. He was a man of taste, and great fondness for reading. He amused the deep solitude of his position, during the winters, in this way, and sometimes indulged in composition. In this manner his house became, in fact, a seat of refinement in the heart of the wilderness. And in this position, with frequent journeys, local and foreign, he passed the remaining eight and thirty years of his life.

This period covers a very interesting era in our national history. It embraces the coming on, progress, and termination of the war of 1812, in some of the events of which he became involved; the survey and settlement of the boundary lines on that wild frontier, extending to north latitude 49°, and the incipient movements in our Indian affairs, which have eventuated in large cessions of territory by the tribes, and the acceptance by most of them of the plan of a removal and colonization west of the Mississippi. Mr. Johnston himself ever felt the deepest interest in the fate and fortunes of the race, in plans for the introduction of education and Christianity amongst them, and in their general exaltation in mind and morals, and restoration to all possible political rights.

It is owing to these considerations that I have introduced the present paper, which will, in the sequel, be preceived to connect itself intimately with the condition, character, and history of the Ojibwas, and of a numerous family of kindred tribes. My acquaintance with Mr. Johnston commenced in 1822, and was continued from that time to the period of his death. Convinced that his reminscences of life would present subjects of future and deep interest, I frequently solicited his undertaking it, but owing chiefly, if not entirely, to the plea of ill-health and chronic pains, he deferred it till his last year, and unfortunately, as it is thought, for this species of literature, he did not live to complete it. He chose the form of letters, he said, to separate his labor into distinct portions, the completion of one of which encouraged him to begin another. They are addressed to me.

LETTER I.

St. Mary's Falls, 14 Jan., 1828.

My Dear Sir:—I at length have made up my mind to comply with your request and that of my beloved Jane, by throwing together a few recollections respecting my family, and of my own life; subjects that could not possibly have any interest with the world, and are only suited to the eye of friendship and of love.

As to my father's family I know nothing but what I have heard in conversation between my mother and my aunt Nancy Johnston, from whom I learned that my great grandfather John, left Scotland after the massacre of Glencoe under William the third. He, and I believe his sister, married into the houses of Leathes of Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk, and Mussinden of Herringfleet Hall, in Norfolk. My grandfather William possessed an estate in the county of Antrim, held by lease under the Earl of Donnegal, and an estate in the county Down, called Newtonbreda, bordering on the estate of Lord Dungannon, to whom he sold it as

being contiguous to the demesne of Belvoir Castle. My eldest uncles, Leathes, John and Michael, were educated at the famous school of Armagh, along with Mr. Macartney and Mr. Carleton. The first became an Earl, and the second Viscount Dorchester. My grandfather left his house of Newforge and came to reside in Belfast, for the education of his younger children. Having a considerable sum of money on hand from the sale of his Newtonbreda estate, he planned and executed the water works of Belfast, on the security of a lease of 41 years. The then Lord Donnegal being insane, his tutors could only grant leases, but the next heir pledged himself and family at a public dinner given by the town to my grandfather, that the works should be granted in perpetuity as soon as the circumstances of the family would admit of it. But this word of honor, so publicly plighted, was afterwards shamefully broken; and the reason adduced for it was that from the increased growth and opulence of the town, the water works gave an influence nearly equal to that of the lord of the soil, though it was allowed by all that the increase, prosperity, and health of the place was chiefly owing to the abundant supply of an article so essential to health and manufacture. My grandfather's younger children were six, two sons and four daughters. One of his daughters married the Rev. Wm. Saurin, rector of the town, a second married an opulent merchant, whose name was Johnson, a third married the Rev. Robert Heyland, rector of Colorain, and the fourth, my dear aunt Nancy, gave up the pleasures of a fashionable life to live with my mother, when a widow, and assist her with her income and in our education. My uncles Leathes and John went early to their uncle Leathes, who, independent of his estates, had a good deal of interest from always representing the Borough of St. Edmunds Bury in parliament. They both went into the army; Leathes had soon a company in the guards, and John in a marching regiment; but their early introduction into fashionable life had a fatal effect on the fortune of both, for they soon plunged into all the dissipation and extravagance of the period; and got so much embarrassed that they joined their uncle in cutting off the entail of the estates, and for 25,000 pounds and an annuity, to one of 500 pounds, and the other of 200 pounds per annum, sold their right of inheritance to their uncle, who bequeathed the whole to his natural children, who are now in full possession of both estates. My uncle Michael had a chaplaincy in the army, and died of consumption. Leathes married the daugther of the late Sir Benjamin Bloomfield, and had a family of four sons and a daughter; he then went out to India, where he died a lieutenant colonel. John, after losing three or four commissions, died at last a lieutenant colonel of marines, instead of being an old lieutenant general. I have never seen any of my uncle Leathes' children, I only know that his eldest son William is now a lieutenant general of engineers, residing at College Green, Bristol, after having spent many years in the West Indies. The two youngest sons of my grandfather, William and Mussinden, chose the navy and army for their professions. They made a tour into Scotland, where my uncle Mussinden raised a company in the neighborhood of Glencoe in a few weeks. They then visited Edinburgh, and were severally presented with the freedom of the city. I remember the beautiful illuminated vellum, with large green wax seals appended, which my sisters cut up to make patterns for working bobbin lace when we were children. William was a midshipman at the taking of Louisburgh, I think, in 1759. As soon as peace was proclaimed he quit the navy, and was appointed surveyor of Port Rush, in the north of Ireland. The family were all grown up and dispersed when my grandfather was made collector of Colerain. He had lost his first wife for some years, and being tired of living alone made a visit to Liverpool, where he married a widow lady of high connections, but before embarking for Ireland he had to pay 800 pounds sterling, for debts she had

formerly contracted. I believe he only lived two or three years after his second marriage. About this time my father married Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of John McNeil, Esq., of Coulreshkan, in English, Wheatland. He got as a marriage portion the reversion of the quarter land of Craige, less than three miles from the Giant's causeway, a beautiful situation and fine land, which did not come into my mother's possession till the expiration of twenty years after signing the marriage articles. I was born the 25th of August, 1762, and was sent to school in Colerain in my seventh year. When I left home my father was on his death bed, he had been much afflicted with dyspepsia, for which his friend and physician, a Doctor Stephenson of Colerain, had administered mercury without informnig him of it. He had been on a visit to a friend beyond the river Bush, and on returning in the evening found the tide in, and rather than go two miles farther up to a bridge, he swam his horse over, and caught a cold which immediately fell upon his lungs, and in less than three months carried him to an untimely grave in his 43d year, to the irreparable loss of his family, and regret of all who knew him. My mother was left a widow with two sons and three daughters. Jane was the oldest, I was the next, Eliza, yet living, the third, William the fourth, and Charlotte, the youngest and most beautiful, but the earliest in her grave, being carried off by the smallpox in her seventh year. I could long dwell on her sweetness of temper, her early piety, her beauty and her grace, and above all her distinguished love for me, but the subject has ever been too painful for me. And now my dear sir, having given you nearly all the knowledge I possess respecting my family, I shall conclude this hasty sketch by promising that when another scribbling fit comes on I shall again renew the subject, though I feel it will become more irksome to me as my picture gradually fills the foreground.

Ever affectionately yours,

JOHN JOHNSTON.

LETTER II.

St. Mary's Falls, 19 Jan., 1828.

My Dear Sir:—In compliance with my promise, I resume the subject of my "Simple Annals." My mother's income was much circumscribed by the death of my father, so much so, that she was obliged to withdraw me from school in my tenth year. Instead of having a handsome income from three-fourths of the water works, which devolved on her and my aunt Nancy, such had been the mismanagement, not to give it a harsher name, of the Rev. Robert Heyland, who had a fourth of the income, by his wife, that several sums were demanded of my mother and aunt, said to be expended in repairs over and above the rental, which was more than 400 pounds sterling a year. On my return from school I was examined by my aunt, who found that I neither knew Latin or English grammatically, and could scarcely write my name; so much for an Irish Latin school; and that too kept by an Episcopalian clergyman! My aunt immediately set me on a course of English grammar, and of reading ancient and modern history. I had a kind of tutor also for writing and arithmetic. To conquer the idle habits I had acquired for three years was no easy task, and perhaps no other person could have induced me to application, or have given me a taste for reading but my aunt, whose gentle and polished manners gained her alike our love and our respect. My dear mother's household cares gave her little time to attend to us, until after tea, when she, my aunt, and sisters sat down to work, and I read with them for two or three hours, which would have been very tiresome, but for intervals in which my mother and aunt pointed out the beauties of particular passages,

and the virtues and vices of the different characters which history presented to us, and the consequent effect on their lives and fortunes. But the British classics and our best dramatists were to our young and just expanding minds a source of the purest delight. This state of innocent enjoyment and consequent happiness, continued, with little intermission, for five years, until I began to fancy myself a man, and that I ought to break through the trammels of female influence and control. These ideas were much strengthened by the conversation of servants and the country people in our neighborhood, who, as all the lower class of Irish ever have been, are the most cunning and fulsome flatterers in the world. I now betook myself to coursing with greyhounds, shooting, fishing, etc., instead of taking the advantage offered me by the Rev. Robert Sturrock, of studying, at his Academy of White Park, within one mile of my mother's house, where he instructed some of the first gentlemen's sons of the kingdom; among whom were my two friends and neighbors, Edmund and Francis McNaughton; the eldest now a Lord of the Treasury, and member of Parliament for the county of Antrim; the second Sir Francis, at present Chief Justice of Calcutta; the Hon. Robert Stuart, afterwards too well known as Lord Castlereagh; James Alexander, nephew to the Earl of Caldon, and now an India Director and member of Parliament, with many more, whose subsequent history I am but little acquainted with. All the advantages of such society, and the instrucions of a man of exemplary piety, learning, and the most polished manners, who was on terms of friendship and good neighborhood with my mother and aunt, I foolishly abandoned for the pursuit of field sports and still more debasing gratifications. In my seventeenth year I was sent to Belfast to take charge of the water works, and for some time attended steadily to my business, by which means I raised the value of the property considerably; but I had still a great deal of idle time on my hands, and having sufficient means of indulging myself, I squandered my time and money in vanity and dissipation, with no other saving quality but a detestation of low and vulgar company, into which I was never led but once or twice, and for which I paid dearly both in purse and peace of mind.

In the midst of all my folly and extravagance I still retained a love of reading. But unfortunately I had no guide or instructor to make a proper selection for me, so that the trash of a circulating library was read over with very little taste or discrimination, and was therefore a mere sacrifice of time. I as yet knew nothing of politics, and had been only taught that loyalty to my king was absolutely necessary to every gentleman. My ideas of love of country were vague. I thought obedience to the laws, and respect for the constitution, constituted all the duties of a patriot. I was too blind and ignorant to perceive that my country, properly speaking, had no constitution; and that the laws forced upon her by another state were unjust and oppressive, and studiously calculated to repress every effort at improvement or independence. I seldom or ever recollect dates, but believe volunteering was at its height about 1783 or 4; but I never would join any of their corps, being possessed with the idea that they were on the eve of rebellion, when only temperately, but firmly, demanding their just and natural rights, so long withheld by an ignorant, selfish, and jealous government. The corporation of Belfast now fixed their eyes on the water works as a means of greatly increasing their wealth and influence; and had art and address sufficient to induce the weak and unprincipled Earl of Donnegal to break the promise of his ancestor, to grant the property in perpetuity to my family. It is true the first lease was renewed when still there were ten or fifteen years unexpired, but the second was now drawing to a close, and I took advantage of his lordship's being on a visit to his Irish estates to solicit the fulfillment of his promise, or at least a renewal of the lease.

But as I could not succeed, from the reasons already mentioned, I made up my mind not to remin a burden on my family, but to go abroad as soon as I could procure sufficient means. In the interim I sent out my dear brother William to New York, where he bound himself apprentice to a merchant of the name of Henry, who in two or three years failed, but was so pleased with him as to give him up his indentures. He then went into company with a Mr. Samuel Hill, brother to the Rev. Charles Hill, of Ballycastle, my particular friend. They did business for some time at New York, and then removed to Albany, where Mr. Hill married. As to myself, I continued my idle and debauched life for several years, until the lease of the water works was within four or five years of expiring, when, finding that all my efforts to obtain justice from Lord Donnegal were unavailing, I, by the consent of all the parties concerned, raised 400 pounds on the remainder of the lease from Mr. Alexander, his lordship's agent for the Belfast, giving up the property as security; the remaining avail to be accounted for to my family, which by the way, was never done, and then prepared to leave the scene of my follies and misfortunes. In 1789 Lord Macartney came to visit his castle at Lisanore, within 14 miles of my mother's residence, where I waited on him with a letter of introducton from my aunt. He received me with great kindness, and after stating to him my disappointments at home, I mentioned my wish to go to India, from whence he had recently returned, and where of course his interest chiefly lay. He took me into his library and showed me a list of 26 persons he was bound to provide for, condescendingly adding, he had not advanced himself in the world without being under obligations to many friends, whose services it was his first duty to repay; he however said if I was determined to go to India in preference to any where else he would, during the winter, do everything he could to forward my wishes. He further remarked that we heard a great deal of those who came from India with fortunes, but not a word of the hundreds who fell victims to the climate, and the excesses into which young men were liable to be led in such a voluptuous country. I then proposed to go to Canada, in case of procuring letters to Lord Dorchester, the then Governor General. To this he in the most friendly manner assented, and said, though he himself was not on terms of intimacy with Lord D., his friends were, and that I should write to him when nearly ready to set out, when he would forward me letters from Lord Liverpool and Mr. Brook Watson, two of Lord D's best friends, whose recommendations would have the greatest weight with him. Accordingly in spring, as soon as my affairs were all arranged, I wrote to his lordship, who in a post or two sent me the promised letters, accompanied with one from himself containing the most friendly advice and good wishes. And now that I have brought my brief and little eventful history to the eve of that step on which my subsequent fortune so entirely hinged, I shall lay down my pen and give you a little reprieve from the tedium of a recital so little interesting even to a partial ear.

Believe me ever truly yours,

JOHN JOHNSTON.

LETTER III.

St. Mary's Falls, 26 Feb., 1828.

My Dear Sir:—Ill health, indolence, and the pursuit of idle amusements, which only end in vanity and vexation of spirit, have diverted my attention from writing for some time past. But I now resume the subject with the hope of pursuing it with more steadiness and perseverance than I have hitherto done. I had many acquaintances in Belfast and the neighboring counties, which, while we are linked

in the pursuit of pleasures, we are apt to call friends, but the moment a change takes place in our circumstances, the illusion vanishes, and as if touched by the spear of Ithurial, they soon start up in their proper form, and the chain of connection is broken forever. However, I had the consolation of two particular exceptions, in my excellent and ever esteemed friends, Doctor McDonald and Narcissus Batt, over whom the lapse and change of circumstances have had no other effect than to prove that true honor and worth, such as theirs, are immutable.

In the latter end of June, 1790, I embarked on board the Clara, Captain Collins, for New York. We were detained for several hours off Carickfergus in the middle of the night, by a naval officer and boat's crew, who took possession of the ship, and made a strict search for British seamen; though then at peace with the United States. I represented to the officer the cruelty and injustice of detaining an outward bound vessel with a fair wind, especially as the captain assured him that there was not a man of the description he sought for on board; but when I saw he was determined to detain the ship all night, I addressed a letter to the Marquis of Downshire, to whom I had the honor of being particularly known, stating the circumstances. I read the letter publicly, and prepared to send it by a gentleman just going ashore, but shortly after, "the man of brief authority," gave up the ship to the captain, and having eaten a snack and drunk a pint of half and half grog, he civilly bade us good night and a safe passage. I had never been at sea before, though bred up on the coast, which caused me to suffer more from seasickness than some of my fellow passengers. I lay down on the floor of the round house, from whence no inducement could tempt me to stir for nearly two days; at the expiration of which I found myself perfectly well, and as hungry as a hawk. I got a beefsteak and some porter, and never felt seasickness after. We were four who messed together in the round house with the captain, the Rev. Charles Gray of Coleraine; the Rev. Robert Cathcart, an old friend and neighbor, and a Mr. Mathews from Edinburgh. We fared as well as people at sea could possibly wish, and had such an abundance of wine, porter and spirits, that I was enabled to bestow a large hamper of wine, spruce, beer, oranges and lemons, sent on board for me by my friend Mr. Batt, amongst the passengers in the hold, several of whom were sick. Our fare was only ten guineas each, though since risen to forty; such has been the advance in living within the last thirty years! We had a favorable passage until we arrived off the Azores, where we were chased by a sixty gun ship, which having hoisted Spanish and then French colors, induced the captain to believe was one of the ships of war presented to the Algerines by France. He altered his course and put before the wind, the ship repeatedly firing at us; but out vessel being a prime sailer, and light, we soon increased our distance, and the next morning, when scarcely visible, she altered her course and gave up the chase. The second or third day after, when crossing the Gulf stream, we were overtaken by a heavy gale, which raised a tremendous sea. In the night our cabin windows were stove in; we had two or three feet of water in the floor; trunks and boxes broke from their cleatings; the poor people in the under berths were all afloat, and such a scene of terror and confusion took place as I shall never forget. Some were praying aloud, others confessing their sins, others screaming from fear and pain, whilst escaping from drowning in their berths; and at every roll of the ship dashed into contact with trunks, chests and boxes. Amongst the latter sufferers was a Mrs. Lindsey, the wife of a clergyman from the Highlands of Scotland. Whilst sprawling on the floor she was struck in the head by an iron bound trunk, which laid it open for about three inches. When candles came down, the dead lights lashed in, the scene exhibited such a mixture of frightful and ludicrous as fairly surpassed description; poor Mrs.

Lindsey, who at best might have passed for one of the witches in Macbeth, now looked a perfect Hecate; her matted locks dripping with gore, and her vulgar unmeaning countenance distorted into a most unearthly grin. No one pitied her or her fanatic husband. He had made himself particularly obnoxious to me from his language to the captain when chased by the Algerine. He told him it was an act of cowardice to run away from any vessel whilst we were all Englishmen; with a great deal more of the most illiberal and vulgar abuse. The captain mildly answered that he could appeal to most of his men, who had sailed with him when commanding a privateer during the revolutionary war, whether he had ever evinced any signs of cowardice when in conflict with the enemy. But now, as accountable to his owners for the ship, and to the passengers for their safety, he only performed his duty by avoiding danger, even supposing the vessel was not what we supposed her to be. I had at length to interfere, and sent the very Rev. Mr. Lindsey to his cabin rather precipitately.

Nothing further occurred worth noting until we got in sight of Long Island, which, as we approached, the trees seemed to start one after another from the water, and the scenery every instant developed new and interesting beauties; but on rounding Governor's Island, when the city, like a splendid amphitheater, burst upon the view, I was absolutely transported with pleasure and delight. We came to our moorings after sunset, and I slept on board that I might put my foot on American ground the day of my birth; having just attained my 28th year. And as this begins a new epoch in my existence, I shall here conclude the story of my voyage.

Remaining ever truly and affectionately yours,

JOHN JOHNSTON.

LETTER IV.

St. Mary's Fall, 1st March, 1828.

My Dear Sir:—The first thing that struck me on entering New York was the kindness and urbanity of the people. I had asked my three fellow passengers to breakfast with me, and entered into the first coffee house we saw. The people told me they were not in the habit of providing meals for those who called at their house, but as we were strangers, they would give us the best breakfast they could; accordingly we had fresh rolls, excellent butter, fresh eggs, cream, tea, coffee, smoked beef and ham, for about one shilling sterling each, which I thought augured well for our future comfort whilst in the country. I then went and called upon Mrs. Sadler, in Water street, who was a distant connection of my mother's. I found her and Mr. Sadler himself, kind, friendly, and hospitable. They insisted on my residing with them whilst I remained in town. Mr. Sadler then took me to Hill and Johnston's store, and I soon found myself in the arms of the best and most affectionate of brothers. I passed a very happy week in New York, and saw in church the great and good Washington, to whom I should have had the honor of being introduced, had I been able to make a longer stay; but my passage was taken for Albany in a fine sloop, called the Hibernia, Captain Moor, where for the first time I saw my national flag displayed in all its beauty. We had a delightful passage of three days, though we stopped repeatedly to put ashore passengers and take in others. The romantic beauties of the Hudson have been so often and ably described, that any attempt on my part would be absolute presumption. Amongst my fellow passengers were several genteel well-bred ladies. The men were plain, friendly, and unaffected, and I found a very agreeable companion

in a Mr. Noble, who was going to visit an estate his father had lately bought near Johnstown, in the center of the state of New York.

We put up at Lewis's Hotel, then the first in Albany; where we spent four or five days very pleasantly. I one day took a stroll for about a mile up the hill from Mr. Lewis's, and saw five or six men, all armed with rifles, dash out of the wood to my left. I was at first a little startled at their uncouth appearance, but they accosted me civilly, and said they presumed I was a stranger, from my walking unarmed so far from the city. They told me they were in pursuit of a pack of wolves that had attacked a gentleman on horseback, the day before, on the very place where we now stood; when nothing but the power and speed of his horse saved him. The horse was cut in several places, and the gentleman's boots nearly torn off his legs—you may think I was very thankful for the warning. My informants entered the wood on the opposite side of the road, and I did not pursue my walk any farther in that direction. I got acquainted with a Mr. Bedient of Boston, who was on his way to Montreal, as well as myself; we therefore hired a wagon between us, there being no other mode of conveyance. We traveled through a fine but only partially cultivated country, until we came to Saratoga, where the scenery was dark and gloomy, and the roads most intolerably bad, being made of round logs laid beside each other, forming causeways often for miles. These roads I was informed were made by General Burgoyne in his ill-conducted, and consequently ill-fated expedition. I saw the height on which the gallant Frazer fell, and went over part of the battleground with painful and humiliated feelings, which I was obliged to conceal, as no one would have sympathized with me. How different are my present ideas on the subject, when pride and prejudice no longer blind my eyes, and I can trace the hand of Omnipotence, baffling the efforts of tyrannic power to strangle the infant Hercules, who is destined to give law to the western world! I do not now recollect whether we slept more than one night on the road from Albany to Fort Edward, but we arrived late in the evening, and Mr. Bedient immediately hired a batteau to take us down Lake George early in the morning, which deprived me from visiting the ruins of the fort. The passage down the lake was beautiful, and the scenery romantic in the highest degree. We stopped at the only house then on the border of the lake; I think the place was called Rattlesnake Point. There I saw a hunter for the first time. His costume was so different from anything I had hitherto seen, that I conceived him to be an Indian, but on accosting him found he spoke good English. He told me he had been in the woods three months, and had not been as successful as usual; he had two or three dogs with him, the merest skeletons I ever beheld. He told me that in a fortnight he would make them quite fat, by feeding them on rattlesnakes, for which purpose he had come to the lake, where they were abundant; as also to refresh himself. Cooper's description of Leather Stocking has repeatedly called this man to my mind.

In the evening we passed the rock called Roger's Leap, which certainly was a feat of activity few men would be equal to, unless pursued as he was by an unrelenting foe, which reduced it to a mere matter of "neck or nothing," with him.

We passed the ruins of Ticonderoga in the night, and slept at an inn, the lower story of which was literally washed by the waters of Lake Champlain; here we were obliged to spend a day before we could procure a boat to convey us down to St. Johns at its northern extremity. We passed the first night at a blacksmith and farmer's, where we had everything clean and comfortable, the contrast between their mode of living and the beings we call farmers in the north of Ireland was painfully striking. The second night we passed at a Judge McNeale's, who I found was a descendant of the McNeales of Clogher, near Bush Mills, and Giant's

Causeway; the estate when I left home, was possessed by Sir William Duncan, late of Calcutta in India.

We arrived at St. Johns in the night, the commandant had gone to bed, and I was obliged to wait more than an hour in the guard house before I got liberty to seek an inn. In the morning I met Lieut. Boyd of Clare near Ballycastle, in the north of Ireland, an old acquaintance and neighbor with whom I spent the day.

I took a calash from St. Johns to Laprairie, and then hired a canoe and man to take me over to Montreal. The fellow took me to a small island about a mile above the town, where he landed and went into the wood. I waited in the canoe for near an hour, and then went in search of him. I found him skulking in the wood. There was something so sinister in his looks, that I began to suspect him of a design to rob me. I made him come to the canoe and embark, swearing that if he did not take me to the mainland I would split him to the teeth with my paddle. When we got opposite the windmill above the town, I made him land and shoulder my portmanteau, and thus marched him before me into town. I was directed to O'Sullivan's coffee house, where I took up my abode, intending to rest a few days before I proceeded to Quebec; chiefly that I might get over the effect of the mosquito bites, by which I was absolutely deformed and feverish. I had brought over with me a few guineas of the latest coinage, one of which I gave to Mr. O'Sullivan to get changed, and had a hearty laugth at his ignorance and impertinence, when he turned it in his fingers, and with a look half wise, half cunning said, "It is a very pretty counter." I told him to go and get it weighed, and on his return he was full as servile as before he had been insolent. The next evening I met in the coffee room my old acquaintance and friend, Mr. Andrew Tod. He was now a partner in the house of Tod, Magill & Co.; his uncle Isaac being one of the first merchants in Montreal since the conquest in 1760. To him I imparted my object in going to Quebec; he with great candor and friendship pointed out the chances against my succeeding with Lord Dorchester, and advised me, if nothing satisfactory was done for me, to return to Montreal and pass the winter, and in the spring I should accompany him to Michilimackinac, where a fair field was open to adventures in the Indian trade, to which proposition I gave my assent. And now, my dear sir, having arrived at a new resting place, "shall I not take mine ease in mine inn," only promising to take up the thread of my narrative as soon as you express a desire to hear further from,

Your ever affectionate,
JOHN JOHNSTON.

LETTER V.

St. Mary's Falls, April 28, 1828.

My Dear Sir:—Though it requires little, if any, mental effort to continue a story such as mine, yet I have found sickness an effectual preventive to the least exertion for more than six weeks past. But as I find myself relieved from intense pain, I once more take up my pen to mention, that after spending a week in Montreal, I took a place with the king's courier in a calash for Quebec. We traveled day and night, so that I never put off my clothes, nor got a moment's rest, except whilst changing our voiture, or when my companion delayed half an hour to lay in a stock of bacon and eggs, or some such delicate fare, sufficient one would have thought, to sustain a reasonable man for a week. But my friend Monsieur Labadie weighed nearly 300 pounds and was determined that neither bad roads nor the most jolting vehicle in the world, should cause the least diminution of his

en bon point. I paid two guineas for my seat, and had the honor besides of treating Mr. Labadie to all his slight repasts. We arrived the third day, and at Franks' Hotel I soon got over my fatigue and privations. I was not sorry to find that Lord Dorchester was yet at his country house, as it enabled me to ramble over the town, the plains of Abraham, etc., etc. I had never before been in a fortified town, unless the old crumbling ramparts of Londonderry could entitle it to the name. I, therefore, took great pleasure in strolling on the walls and enjoying the variety of prospect presented from them; however, my entire ignorance of garrison duty led me into a scrape ludicrous enough, though it ended pleasantly. In pursuing my walk one day along the rampart, I met the first sentinel, who called out to me to stop and return if I had not a pass. Thinking the fellow only wanted to extract some money from me, I continued to approach, when he brought his musket to the charge, and swore he must do his duty. Seeing the poor man was in earnest and apparently agitated, I returned, and as evening was near, I returned to my lodgings. The next morning, before my usual hour of rising, Mr. Franks came rather abruptly into my room to inform me that the town major was below inquiring for me, and to bring me with him to Col. England, the commandant. I bade Mr. Franks tell the major that if he would call in a couple of hours, when I should have dressed and breakfasted, I should, with pleasure, accompany him. Shortly after Mr. Franks entered again, and very seriously informed me, I was taken for a spy; but as he had formed a good opinion of me, if I wished to evade examination he would facilitate my escape. I told him I was much obliged to him for his proffered friendship, but could not think of stirring until I had got my breakfast and seen the town major. He stared at me, and said he believed I was something more than I appeared to be. I left him to enjoy his sage conjecture, and went down to breakfast. The major was punctual to his hour, and I went along with him to Col. England. My affair was soon cleared up, and the colonel asked me to breakfast the next morning, and presented me with a paper, allowing me to visit the works at the proper hours, and any company I chose to take with me; which arose from my having mentioned that some people from Montreal, with whom I had got acquainted at the hotel, wished to visit Cape Diamond.

I had got acquainted with Mr. Motz, Lord D.'s private secretary, to whom I gave my letters. In a few days after, his lordship came to town, when I had the honor of being introduced, and was received in a very kind and friendly manner; but, as Providence would have it, General Sir Alured Clark now arrived with the commission of Governor General, and with letters of recall for his lordship; however, he decided not to risk Lady Dorchester and the family at so late a season, therefore continued in office during the winter. His lordship continued very kind and hospitable to me, and questioned me as to the fate of uncles who had been his schoolfellows. He introduced me to the chief merchants of the town, and wished me to write my ideas on the practicability of opening a direct trade with Ireland. In two or three days my memoir was finished, and he again invited me along with the gentlemen concerned, to dine at the castle, when the affair was fully discussed. They all acknowledged the justice and utility of the statement I had made, but candidly avowed that their connections in London, and the general nature of their imports, precluded their taking advantage of a direct trade; though it was very evident that the products of Ireland coming circuitously through their English correspondents, cost them much dearer than they otherwise would. Thus all prospect of entering into the mercantile line fell to the ground, and I announced to his lordship my determination to return to Montreal; he then told me, as he was determined not to take his family home at so late a season, he would introduce me to the bishop of Canada, where I would spend the winter agreeable, and learn to

speak the French language, and was so kind as to add that if in the interim any place worth my acceptance became vacant, I should be appointed to it. However, I persisted in my resolution, not deeming it prudent to spend my time and money waiting for a contingency that might never occur. A few days after I took my leave, and was to set off the second day after, in company with a young ensign, who was going to join his regiment at St. Johns. But before I left town, Mr. Motz came to me with an offer from his lordship of a township on the Acadian line, but on enquiry I found it would require a considerable sum of money to make the requisite locations to secure the title. I therefore begged leave to decline the offer, as neither suiting my means or inclination. In a short time after Mr. Motz again returned—and in the most delicate manner told me he was authorized to offer me any money I might stand in need of for the winter. But as my funds were still far from exhausted, and as my determination was never to lie under a pecuniary obligation, I might not easily be able to repay, I excused myself by assuring him I had a sufficient supply for the winter. But I requested that his lordship would favor me with a letter of introduction to Sir John Johnson, of whom, and of his father, Sir William, I had read and heard enough to inspire me with admiration, and a wish to have the honor of his acquaintance. I received the desired letter in the evening, and the next morning left Quebec in a carriole, with my young Scots companion. Though early in November there was nearly a foot of snow upon the ground, and we continued the use of carrioles until we came to Three Rivers, from whence we took calashes into Montreal.

My friend Mr. Tod received me with the utmost kindness and introduced me to several officers and gentlemen of the town. Sir John Johnson was absent on an excursion to the lake of Two Mountains, but his cousin, Capt. Dease, showed me the kindest attention and hospitality, and took me with him to his house in the country, where I remained until the arrival of Sir John, on whom we called the day after, and I presented my letter from Lord Dorchester. The reception I met with has left an impression that can never be effaced from my heart; and the unabated friendship and hospitality I have ever since been honored with by him. Lady Johnson and the ladies of the family, when several times passing a winter in Montreal, shall ever remain amongst my most grateful and pleasing recollections.

As I could not think of being a tax on the hospitality of my Montreal friends all winter, though much pressed by Sir John to take up my abode with him, I took lodgings at the village of Varennes, about fifteen miles from town, on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence, at a Mr. Vienne's, where I continued my study of the French language, which I had commenced before I left Ireland, and began to speak it pretty much as a child begins to walk, stumbling at every step; but to the honor of French urbanity and politeness, my greatest blunders were corrected without subjecting me to the pain of seeing my awkwardness and ignorance the subject of mirth or ridicule.

I visited Montreal several times during the winter, and attended the assemblies, which were conducted with great decorum, and where Lady Johnson and her daughter, just then brought out, were received with every degree of deference and respect. The winter passed off very agreeably, and in the beginning of May, 1791, I returned to Montreal, to take my passage with my friend, Andrew Tod, for Michilimackinac, by the North or Otawis river. The mode of traveling in a birch canoe, the wild and romantic scenery on each side of the river, all was new and charming to me, except the last five or six days of our voyage, when the mosquitoes annoyed us beyond all endurance. I, who had nothing else to do but defend myself from them the best way I could, was left a perfect spectacle of deformity, my eyes near closed up, and my mouth distorted in a most frightful manner; judge then the

condition of the poor men, engaged in carrying the baggage over the portages with their faces, necks and breasts exposed, and the blood and sweat in comingled streams running from them. But they seemed to mind it very little, making game of some young men whose first trip it was, whom they called mangers de lard, or pork eaters, and treated with great contempt if they expressed pain or fatigue. We arrived the 16th at Mackinac, and were received with great politeness and hospitality by Capt. Charleton of the 5th foot, then commanding. I had been acquainted with him in the north of Ireland, when in command in the town of Coleraine. Our meeting so unexpectedly at a distance of more than four thousand miles from home, was very pleasing to both, and called up a variety of mixed ideas, some of which to me were rather painful, as they contrasted my present situation with the time I had received him hospitably at my mother's house, when placing a detachment to guard the wreck of a ship cast away within less than half a mile of Craige. As the traders, neither from the Mississippi or the Lake Superior, had yet arrived, I had some weeks leisure, which I employed in exploring the island and in reading. I shall, therefore here conclude this tedious epistle with a promise that my next shall have at least the merit of novelty to recommend it.

Ever truly yours,
JOHN JOHNSTON.

LETTER VI.

St. Mary's Falls, June 10, 1828.

My Dear Sir:—Ill health and often depression of spirits, owing to the iniquitous manner in which the Indian trade is, and has been always carried on here, and in fact all over the continent, with the addition of painful reflections, on my own imprudence and unability to compete with opponents equally active as unprincipled, have been the cause of my letting so long an interval lapse since the date of my last. But I now resume my pen in hopes of presenting you with a sketch of the arrival of the traders, and the shifting of the scene from streets unoccupied, where dullness and silence reigned unmolested, to houses crowded to overflowing, where riot and revelry, festivity and song, swept all descriptions down its heady current with scarcely a single exception. The excuse pleaded by the traders is their many fatigues, risks and privations during the winter, and often an entire seclusion from all society, so that when they again meet at Mackinac, where they are sure to see their Montreal friends, and an ample supply of wines, spirits, etc., etc., they think themselves entitled to make up for what they call lost time, by making the most of the short interval that elapses between the sale of their furs, and their repurchase of goods for a new adventure. The chief traders and Montreal merchants keep open table for their friends and dependants, and vie with each other in hospitality to strangers. But the excess to which their indulgence is carried, seldom ends without a quarrel, when old grudges are opened up, and language made use of that would disgrace a Wapping tavern, and the finale a boxing match, as brutal and ferocious as any exhibited in ancient times by the Centaurs and Lapythe.

But were I to relate all I have heard and been an unwilling witness of, this would become a chronicle of scandal instead of a letter, I shall therefore let the curtain drop for the present, only retaining the liberty of taking it up occasionally, as new acts of this far from delightful drama, may present themselves to my recollection. The Montreal canoes began to move off with their cargoes of furs and peltries, during the month of July, and the traders whose posts were the most distant, were chiefly all off by the beginning of August, so that tranquility and rationality began to reassume their long forgotten sway.

About the middle of August my friend Mr. Tod, fitted me out with a canoe of the largest size with five Canadian boatmen or voyagers, to winter at La Pointe, in Lake Superior, which station I preferred to one more to the south.

Owing to constant high winds, it was late in September before I arrived at my destined winter ground, where I met with Count Andriani, an Italian nobleman and philosopher, who was taking observations to ascertain whether the earth was more elevated or depressed towards the poles. The conclusion he had come to was, that at the poles the earth must be flatter than at the equator, for we were then at La Pointe, a distance of two thousand miles from the ocean, not more than 690 feet above its level. The subject was then much discussed amongst naturalists, but is now set at rest forever, for were the high aspiring parties to move towards each other in hostile array, the consequences would be rather disagreeable to us emmets occupying the intermediate mole hills. As soon as the count left me to continue his tour of the lake, I sent off two of my men with a small equipment, to winter in the Mauvaise or Bad river. The others I set to fishing, that we might lay in a stock for winter store, the cold weather having commenced early in October. I now got a house of round logs finished for myself, the interstices plastered with clay, and a chimney of the same material; my men had also a similar house for themselves, and I began to get fire wood cut and brought home, while the weather was yet favorable. But on the 17th of November my faithless Canadians deserted, taking with them my fishing canoe, an oil cloth, nets, axes, etc., and nearly all my fish, leaving me only a lad of 17 or 18, who slept in my little kitchen, and who luckily could speak a little Ottawa, by which he would make the Chippeways understand him. I had as neighbors two Canadians, who from having acquired a knowledge of the language, had become traders; they, as well as their men, knew of the desertion of my people, and had connived at, if not encouraged them in it. I was thus left in the midst of savages and Canadians, much baser and more treacherous than they, to encounter a winter on the shore of Lake Superior, with only one attendant, a very short allowance of provisions, and deprived of the means of fishing, which I had flattered myself would have been a sure resource, at least against actual want. I sat down rather in bad spirits to ruminate on my situation, and at length it struck me that my case, in many particulars, had a resemblance to that of Robinson Crusoe, and I got up determined to follow his example by making every exertion in my power to ameliorate it.

I began immediately to prepare axes, and set to chopping fire wood, which I and my man carried home on our shoulders. The distance luckily was not great, for I was unwilling to touch about five cords left by my men, which I considered a dernier resort, in cases of bad weather or any accident. We got on very well the first day, but the second my hands became blistered, and I persisted till my axe handle was stained with my blood. I then proposed to my man that he should continue to chop and I would be carrier; this induced emulation, for I proposed to carry as fast as he could chop, and in less than a fortnight we had six cords more at our door, beside a good many large logs that we were obliged to roll. Constant exercise gave appetite for our humble fare, and fatigue induced sound sleep that left little time for painful reflection.

The Indians had left us for some time, and had gone to a considerable distance on their hunting excursions, all except the old father of the chief, who only went to a small river in the bay of St. Charles, from whence, however, he returned just as the ice in our bay was closing. My good neighbors rushed into the water and hauled the canoe to shore, and without ceremony possessed themselves of eight or ten beavers the old man had killed. They kept him, his two wives and a Mrs. Jayer, one of his daughters, who wintered with him, in a constant state of

intoxication for some days, at the end of which they fairly turned them out of doors, telling them they must provide for themselves, as they would feed them no longer. Some time after the old man came to me and complained of hunger, as his wives could not go to a deposit of wild rice they had concealed at a considerable distance, the weather having become very bad, and the snow too deep to walk without snow shoes. I told him I would not see him or his family starve, though I much feared I should want food long before spring, and that he ought to recollect he had not paid me a small credit I had made him before he went to hunt. He acknowledged the fact, but said, those who had taken him to shore made him drunk, and kept him so, until his little stock of furs was exhausted, though he knew not what he had received in return, except his meat and drink for a few days. I accepted his excuse, and continued to treat him all winter with great respect, as he showed me a large bugle belt, with which, and a silver gorget, he had been presented by Sir William Johnson after the fall of Fort Niagara to the British forces. He said he had kept his belt free from stain until now, and hoped his son Wabojeeg would continue to do so after he should be gone to the land of spirits.

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Mr. Johnston laid down his pen at the threshold of his entrance upon a new theatre of life, presenting to him objects and means so different from all he had left behind that the experience of the past afforded but little to guide him in the conduct of the future. The disappointments he had met with had not, however, soured his temper, or dampened his spirits. He was ardent, young, active, possessed a constitution naturally vigorous, with a disposition social, frank and open, a high sense of probity, a firm dependence upon Providence, and a heart glowing with ardent aspirations after truth, and governed by the broadest principles of active benevolence. He was now about to commence the most important period of his life, embracing a residence of the better part of half a century in the remote solitudes of the American forest, separated from the society in which he has derived so much of his former enjoyments, and thrown wholly upon his own resources. He was brought to endure privations and to encounter perils, of which he had heard before only in the history of suffering humanity. The incidents of his new situation also brought him into contact and acquaintance with some of the most noted individuals who have figured in the commerce and politics of the Canadas during the last 40 years. And had he been spared to complete his autobiography, it would have led him to mention the names and characters of many of his cotemporaries, and to advance a fund of anecdote, and historical and other data, exhibiting a lively picture of his times. Several of the occurrences of this era, relative to the northwest fur trade, are of dramatic interest; but the veil which covers perfidy and crime would have been raised by him with extreme reluctance. He evidently contemplated with pain the approach of his narrative to the period when it would become necessary to allude to the fierce strifes carried on between rival monopolists in this trade, and as imposing a task which seemed like "walking upon the ashes under which the fire is not yet extinguished."

What he has not furnished however, it would be difficult to supply, few materials for the purpose being known to exist. He very rarely kept copies of his letters, none of his private letters, and never preserved the letters sent to him by others. The scanty materials I have been able to collect were preserved entirely by other hands. He had an aversion in his latter years to writing at all, or rather the irksomeness of the task was owing to ill health, which left him but a small portion of his time without the sense of acute pain. And he destroyed many letters and

communications which a person of greater business habits, or more distrust of the world's sincerity, would have induced him to preserve. Facts, dates, and occurrences have thus, in a measure, become blended in vague recollections on the part of his friends and family. A continuation of his life, on anything like the plan commenced by himself, is therefore impossible, and will not be attempted. Even the brief notices which follow would hardly be undertaken, were it not for the abruptness with which his manuscript terminates, and for a desire to aid in holding from oblivion the name of a man, who, gifted with powers to shine in polished circles, gave up the world for the sake of raising up to virtue and piety a numerous family, under peculiar circumstances. For it was in this region, to which he has conducted the reader in his letters, that he connected himself, by intermarriage, with one of the leading families of the native race.

Mr. Johnston's earliest efforts in the fur trade were successful, notwithstanding the perfidy of his men, who deserted him during his first season. And he continued his efforts with prospects more flattering, as experience made him acquainted with the difficulties to be encountered, and the precautions necessary to ensure success. This traffic has always been pursued at great personal, as well as pecuniary risk; but he soon found himself placed in a situation, in which it became the duty of subordinates to make those exchanges with the natives, which frequently require a patient submission to caprices and superstitions repugnant to a sensitive mind. And while every season was supposed to abridge the period of his stay in the country, he indulged in those reflections and anticipations arising from a temporary pursuit.

Mr. Tod, under whose auspices he had entered the Indian country, invited him to settle at New Orleans, where this enterprising merchant had obtained from the Spanish governor general of Louisiana the monopoly of the fur trade of that province. But the invitation was declined from a dread of the climate, to which Mr. Tod himself soon fell a victim. About the same time an opening presented itself to Mr. Johnston for his settlement at Green Bay; but his predilections in favor of a more northern position predominated, and he fixed his residence at the Falls of St. Mary, in 1793. He had the year previous married the youngest daughter of Wabojeeg, the hereditary and war chief of La Pointe, in Lake Superior, and now came to establish himself in permanent buildings at a spot commanding the great thoroughfare into the northwest. By this term we include an immense tract of wilderness, intersected with lakes, rivers, and mountains, which has been distinguished from the earliest times as the seat of that great and hazardous branch of internal commerce, known under the name of the fur trade.

A high, and it may be thought a proud, spirit of personal independence, which had been one of the original causes of his coming to America, and which disdained all secondary modes of action, kept him aloof from the great rival companies, who have, at various times, borne sway over the northern regions. He either declined the offers of participation in these somewhat two celebrated fraternities, or neglected the means necessary to a copartnership. While he thus kept free from entanglements in a system which he could not always approve, he, however, ran risks of another kind, and stood somewhat in the position of a man between two fires, who can neither flee to the right nor to the left. Luckily his course lay straight forward, but it is scarcely possible that a man of less intrepidity of character in the hour of need, or urbanity of manners in the social circle, could have sustained himself.

Just and honorable in all his intentions, though they were sometimes grossly misinterpreted, he expected equal justice and fair dealing from others. And when not thus openly met, he did not hesitate to give vent to a strong and manly expression of his feelings, regardless of consequences. This was sometimes the cause of

future bitterness and petty resentments. He escaped once the blow of a secret assassin; once the risk of a combat with pistols, with the slight loss of a lock from his temples; and twice, so far as I recollect his own relation, the brutal fury of the Indian knife. His own resentments were momentary, and he took a delight, when circumstances had placed an antagonist in his power, in forgiving injuries and relinquishing advantages, and in throwing the shade of oblivion over all the errors and frailties of the past. His reliance upon the overruling hand of Providence, wherever placed, was unbounded; and I know not that it has ever fallen to my lot to become intimately acquainted with any person who could, at the seasons of his greatest affliction, exclaim with such trusting confidence, "Thy will be done."

It may be inferred from these passages that the business in which Mr. Johnston was engaged was one for which his disposition and mental habits did not particularly qualify him, and which he would not himself have chosen, could it have been presented to him with all its repulsive, as well as attractive features, on his first coming to the country. Nothing, in fact, could be less congenial to his taste. Once, however, engaged in it, and he appeared, as he himself observed, to be hurried on by a fatality which seemed to forbid a return to his native land. And the prospect of getting on in the world, without imposing any pecuniary burdens upon his relatives a point on which he was peculiarly sensitive—determined him to continue, as a fixed employment what he can hardly be said to have selected of his own free will.

In the ordinary intercourse of the Indians with Mr. Johnston, at his residence at St. Mary's, he was their adviser, physician, and friend. And his disinterested conduct on many occasions led them to perceive that he had placed his claims to their friendship on higher grounds than the mere prospect of gain. His house was the resort of the needy Indian and Canadian.

"And every stranger found a ready chair."

He possessed an active coadjutor, in acts of charity, in Mrs. Johnston, the daughter of Wabojeeg whose kindness and practical benevolence were in full unison with his own. He always kept in his dwelling a full supply of medicines, which he administered gratis to all who applied. He used the lancet freely in cases of pleurisy, which is a common complaint among the natives. Although he had made no professed study of medicine, his practical knowledge, aided by books of reference, was respectable; and when the surgeons of the United States army afterwards came to be placed in his vicinity, they deemed several of his modes of practice judicious. He was often the means of granting relief, where relief depended upon the ordinary remedies of common complaints, and he seldom ventured upon other prescriptions. But his tact and decision in this department proved that, had he given early and proper attention to it, he was capacitated to have excelled in it.

The readiness with which he could be approached by complaints of poverty and bad luck, and the little effort it required to enkindle his charitable feelings, sometimes led him to be imposed upon by the inland clerks and servants in his employ. A tale of suffering seldom failed to reconcile him to loss or disappointment, which, there is good reason to believe, was frequently attributable to a want of proper diligence and economy, or still more inexcusable faults on their part.

With dispositions thus liberal, and surrounded by opponents whose vigilance was constantly on the watch, and who, in some instances, were relieved from those scruples of conscience which kept him ever above a mean act, and led him to despise trick and finesse, it may be anticipated that his march in the road to wealth was not so rapid as those who could reconcile themselves to life in the Indian country without ordinary comforts, and who looked upon every dollar spent to purchase a book, or a vase, as so much money thrown away. If Mr. Johnston had any fault

in this respect, it certainly bordered on the opposite extreme; and in ordering his household expenses, he might sometimes incur the imputation of being profuse. Yet he succeeded from the outset, often meeting with successes which he had not anticipated, and added steadily to that income, on the yearly re-investment and increase of which he depended. Twenty years devoted to this pursuit placed him in a state of comparative independence, and gave him the chief control of the trade of the southern shores of Lake Superior, and some of the adjacent regions. He contemplated his declining years, and the provision he would be able to make for his children with satisfaction.

WABOJEEG, OR THE WHITE FISHER.

This individual has indelibly interwoven his name with the history of the Chippewa nation, during the latter half of the eighteenth century. His ancestors had, from the earliest times, held the principal chieftainship in Lake Superior. His father, Ma-mongazida, was the ruling chief during the war of the conquest of the Canadas by the British crown. In common with his tribe and the northern nations generally, he was the fast friend of the French government, and was present with his warriors, under Gen. Montcalm, at the loss of Quebec in 1759. He carried a short speech from that celebrated officer to his people in the north, which is said to have been verbally delivered a short time before he went to the field.

The period of the fall of the French power in the Canadas is one of the most marked events in Indian reminiscence throughout all northwest America. They refer to the days of French supremacy as a kind of golden era, when all things in their affairs were better than they now are; and I have heard them lament over the change as one which was in every respect detrimental to their power and happiness. No other European nation, it is evident from these allusions, ever pleased them as well. The French character and manners adapted themselves admirably to the existing customs of forest life. The common people, who went up into the interior to trade, fell in with their customs with a degree of plasticity and an air of gayety and full assent, which no other foreigners have, at least to the same extent, shown. These Couriers du Bois had not much to boast of on the score of rigid morals themselves. They had nearly as much superstition as the wildest Indians. They were in fact, at least nine-tenths of them, quite as illiterate. Very many of them were far inferior in their mental structure and capacity to the bold, eloquent, and well-formed and athletic northern chiefs and hunters. They respected their religious and festive ceremonies. They never, as a chief once told me, *laughed* at them. They met their old friends on their annual returns from Montreal, with a kiss. They took the daughters of the red men for wives, and reared large families, who thus constituted a strong bond of union between the two races, which remains unbroken to this day.

This is the true secret of the strenuous efforts made by the northern and western Indians to sustain the French power, when it was menaced, in the war of 1744, by the fleets and armies of Great Britain. They rallied Erie, at Fort Niagara, Montreal, and Quebec, and they hovered with infuriated zeal around the outskirts of the northern and western settlements during the many and sanguinary wars carried on between the English and French. And when the French were beaten they still adhered to their cause, and their chiefs stimulated the French local commanders to continue and renew the contest, even after the fall of Niagara and Quebec, with a heroic consistency of purpose, which reflects credit upon their foresight, bravery, and constancy. We hope in a future number to bring forward a sketch of the man who put himself at the head of this latter effort, who declared he would drive the

Saxon race into the sea, who beseiged twelve and took nine of the western stockaded forts, and who for four years and upwards maintained the war, after the French had struck their colors and ceded the country. We refer to the great Algic leader, Pontiac.

At present our attention is called to a contemporary chief, of equal personal bravery and conduct, certainly, but who lived and exercised his authority at a more remote point, and had not the same masses and means at his command. This point, so long hid in the great forests of the north, and which, indeed, has been but lately revealed in our positive geography, is the area of Lake Superior. It is here that we find the Indian tradition to be rife with the name of Wabojeeg and his wars, and his contemporaries. It was one of the direct consequences of so remote a position, that it withdrew his attention more from the actual conflicts between the French and English, and fixed them upon his western and southern frontiers, which were menaced and invaded by the numerous bands of the Dacotahs, and by the perfidious kinsmen of his nation, the Outagamies and Saucs. He came into active life, too, as a prominent war leader, at the precise era when the Canadas had fallen into the British power, and by engaging zealously in the defense of the borders of his nation west, he allowed time to mitigate and adjust those feelings and attachments which, so far as public policy was concerned, must be considered to have moulded the Indian mind to a compliance with, and a submission to, the British authority. Wabojeeg was, emphatically, the defender of the Chippewa domain against the efforts of other branches of the red race. He did not, therefore, lead his people to fight, as his father, Ma-mongazida, and nearly all the great Indian war captains had, to enable one type of the foreign race to triumph over another, but raised his parties and led them forth to maintain his tribal supremacy. He may be contemplated, therefore, as having had a more patriotic object for his achievement.

Lake Superior, at the time of our earliest acquaintance with the region, was occupied, as it is at this day, by the Chippewa race. The chief seat of their power appeared to be near the southwestern extremity of the lake, at Chagoimegon, where fathers Marquette and Allouez found their way, and established a mission, so early as 1668. Another of their principal, and probably more ancient seats, was at the great rapids on the outlet of that lake, which they named the Sault de Ste. Marie. It was in allusion to their residence here that they called this tribe Saulteur, that is to say, people of the leap or rapid.

Indian tradition makes the Chippewas one of the chief, certainly by far the most numerous and widely-spread of the Algonquin stock proper. It represents them to have migrated from the east to the west. On reaching the vicinity of Michilimackinac, they separated at a comparatively moderate era into three tribes, calling themselves respectively, Odjibwas, Odawas, and Podawadumees. What their name was before this era, is not known. It is manifest that the term Odjibwa is not a very ancient one, for it does not occur in the earliest authors. They were probably of the Nipercinean or true Algonquin stock, and had taken the route of the Utawas river, from the St. Lawrence valley, into Lake Huron. The term itself is clearly from Bwa, a voice; and its prefix in Odji, was probably designed to mark a peculiar intonation which the muscles are, as it were, gathered up, to denote.

Whatever be the facts of their origin, they had taken the route up the straits of St. Mary into Lake Superior, both sides of which, and far beyond, they occupied at the era of the French discovery. It is evident that their course in this direction must have been aggressive. They were advancing towards the west and northwest. The tribe known as Kenistenos had passed through the Lake of the Woods, through the great lake Nipesing, and as far as the heads of the Saskatchewine and the por-

tage of the Missinipi of Hudson's bay. The warlike band of Leech lake, called Mukundwas, had spread themselves over the entire sources of the Mississippi and extended their hunting excursions west to Red river, where they came into contact with the Assinaboines or Stone Sioux. The central power, at this era, still remained at Chagoimegon, on Superior, where indeed, the force of early tradition asserts, there was maintained something like a frame of both civil and ecclesiastical polity and government.

It is said in the traditions related to me by the Chippewas, that the Outagamies, or Foxes, had preceded them into that particular section of country which extends in a general course from the head of Fox river, of Green bay, towards the Falls of St. Anthony, reaching in some points well-nigh to the borders of Lake Superior. They are remembered to have occupied the interior wild rice lakes, which lie at the sources of the Wisconsin, the Ontonagon, the Chippewa, and the St. Croix rivers. They were associated with the Saucs, who had ascended the Mississippi some distance above the Falls of St. Anthony, where they lived on friendly terms with the Dacotahs or Sioux. This friendship extended also to the Outagamies, and it was the means of preserving a good understanding between the Dacotahs and Chippewas.

The Fox tribe is closely affiliated with the Chippewas. They call each other brothers. They are of the same general origin and speak the same general language, the chief difference in sound being that the Foxes use the letter l where the Odjibwas employ an n. The particular cause of their disagreement is not known. They are said by the Chippewas to have been unfaithful and treacherous. Individual quarrels and trespasses on their hunting grounds led to murders, and in the end to a war, in which the Menomonees and the French united, and they were thus driven from the rice lakes and away from the Fox and upper Wisconsin. To maintain their position they formed an alliance with the Sioux, and fought by their side.

It was in this contest that Wabojeeg first distinguished himself, and vindicated by his bravery and address the former reputation of his family, and laid anew the foundations of his northern chieftaindom. Having heard allusions made to this person on my first entrance into that region, many years ago, I made particular enquiries, and found living a sister, an old white-headed woman, and a son and daughter, about the age of middle life. From these sources I gleaned the following facts: He was born, as nearly as I could compute the time, about 1747. By a singular and romantic incident his father, Ma-mongazida, was a half brother of the father of Wabashaw, a celebrated Sioux chief, who but a few years ago died at his village on the upper Mississippi. The connection happened in this way:

While the Sioux and Chippewas were living in amity near each other, and frequently met and feasted each other on their hunting grounds and at their villages, a Sioux chief, of distinction, admired and married a Chippewa girl, by whom he had two sons. When the war between these two nations broke out, those persons of the hostile tribes who had married Chippewa wives, and were living in the Chippewa country, withdrew, some taking their wives along and others separating from them. Among the latter was the Sioux chief. He remained a short time after hostilities commenced, but finding his position demanded it, he was compelled, with great reluctance, to leave his wife behind, as she could not, with safety, have accompanied him into the Sioux territories. As the blood of the Sioux flowed in the veins of her two sons, neither was it safe for her to leave them among the Chippewas. They were, however, by mutual agreement allowed to return with the father. The eldest of these sons became the father of Wabasha.

The mother, thus divorced by the mutual consent of all parties, remained inconsolable for some time. She was still young and handsome, and after a few years became the wife of a young Chippewa chief of Chagoimegon, of the honored totem of the Addick or reindeer. Her first child by this second marriage was Ma-mongazida, the father of Wabojeeg. In this manner, a connection existed between two families, of separate hostile nations, each of which distinguished itself for bravery and skill in war and council. It has already been stated that Ma-mongazida was present, on the side of the French, in the great action in which both Montcalm and Wolf fell, and he continued to exercise the chieftainship till his death, when his second son succeeded him.

It was one of the consequences of the hostility of the Indians to the English rule, that many of the remote tribes were left, for a time, without traders to supply their wants. This was the case, tradition asserts, with Chagoimegon, which, for two years after the taking of old Mackinac, was left without a trader. To remonstrate against this, Ma-mongazida visited Sir William Johnson, the superintendent general of Indian affairs, by whom he was well received, and presented with a broad wampum belt and gorget. This act laid the foundation of a lasting peace between the Chippewas and the English. The belt, it is added, was of blue wampum, with figures of white. And when Wabojeeg came to the chieftainship he took from it the wampum employed by him to muster his war parties.

In making traditionary enquiries I have found that the Indian narrators were careful to preserve and note any fact in the early lives of their distinguished men, which appeared to prefigure their future eminence, or had anything of the wonderful or premonitory in its character. The following incident of this sort was noticed respecting this chief: Ma-mongazida generally went to make his fall hunts on the middle grounds towards the Sioux territory, taking with him all his near relatives, amounting usually to 20 persons, exclusive of children. Early one morning while the young men were preparing for the chase, they were startled by the report of several shots, directed towards the lodge. As they had thought themselves in security, the first emotion was surprise, and they had scarcely time to fly to their arms when another volley was fired, which wounded one man in the thigh and killed a dog. Ma-mongazida immediately sallied out with his young men, and pronouncing his name aloud in the Sioux language, demanded if Wabasha or his brother were among the assailants. The firing instantly ceased—a pause ensued, when a tall figure in a war dress with a profusion of feathers upon his head stepped forward and presented his hand. It was the elder Wabasha, his half brother. The Sioux peaceably followed their leader into the lodge, upon which they had, the moment before, directed their shots. At the instant the Sioux chief entered, it was necessary to stoop a little, in passing the door. In the act of stooping, he received a blow from a warclub weilded by a small boy, who had posted himself there for the purpose. It took the young Wabojeeg. Wabasha, pleased with this early indication of courage, took the little lad in his arms, caressed him, and pronounced that he would become a brave man, and prove an inveterate enemy of the Sioux.

The border warfare in which the father of the infant warrior was constantly engaged, early initiated him in the arts and ceremonies pertaining to war. With the eager interest and love of novelty of the young, he listened to their war songs and war stories, and longed for the time when he would be old enough to join these parties, and also make himself a name among warriors. While quite a youth he volunteered to go out with a party and soon gave convincing proofs of his courage. He also early learned the arts of hunting the deer, the bear, the moose, and all the smaller animals common to the country; and in these pursuits he took

the ordinary lessons of Indian young men, in abstinence, suffering, danger and endurance of fatigue. In this manner his nerves were knit and formed for activity, and his mind stored with those lessons of caution which are the result of local experience in the forest. He possessed a tall and commanding person, with a full, black, piercing eye, and the usual features of his countrymen. He had a clear and full-toned voice, and spoke his native language with grace and fluency. To these attractions he united an early reputation for bravery and skill in the chase, and at the age of 22 he was already a war leader.

Expeditions of one Indian tribe against another require the utmost caution, skill, and secrecy. There are a hundred things to give information to such a party, or influence its action, which are unknown to civilized nations. The breaking of a twig, the slightest impression of a foot print, and other like circumstances, determine a halt, a retreat, or an advance. The most scrupulous attention is also paid to the signs of the heavens, the flight of birds, and above all, to the dreams and predictions of the jossakeed, priest, or prophet, who accompanies them, and who is entrusted with the sacred sack. The theory upon which all these parties are conducted is secrecy and stratagem; to steal upon the enemy unawares; to lay in ambush, or decoy; to kill and to avoid as much as possible the hazard of being killed. An intimate geographical knowledge of the country is also required by a successful war leader, and such a man piques himself, not only on knowing every prominent stream, hill, valley, wood, or rock, but the particular productions, animal and vegetable, of the scene of operations. When it is considered that this species of knowledge, shrewdness, and sagacity is possessed on both sides, and that the nations at war watch each other, as a lynx for its prey, it may be conceived that many of these border war parties are either light skirmishes, sudden on-rushes, or utter failures. It is seldom that a close, well-contested, long-continued hard battle is fought. To kill a few men, tear off their scalps in haste, and retreat with these trophies, is a brave and honorable trait with them, and may be boasted of in their triumphal dances and warlike festivities.

To glean the details of these movements, would be to acquire the modern history of the tribe, which induced me to direct my enquiries to the subject; but the lapse of even 40 or 50 years had shorn tradition of most of these details, and often left the memory of results only. The Chippewas told me that this chief had led them seven times to successful battle against the Sioux and the Outagamies, and that he had been wounded thrice—once in the thigh, once in the right shoulder, and a third in the side and breast, being a glancing shot. His war parties consisted either of volunteers who had joined his standard at the war dance, or of auxiliaries who had accepted his messages of wampum and tobacco and come forward in a body to the appointed place of rendezvous. These parties varied greatly in number; his first party consisted of but 40 men, his greatest and most renowned, of 300 who were mustered from the villages on the shores of the lake, as far east as St. Mary's falls.

It is to the incidents of this last expedition, which had an important influence on the progress of the war, that we may devote a few moments. The place of rendezvous was La Pointe, Chagomiegon, or as it is called in modern days, La Pointe of Lake Superior. The scene of the conflict, which was a long and bloody one, was the falls of the St. Croix. The two places are distant about 250 miles, by the most direct route. This area embraces the summit land between Lake Superior and the upper Mississippi. The streams flowing each way interlock, which enables the natives to ascend them in their light canoes, and after carrying the latter over the portages, to descend on the opposite side. On this occasion Wabojeeg and his partisan army ascended the Muskigo or Mauvais river to its connecting

portage with the Namakagon branch of the St. Croix. On crossing the summit they embarked in their small and light war canoes on their descent westward. This portion of the route was passed with the utmost caution. They were now rapidly approaching the enemy's borders, and every sign was regarded with deep attention. They were seven days from the time they first reached the waters of the St. Croix until they found the enemy. They went but a short distance each day, and encamped. On the evening of the seventh day the scouts discovered a large body of Sioux and Outagamies encamped on the lower side of the portage of the great falls of the St. Croix. The discovery was a surprise on both sides. The advance of the Chippewas had landed at the upper end of the portage, intending to encamp there. The Sioux and their allies had just preceded them, from the lower part of the stream, with the same object. The Foxes or Outagamies immediately fired, and a battle ensued. It is a spot, indeed, from which a retreat either way is impracticable, in the face of an enemy. It is a mere neck of rugged rock. The river forces a passage through this dark and solid barrier. It is equally rapid and dangerous for canoes above and below. It cannot be crossed direct. After the firing began Wabojeeg landed and brought up his men. He directed a part of them to extend themselves in the wood around the small neck, or peninsula, of the portage, whence alone escape was possible. Both parties fought with bravery; the Foxes with desperation. But they were outnumbered, overpowered, and defeated. Some attempted to descend the rapids, and were lost. A few only escaped. But the Chippewas paid dearly for their victory. Wabojeeg was slightly wounded in the breast; his brother was killed. Many brave warriors fell. It was a most sanguinary scene. The tradition of this battle is one of the most prominent and wide-spread of the events of their modern history. I have conversed with more than one chief, who dated his first military honors in youth, to this scene. It put an end to their feud with the Foxes, who retired from the intermediate rice lakes, and fled down the Wisconsin. It raised the name of the Chippewa leader to the acme of his renown among his people; but Wabojeeg, as humane as he was brave, grieved over the loss of his people who had fallen in the action. This feeling was expressed touchingly and characteristically, in a war song, which he uttered after this victory, which has been preserved by the late Mr. Johnston, of St. Mary's, in the following stanzas:

On that day when our heroes lay low—lay low,
  On that day when our heroes lay low,
I fought by their side, and thought ere I died,
  Just vengeance to take on the foe,
  Just vengeance to take on the foe.

On that day when our chieftains lay dead—lay dead,
  On that day when our chieftains lay dead,
I fought hand to hand, at the head of my band,
  And here, on my breast, have I bled,
  And here, on my breast, have I bled.

Our chiefs shall return no more—no more,
  Our chiefs shall return no more,
Nor their brothers of war, who can show scar for scar,
  Like women their fates shall deplore,
  Like women their fates shall deplore.

Five winters in hunting we'll spend—we'll spend,
  Five winters in hunting we'll spend,
Till our youth, grown to men, we'll to war lead again,
  And our days, like our fathers, we'll end,
  And our days, like our fathers, we'll end.

It is the custom of these tribes to go to war in the spring and summer, which are, not only comparatively seasons of leisure with them, but it is at these seasons that they are concealed and protected by the foliage of the forest, and can approach the

enemy unseen. At these annual returns of warmth and vegetation, they also engage in festivities and dances, during which the events and exploits of past years are sung and recited; and while they derive fresh courage and stimulus to renewed exertions, the young, who are listeners, learn to emulate their fathers, and take their earliest lessons in the art of war. Nothing is done in the summer months in the way of hunting. The small furred animals are changing their pelt, which is out of season. The doe retires with her fawns, from the plains and open grounds, into thick woods. It is the general season of reproduction, and the red man, for a time, intermits his war on the animal creation to resume it against man.

As the autumn approaches, he prepares for his fall hunts, by retiring from the outskirts of the settlements, and from the open lakes, shores, and streams, which have been the scenes of his summer festivities, and proceeds, after a short preparatory hunt, to his wintering grounds. This round of hunting, and of festivity and war, fills up the year; all the tribes conform in these general customs. There are no war parties raised in the winter. This season is exclusively devoted to securing the means of their subsistence and clothing, by seeking the valuable skins, which are to purchase their clothing and their ammunition, traps, and arms.

The hunting grounds of the chief, whose life we are considering, extended along the southern shores of Lake Superior, from the Montreal river to the inlet of the Misacoda or Burntwood river of Fond du Lac. If he ascended the one, he usually made the wide circuit indicated, and came out at the other. He often penetrated by a central route up the Maskigo. This is a region still abounding, but less so than formerly, in the bear, moose, beaver, otter, martin, and muskrat. Among the smaller animals are also to be noticed the mink, lynx, hare, porcupine, and partridge, and towards its southern and western limits, the Virginia deer. In this ample area, the La Pointe or Chagoimegon Indians hunted. It is a rule of the chase that each hunter has a portion of the country assigned to him, on which he alone may hunt; and there are conventional laws which decide all questions of right and priority in starting and killing game. In these questions the chief exercises a proper authority, and it is thus in the power of one of these forest governors and magistrates, where they happen to be men of sound sense, judgment, and manly independence, to make themselves felt and known, and to become true benefactors to their tribes. And such chiefs create an impression upon their followers, and leave a reputation behind them, which is of more value than their achievements in war.

Wabojeeg excelled in both characters; he was equally popular as a civil ruler and a war chief; and while he administered justice to his people, he was an expert hunter, and made due and ample provision for his family. He usually gleaned in a season, by his traps and carbine, four packs of mixed furs, the avails of which were ample to provide clothing for all the members of his lodge circle, as well as to renew his supply of ammunition and other essential articles.

On one occasion he had a singular contest with a moose. He had gone out one morning early to set martin traps. He had set about 40, and was returning to his lodge, when he unexpectedly encountered a large moose, in his path, which manifested a disposition to attack him. Being unarmed, and having nothing but a knife and small hatchet, which he carried to make his traps, he tried to avoid it. But the animal came towards him in a furious manner. He took shelter behind a tree, shifting his position from tree to tree, retreating. At length, as he fled, he picked up a pole, and quickly untying his moccasin strings, he bound his knife to the end of the pole. He then placed himself in a favorable position, behind a tree, and when the moose came up stabbed him several times in the throat and breast. At last, the animal exhausted with the loss of blood, fell. He then dis-

patched him, and cut out his tongue to carry home to his lodge as a trophy of victory. When they went back to the spot for the carcass they found the snow trampled down in a wide circle, and copiously sprinkled with blood, which gave it the appearance of a battlefield. It proved to be a male of uncommon size.

The domestic history of a native chief can seldom be obtained. In the present instance the facts that follow may be regarded with interest, as having been obtained from residents of Chagoimegon, or from his descendants. He did not take a wife till about the age of 30, and he then married a widow, by whom he had one son. He had obtained early notoriety as a warrior, which perhaps absorbed his attention. What causes there were to render this union unsatisfactory, or whether there were any, is not known; but after the lapse of two years he married a girl of 14, of the totem of the bear, by whom he had a family of six children. He is represented as of a temper and manners affectionate and forbearing. He evinced thoughtfulness and diligence in the management of his affairs, and the order and disposition of his lodge. When the hunting season was over, he employed his leisure moments in adding to the comforts of his lodge. His lodge was of an oblong shape, ten fathoms long, and made by setting two rows of posts firmly in the ground, and sheathing the sides and roof with the smooth bark of the birch. From the center rose a post crowned with the carved figure of an owl, which he had probably selected as a bird of good omen, for it was neither his own nor his wife's totem. This figure was so placed that it turned with the wind, and answered the purpose of a weathercook.

In person Wabojeeg was tall, being six feet six inches, erect in carriage and of slender make. He possessed a commanding countenance, united to ease and dignity of manners. He was a ready and fluent speaker, and conducted personally the negotiations with the Fox and Sioux nations. It was perhaps 20 years after the battle on the St. Croix, which established the Chippewa boundary in that quarter, and while his children were still young, that there came to his village, in the capacity of a trader, a young gentleman of a respectable family in the north of Ireland, who formed an exalted notion of his character, bearing, and warlike exploits. This visit, and his consequent residence on the lake, during the winter, became an important era to the chief, and has linked his name and memory with numerous persons in civilized life. Mr. Johnston asked the northern chief for his youngest daughter. "Englishman," he replied, "my daughter is yet young, and you cannot take her as white men have so often taken our daughters. It will be time enough to think of complying with your request when you return again to this lake in the summer. My daughter is my favorite child, and I cannot part with her, unless you will promise to acknowledge her by such ceremonies as white men use. You must ever keep her, and never forsake her." On this basis a union was formed, a union, it may be said, between the Erse and Algonquin races—and it was faithfully adhered to, till his death, a period of 37 years.

Wabojeeg had impaired his health in the numerous war parties which he conducted across the wide summit which separated his hunting grounds from the Mississippi valley. A slender frame, under a life of incessant exertion, brought on a premature decay. Consumption revealed itself at a comparatively early age, and he fell before this insidious disease, in a few years, at the early age of about 45. He died in 1793 at his native village of Chagoimegon.

The incident which has been named did not fail to make the forest chieftain acquainted with the leading truth of Christianity, in the revelation it makes of a Saviour for all races. On the contrary, it is a truth which was brought to his knowledge and explained. It is, of course, not known with what particular effects. As he saw his end approaching, he requested that his body might not be buried out

HOME OF THE JOHNSTON FAMILY, BUILT ABOUT 1815.

of sight, but placed, according to a custom prevalent in the remoter bands of this tribe, on a form supported by posts, or a scaffold. This trait is, perhaps, natural to the hunter state.

My friends when my spirit is fled—is fled,
My friends when my spirit is fled,
Ah, put me not bound, in the dark and cold ground,
Where light shall no longer be shed—be shed,
Where daylight no more shall shall be shed.

But lay me up scaffolded high—all high,
Chiefs lay me up scaffolded high,
Where my tribe shall still say, as they point to my clay,
He ne'er from the foe sought to fly—to fly,
He ne'er from the foe sought to fly.

And children, who play on the shore—the shore,
And children who play on the shore,
As the war dance they beat, my name shall repeat,
And the fate of their chieftain deplore—deplore,
And the fate of their chieftain deplore.

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THE EARLY FLORA AND FAUNA OF MICHIGAN.

BY CHARLES S. WHEELER.*

Michigan, from the Indian words meaning Lake Country, is peculiarly situated within the waters of the great lakes in two peninsulas. The lower peninsula opening to the south stretches from north to south 277 miles, and from east to west 259 miles; the upper peninsula opening to the west stretches from east to west 318 miles, varying in width from 30 to 164 miles. The whole State, with the exception of a few small prairies in the southwestern part of the lower peninsula, belongs to the Great Atlantic forest region. Our territory is situated about midway between the seaboard and the great Mississippi valley, and consequently in its flora and fauna are found representatives of both these regions. In the southern and western parts of the lower peninsula are found representatives of the plants and animals of the middle Mississippi valley mingling with those of the Atlantic coast region; while in the northern part of the lower peninsula and in the eastern part of the upper peninsula, the plants and animals partake largely of northern New England and Canadian types. The great middle portion of the lower peninsula has mixed flora and fauna, containing representatives of the northwestern and southwestern regions mingling together, forming a great transition region; while in the northwestern part of the upper peninsula come down to our borders many representatives of the great northwest territories of the Dominion of Canada.

The comparatively low elevation of the land surface above the sea, and the absence of mountain ranges in our State, makes the presence of Alpine plants and animals very infrequent, or even impossible, so that our plants and animals belong to three floral and faunal regions, the boreal or northern forms, the transition, and the southern forms. Probably no portion of the northeastern United States had originally such a rich and varied flora and fauna as our own State of Michigan.

The first white men to visit our borders were French Jesuits. These eager and devoted explorers are said to have visited the site of Detroit as early as 1610, and the settlement at Sault de Ste. Marie was begun

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by them as early as 1641. The order of Jesuits had for its head a superior in Canada to whom the missionaries reported regularly, whose reports were afterwards printed in 40 volumes, entitled "Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France;" they began in 1632 and ended in 1672. Charlevoix speaks of these volumes thus: "As those fathers were scattered among all the natives with which the French were in relation; and as their mission obliged them to enter into the affairs of the colony, their memoirs may be said to embrace an elaborate history thereof. There is no other source to which we can apply for instruction as to the progress of religion among the savages, or for a knowledge of these people, all of whose languages they spoke. The style of these relations is exceedingly simple; but this simplicity itself has not contributed less to give them a great celebrity than the curious and edifying matter they contain." In these remarkable volumes are to be found the first scattered accounts of our flora and fauna. Mr. Bela Hubbard in his Memorials of a Half-Century thus mentions the records of these early missionary explorers:

"The natural beauty of the region lying between Lakes Erie and Huron had been recorded by all the early travelers with words of admiration. Many of the islands were low, and some of the river margins scarcely above the water; but all was green and peaceful. Dark forests extended to the river edge, and many a tall monarch of the wood waved its gigantic arms over the brink and was reflected in a glassy surface which no tide or flood ever disturbed. The marshes were luxuriant with wild rice, that furnished a sumptuous repast to a great variety of birds and water fowl, and even a welcome supply to the Indians. Occasional villages and bark wigwams enlivened the shore, surrounded with gardens and cornfields, and the most elevated points were crowned with burial mounds. Most of the shores had high banks and were covered with timber. Especial notice was bestowed upon Grosse Isle and the forest-crowned Belle Isle lay like an emerald gem in its setting of bright waters. The chroniclers all allude to the abundance of wild game and fruits. There were apples as large as the Pommes d'Api, or lady apples, and nuts 'like moderate-sized oranges.' Baron La Hontan, 1688, says the pears were good but rare."

The apples were probably crabs, but who can tell us what were the pears? Hennepin records the loveliness of the shores, the prairies, and the forests. He also speaks of the abundance of game and fruits. The fruits consisted of chestnuts, walnuts, and butternuts, apples, pears, plums and grapes; the game of deer and many smaller

animals and flocks of swans, ducks, and turkeys, and he adds that they feasted on the meat of a bear they had killed. Charlevoix, who visited this country in 1720, thus records his opinion of it:

"Above the Isle of St. Claire the Detroit widens and forms a lake which has received its name from the island, or which has given its name to the latter. It is about six leagues long and as many wide in some places. This is pronounced the most beautiful part of Canada, and truly, judging from appearances, nature has refused it nothing which can constitute a charming country; low hills, prairies, plains, old forests, streams, springs, rivers, all are so good of their kind and so happily assorted, that one knows nothing further to be desired. The lands are of admirable fertility. The islands seemed to have been placed to charm the senses. The rivers and the lakes are full of fish, the air pure, and the climate temperate and very healthy." Father Hennepin says: "They who shall have the happiness some day to inhabit this pleasant and fertile country will remember their obligations to those who first showed them the way." The same natural conditions, the same lakes, rivers, forests, fish and game, the same pure air and temperate climate were found here by the early settlers from the east, who came westward after the opening of De Witt Clinton's big ditch, seeking for homes in the vast wilderness then known as Michigan Territory. From 1830 to 1860 may be termed the period of early settlement. During this time were laid the broad foundations of our present magnificent commonwealth.

More than a passing tribute is due to the little band of indefatigable naturalists of the early times, who did so much pioneer work in developing all the resources of our fair State. First among them stands Dr. Douglass Houghton, while around him may be grouped Dr. Zina Pitcher of Detroit, Dr. Abram Sager of Ann Arbor, Dr. Dennis Cooley of Washington, Macomb county, Dr. Daniel Clark of Flint, and Dr. Manly Miles of Lansing. Others have been more or less connected with the botanical interests of the State, among whom may be mentioned Dr. George Thurber, Prof. A. N. Prentiss, and Prof. J. C. Holmes, all formerly connected with the State Agricultural College. Our knowledge of Michigan plants begins in 1809, when Thomas Nuttall, afterwards professor of natural history in Harvard University, made a trip around the great lakes for the purpose of studying the natural history of this region. He collected many new plants on this journey, and was probably the first botanist to visit our borders. He also studied and collected our birds. Soon after the war of 1812 government surveyors came to the Michigan Territory to locate bounty lands, and these men reported that Michigan

lands were swampy and sterile, actually unfit for settlement. This report turned immigration away and hindered settlement for some years. In 1820 Governor Cass, accompanied by Schoolcraft, set out at the head of an expedition to find the sources of the Mississippi river. In 1831 Schoolcraft led a second northwest expedition. Dr. Douglass Houghton accompanied this expedition as naturalist, and prepared a list of the plants observed, many of which were found in our territory. This list includes 246 specimens and was published in Schoolcraft's Narrative in 1855.

Soon after the admission of Michigan into the Union the State legislature passed an act organizing a State Geological Survey, which was approved by Governor Mason, February 23, 1837. This act provided for a geological, zoological, botanical, and topographical survey, of which Dr. Douglass Houghton was in charge as director. Dr. Abram Sager was in charge of the Botanical and Zoological Departments. In Dr. Houghton's second annual report, presented February 4, 1839, is found the first published report of Michigan animals by Dr. Sager, entitled "A Systematic Catalogue of the Animals of the State as Far as Observed." In the same report Dr. John Wright presented a catalogue of the plants of the State so far as observed. In 1840 a committee of the house of representatives reported on the reports of the State Geologist, and the zoological and botanical portions of the act establishing the survey were repealed. Besides the work done by the State, the United States government sent parties of explorers into the upper peninsula, who collected and reported on the plants of that region. Mr. G. W. Cannon, who accompanied W. A. Burt while running township lines in the upper peninsula, sent plants of that region to Dr. D. Cooley, who identified them and prepared a manuscript catalogue containing 185 species. In 1848 Professor Agassiz conducted a party of students and naturalists to the north shore of Lake Superior. In 1850 was published the narrative of this most important journey, entitled "Lake Superior, its Physical Character, Vegetation, and Animals." This is one of the most important additions to our knowledge of the natural history of northern Michigan ever published. Mr. W. D. Whitney, who was connected with the United States government geological survey of the Lake Superior land district under J. W. Foster and J. D. Whitney, published in 1851 a list of the plants of the upper peninsula collected by him along the shores of the great lakes, numbering 417 species. Dr. Dennis Cooley prepared, in 1853, for the Smithsonian Institute, a list of the plants growing within ten miles of Cooley's Corners, Washington, Macomb county, containing over 900 species. Nothing more was done by the State to revive the geological

survey, which was brought to an abrupt end by the sad death of Dr. Douglass Houghton in a storm on Lake Superior on the night of October 13, 1845, until the State legislature passed an act which was approved February 15, 1859, and entitled "An Act to Finish the Geological Survey of the State." Dr. Alexander Winchell made a report December 31, 1860, setting forth the progress of the survey during the years 1859 and 1860. Dr. Manly Miles was connected with this survey as State zoologist, and Mr. N. H. Winchell, a nephew of Professor Winchell, accompanied the survey in the capacity of botanist. Dr. Miles made a valuable report containing a catalogue of the mammals, birds, reptiles, and mollusks of Michigan, and Mr. Winchell prepared a catalogue of phoenogamous and acrogenous plants found growing wild in the lower peninsula of Michigan and the islands at the head of Lake Huron. This survey was stopped on the breaking out of the rebellion of 1861.

Before the introduction of European plants and weeds there were probably about 1,800 kinds of flowering plants and ferns natives of the two peninsulas. Our forests contain about 65 kinds of trees, about 30 kinds of large shrubs, and about 110 kinds of smaller shrubs, in all about 205 woody plants, the remainder being herbaceous plants. No native plants, so far as I can learn, have become extinct since the first settlement of the State. Since the advent of the first settlers nearly 200 kinds of European southern and western plants, mostly weeds, have become naturalized or are fast becoming so. Many of our plants possess medicinal properties, and 54 of those are admitted to the United States pharmacopœia, while 125 more, which are not official, have often been employed as domestic remedies, on account of their real or supposed virtues. While it is probably a fact that none of our early plants are yet extinct, they have greatly decreased in numbers, owing to the clearing up of the country by the wasteful destruction of our forests. The question of forestry, or a scientific treatment of our woodlands, so that they might become a perpetual source of revenue to their descendants, never occurred to our pioneers.

Charlevoix, in 1721, writes: "When we discovered this vast continent it was full of wild beasts. A handful of Frenchmen has made them almost entirely disappear in less than an age, and there are some, the species of which is entirely destroyed. They killed the elks and moose-deer merely for the pleasure of killing them, and to show their dexterity."

This senseless slaughter of our wild game has continued even to this day, until the bison or buffalo, elk, moose, caribou, panther, and wolverine are extinct in the State. The early mammals numbered about 50

species. They were the bison or buffalo, the caribou, elk, moose, common deer, panther, lynx, wild-cat, gray wolf, fisher, sable or pine marten, red fox, gray fox, ermine, or white weasel, mink, badger, skunk, otter, wolverine, black bear, raccoon, four bats, two moles, two shrews, flying squirrel, red squirrel, black and gray squirrel, fox squirrel, two chipmunks, striped gopher, woodchuck, beaver, five kinds of mice, muskrat, common rabbit, white hare, porcupine, and opossum. Three hundred and thirty-six kinds of birds have been reported as residents or migrants. Dr. Miles reports 43 reptiles, including turtles, snakes, frogs, toads, and lizards; also 161 land and fresh-water mollusks. The number of fishes, insects, and lower orders of animal life are unknown.

An interesting account of the abundant animal life in the lower peninsula of Michigan 60 years ago, is found in a little volume called "Woodcraft," by George W. Sears. Mr. Sears started from Saginaw to follow section lines till he should reach the Muskegon river. The following is his account of the animal life met with on this lonely journey of ten days:

"Animal life was abundant, exuberant even. But the bright-eyed woodfolk seemed tame, nay, almost friendly, and quite intent on minding their own business. It was a 'pigeon year,' a 'squirrel year,' and also a marvelous year for shack, or mast. Every nut-bearing tree was loaded with sweet, well-filled nuts; and this, coupled with the fact that the Indians had left, and the whites had not yet got in, probably accounted for the plentitude of game.

"I do not think there was an hour of daylight on the trip when squirrels were not too numerous to be counted, while pigeons were a constant quantity from start to finish. Grouse in the thickets, and quail in the high oak openings or small prairies, with droves of wild turkeys among heavy timber, were met with almost hourly, and there was scarcely a day on which I could not have had a standing shot at a bear. But the most interesting point about the game was—to me at least—the marvelous abundance of deer. They were everywhere on all sorts of ground and among all varieties of timber; very tame they were, too, often stopping to look at the stranger, offering easy shots at short range, and finally going off quite leisurely. On another occasion I was resting on a log, partially concealed by spice bushes, when I noticed a large flock of turkeys coming in my direction. As they rapidly advanced with their quick, gliding walk, the flock grew to a drove, and the drove became a swarm—an army. To right and on the left as far as I could see in front, a legion of turkeys were marching, steadily marching to the eastward. Among them were some of the grandest gobblers I had ever seen, and one

magnificent fellow came straight toward me. Never before or since have I seen such a splendid wild bird. His thick, glossy black beard nearly reached the ground, his bronze uniform was of the richest, and he was decidedly the largest I have ever seen. When within fifty feet of the spot where I was nearly hidden, his wary eye caught something suspicious; and he raised his head for an instant in an attitude of motionless attention. Then with lowered head and drooping tail he turned right about, gave the note of warning, put the trunk of a large tree quickly between himself and the enemy, and went away like the wind.

"With the speed of thought the warning note was sounded along the whole line, and in a moment the woods seemed alive with turkeys running for dear life. In less time than it takes to tell it, that gallinaceous army had passed out of sight forever. And the like of it will never again be possible on this continent. And again, on the sixth day out, I blundered on such an aggregation of deer as a man sees but once in a lifetime. I had camped over night on low land, among heavy timber, but soon after striking camp, came to a place where the timber was scattering, and the land had a gentle rise to the westward. Scarcely had I left the low land behind when a few deer got out of their beds and commenced lazily bounding away. They were soon joined by others; on the right flank, on the left, and ahead they continued to rise and canter off leisurely, stopping at a distance of one or two hundred yards to look back. Among them were several very large bucks with superb antlers, and these seemed very little afraid of the small quiet biped in leaf-colored rig. It struck me finally that I had started something rather unusual, and I began counting the deer in sight. It was useless to attempt it; their white flags were flying in front and on both flanks, as far as one could see, and new ones seemed constantly joining the procession. As the herd neared the summit of the low-lying ridge, I tried to make a reasonable guess at their numbers by counting a part and estimating the rest, but could come to no satisfactory conclusion. As they passed the summit and loped down the gentle decline toward heavy timber, they began to scatter and soon not a flag was in sight. It was a magnificent corvine army with white banners, and I shall never look on its like again."

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE BOARD OF HEALTH OF MICHIGAN.

BY R. C. KEDZIE.*

It is often difficult to designate the exact time and place of the origin of a great movement in the State, to place your finger upon some one force or person and say here is the commencement of the new departure in organized forces. Instead of two or three leading minds, we find quite a number of leaders of thought have come to a surprising agreement that a certain thing ought to be done, and we say the times are ripe for a progressive movement. This was true of the beginning of the Michigan State board of health in 1873. A few years previous the cause had received a powerful impulse from Massachusetts—that grand old Commonwealth—when for the public weal she inaugurated a State board of health. In the face of a strong plea for strict economy and diminished expenditure because of the hard times she demanded a large expenditure for the public health, on the ground—suggested by a woman—that nothing is so economical as health, and nothing is so wasteful as sickness. Here was faith to remove a mountain, and true economy won the day.

The leaven of this logic soon began to work among our people, but was especially active among our physicians, who always took a deep interest in sanitary matters, and were ready with voice and pen to help on the good work. Among these were Dr. Palmer of our university, Dr. Beech of Coldwater, Dr. Johnston of Grand Rapids, Dr. Hitchcock of Kalamazoo, Dr. Pratt of Kalamazoo, Dr. Jenks of Detroit, and Dr. Bartholomew of Lansing. But the three doctors who should be especially named as pioneers in securing the State board of health are Dr. H. B. Baker of Lansing, Dr. I. H. Bartholomew of Lansing, and Dr. H. D. Hitchcock of Kalamazoo.

*Robert C. Kedzie, M. A., M. D., was at the head of the Department of Chemistry at the Michigan Agricultural College for 39 years, and has sent out 62 professors to other colleges. Born in Delhi, N. Y., in 1823, he moved to Michigan when three years old. His father died, leaving his mother to care for seven children. He gained his education by his own efforts, and graduated from Oberlin College in 1847, and in 1864 received his Master's degree. He was one of the first class to take the medical degree in the University of Michigan in 1850. He practiced his profession 10 years, and was for one year surgeon of the 12th Michigan Infantry. In 1863 he accepted his position at the Agricultural College. He originated the Farmer's Institutes and Sanitary Conventions held throughout the State, and has waged unceasing but successful war against "kerosene frauds and fertilizer swindles."

The State Medical Society took a lively interest in the subject. Practical believers in the prevention of sickness, they sought to erect preventive medicine into "State Medicine" by securing a State board of health.

In his address as president of the State Medical Society, in Grand Rapids, in 1872, Dr. Hitchcock awakened new interest in this subject. His appropriate theme was "Modern Medicine: Its Status in Modern Society." Among other matters of interest to the doctors, he said: "The medical profession has long been asking for more perfect vital statistics. From these she hopes to make generalizations concerning the diffusion of diseases; their spread; the prevalence of epidemics; the influence of climate and geological formation upon diseases and the health of communities, that will confer lasting and untold benefits upon the human race. All this department of medicine, having in view the greatest good to the greatest number, has lately received the title "State Medicine."

Dr. Hitchcock pointed out another field in "State Medicine" which awakened still greater attention, viz., the hygiene of our public schools. "There is one field in which preventive medicine can do so much for the present well-being and comfort of the rising generation, and can to so great a degree influence the future health and stamina of the rising and coming generations, that I take the liberty to direct the particular attention of the society to the subject, and recommend that a special committee be appointed to carefully consider and report upon 'The Laws of Hygiene in their Relations to our Public Schools.'"

In accordance with this recommendation, a special committee was appointed, with Dr. Hitchcock as the chairman, the balance of the committee being Dr. McGraw, Dr. Noyes, and Dr. Kedzie. This committee subsequently met and divided the general subject of school hygiene as follows:

1. Laws of hygiene in their relation to the government of schools, as affecting the development of children physically, mentally, and morally—Dr. Hitchcock.

2. The laws of hygiene in respect to the eye, as applied to the lighting of school-rooms, the type and printing of school books, and the arrangements of the desks—Dr. Noyes.

3. Laws of hygiene as applied to the methods in schools, including prizes, rewards, the graded system, the forcing system, and the kindergarten system—Dr. McGraw.

4. Hygiene as applied to the construction, warming, ventilation and sewerage of public school buildings—Dr. Kedzie.

In recasting the general subject of school hygiene into specific topics assigned to experts in their several lines, the committee hoped that the

subject as a whole would be presented in a form to command public attention.

To the regret of the society, Dr. Noyes and Dr. McGraw were not able to prepare their reports, on account of pressure of professional duties. The report of Dr. Hitchcock was presented at the annual meeting of the society in Saginaw, on "The Laws of Hygiene in Their Relation to the Government of Schools," in which he discussed the physical condition of the scholar as related to his mental and physical department. It was an able and scholarly paper, and well received by the society.

The report of Dr. Kedzie on the construction, warming, and ventilation of school buildings, was presented at the same meeting. This was founded upon personal inspection of 50 public schools in our State,—the analysis of the air in the school-rooms when filled with scholars, the determination of the temperature at floor and at desk levels by the thermometer, and the dryness or moisture by the psychometer. The results were a surprise to many, and were taken up and discussed by the daily press of Detroit, Saginaw, Grand Rapids, and other cities, in such a way as to compel attention. How feeble the words of the reformer unless taken up and multiplied a thousand-fold by the public press!

COMMITTEE TO INTERVIEW THE GOVERNOR.

The society selected a committee to see the retiring governor, H. P. Baldwin, and the incoming governor, J. J. Bagley, to ask their official influence with the next legislature in behalf of a State board of health. The committee consisted of Prof. A. B. Palmer of the University, Dr. Hitchcock of Kalamazoo, and Dr. Kedzie of the Agricultural College. The committee in a body called upon the governors in their homes in Detroit in December, 1872, and were cordially received, and permitted to state their views in regard to the need and uses of a State board of health. Professor Palmer, as chairman of the committee, presented the case somewhat fully, dwelling upon the working of a corresponding body in Great Britain, and offering the governors the use of a large collection of documents and statistics gathered abroad.

The other members of the committee called attention to the excellent work that had been done in Massachusetts and the beneficent results of the investigations carried on by that State board of health, and urged an effort to secure a State board of health that should do similar work for Michigan—"the Massachusetts of the west."

Governor Baldwin, in his retiring message, gave the subject due consideration and recommended it to the favorable attention of the legislature.

Gov. Bagley gave it hearty indorsement. The good which such a board could confer upon the children in our schools, and the blessings it could bestow upon the poor and wretched in the submerged class by preserving that unspeakable boon, health, appealed strongly to the great heart of Gov. Bagley.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The friends of the bill were fortunate in having Dr. I. H. Bartholomew of Lansing a member of the house of representatives during the session of the legislature. He gave all his energies to the passage of the bill, working so successfully that he secured its passage by the house by a very satisfactory majority. I think no other man did so much for the enactment of the law establishing our State board of health as Dr. Bartholomew, and I am glad to thus publicly offer my tribute of praise for his excellent service in its behalf.

IN THE SENATE.

When the bill came before the senate its reception was not propitious, and the opponents of the bill proceeded to load it down with proposed amendments. One senator moved to amend by providing that of the six members of the board two should be women; another that two members should be Indian doctors; another that the two remaining members should be homeopaths. Other amendments were offered to render it ridiculous and laugh it out of court. "All right," said the senator from Newaygo, "you cannot make it too ridiculous to suit me; for then we can more easily kill the thing." The friends of the bill finally had it laid on the table, and passed a resolution inviting Dr. Kedzie to address the senators on the bill after adjournment the next day.

Aware of the disposition of some senators not to treat the subject seriously, I did not attempt a direct argument in favor of the bill. I attempted to show the benefits that might be secured by carrying out the objects contemplated by a State board of health. For this purpose I spoke of cases of sickness and death that had occurred under my eye and in my medical practice that were the result of preventable causes, citing the case of a family of regular habits, of good character, and unusual intelligence that went lingeringly down to death from the use of water from a contaminated well, because they believed that a water must be *clean* if it was *clear*. One by one the the family passed away and the farm came into the possession of a family noted for good health, when "mysterious Providence" again appeared in the form of sickness,

when the well was absolutely condemned, closed up, and a new source of water secured, when with the new well the family became well and remained so. Attention was called to the fact that the land was filled with death and families clothed in mourning from the use of dangerous kerosene, and the properties of such illuminating materials were shown before the senators. The insidious danger from the use of wall papers colored by arsenical pigments, and the case cited of the mysterious sickness in the family of a former senator, whose two children sickened by sleeping in a bedroom where the wall papers were tinted with paris green, and their recovery when removed. A senator said it was not necessary to incur the expense of a State board to warn the people against this danger; all that was necessary was for the legislature to pass an act prohibiting the use of anything green because it was dangerous to the public health. The reply was that field and forest being clothed in green, the legislature would seem to fly in the face of nature by placing a bar upon that color! Another senator asked whether the white enamel so largely used in surfacing visiting cards was poisonous. The reply was that it was carbonate of lead, an insidious poison. The senator denounced the use of so poisonous a material, and the habit of giving such cards as playthings to infants who naturally conveyed them to the common receptacle of infancy—the mouth—exposing them to a tasteless and insidious poison. I was glad to listen to the senator's learned words which showed that a vote had been captured for the bill.

The house bill passed the senate, was approved by Gov. Bagley, was known as Act No. 81, and "took effect," or became law, ninety days after the adjournment of the legislature.

APPOINTMENTS ON THE BOARD.

Gov. Bagley appointed the members of the board of health, but when they convened at Lansing, on the 30th day of July, it was found that the requirements of the law had not been complied with, namely, "appointed by the governor with the consent of the senate," whereas the senate could not give its assent ninety days after it had adjourned. The governor solved the riddle by assuming that there were vacancies on the board, and availed himself of one part of the law, "Any vacancies in said board may be filled by the governor," and he filled the vacancies by appointing each member to fill his own vacancy.

In filling by appointment the membership of the board of health, Governor Bagley aimed to secure representatives of many interests and classes in the State. First and most important was the medical profes-

sion, Dr. Homer O. Hitchcock of Kalamazoo, and Dr. Zenas E. Bliss of Grand Rapids, for six years each; representing the clergy, Rev. Charles H. Brigham of Ann Arbor; and for the chemists, Dr. Robert C. Kedzie of the Agricultural College, for four years each; for the military service, Dr. Henry F. Lyster of Detroit; and as representing the schools, Rev. John S. Goodman of Saginaw, for two years each.

After the members had received their commissions, Gov. Bagley addressed them as follows: "Gentlemen, you have got your State board of health, and I have duly commissioned you under the broad seal of our Commonwealth to carry out its provisions. It is for you to correct the evils which you recognize as preying upon the health and well-being of our people. What shall be the life-tenure of this board rests with you. If by an earnest and conscientious discharge of your duties under this law you seek to remove the causes which endanger the health of our people, the board will live to bless our State; but if you settle down into easy indifference, and let things take their course, evils unchecked and dangers disregarded, then the history of the Michigan State board of health will be brief. Gentlemen, I leave it to you to vindicate the legislation that has created the State board of health."

On the 30th day of July, 1873, the members of the board convened in the office of the secretary of State to organize the board. There were present and acting, Dr. Hitchcock, Dr. Bliss, Rev. J. S. Goodman, and Dr. Kedzie. The board elected Dr. Homer O. Hitchcock of Kalamazoo, president, and appointed Dr. Z. E. Bliss of Grand Rapids secretary *pro tempore*. President Hitchcock gave a brief address, outlining the objects and duties of the board of health.

ELECTION OF SECRETARY OF THE BOARD.

Before proceeding to the election of a secretary, the question of his salary was discussed by the board, as the law makes it the duty of the board to fix his salary. Rev. J. S. Goodman moved that the salary be $1,400 per annum; another suggested $1,800; another member suggested that while the sum placed at the disposal of the board was not large ($4,000), yet the compensation of the secretary should be such as would enable him to give all his time and energy to the work of the board, so that he would not be tempted to devote a part of his time to secure other means of support for himself and family. He moved to make the salary $2,000. After some discussion, and with the assent of Mr. Goodman, the board fixed the salary at $2,000 for the reason assigned.

The board then elected Dr. Henry B. Baker of Lansing, who then appeared, took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties as the secretary of the board of health.

Of the original six members of the board appointed by Gov. Bagley, all but one have passed away—gone to that other shore where is no need of boards of health for "there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying. Neither shall there be any more pain."

The units pass out, but institutions for the public weal survive. This is the order of nature as she moves in stately pace. The tall oaks may fall, but the forest lives on.

DISTRIBUTION OF WORK AMONG THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD.

Of the field of labor before the board it might well be said, "The harvest truly is great, and the laborers few." In order to distribute the labor among the members of the board, committees were formed along leading lines of work, and to them were assigned subjects for investigation and inquiry. Each of these committees consisted of a chairman, and the president and secretary *ex-officio* members, but in actual practice the chairman was *the committee.*

The subjects on which the committees were appointed and names of chairmen were as follows: 1. Epidemic, endemic, and contagious diseases—Dr. Bliss. 2. Sewerage and drainage—Dr. Lyster. 3. Food, drinks, and water supply—Dr. Bliss. 4. Buildings, public and private, including ventilation, heating, etc.—Dr. Kedzie. 5. Climate, general and by seasons of year, and as related to age of inhabitant—Dr. Lyster. 6. Disposal of excreta and decomposing organic matter—Dr. Hitchcock. 7. Poisons, explosives, chemicals, accidents, and special sources of danger to life and health—Dr. Kedzie. 8. Occupations and recreations—Rev. C. H. Brigham. 9. Education—the relation of schools to health, the kind and methods of instruction in use, and methods proposed—Rev. J. S. Goodman. 10. Geology and topography; influence on health of forest trees and their removal, shade trees near dwellings, etc.—Rev. C. H. Brigham. 11. The death rate as influenced by age, climate, and social condition—Rev. J. S. Goodman. 12—Legislation in the interests of public health—Dr. Kedzie. 13. Finances—Dr. Bliss.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE BOARD OF HEALTH DURING 1873.

With more than half of the year already passed before the board had a legal existence, and with the large amount of work to be done in organizing and setting in operation the machinery and systematic work,

it would not be expected that much would be done in this fraction of a year. The secretary devoted a large part of his time in preparing and issuing circulars to health officers, and in getting in touch with the health boards of the State.

Two papers were prepared by Dr. Kedzie as chairman of committee No. 7: 1. "Illuminating Oils in use in Michigan."

This was the beginning of the "kerosene war," which raged several years in our State. The writer aimed to point out the sources of danger in the use for illuminating purposes of several products of petroleum; what is a safe oil; the defects in our system of inspection of kerosene, and the unreliability of the "commercial system" practiced in Ohio, and tolerated in our State.

The petroleum products for artificial light had come into general use 25 years ago, and the kerosene lamp was found in every home. The electric light was waiting for Edison. Even in homes of wealth where gas was in use, in kitchen or garret the unsafe oil lamp was still to be found. Not only was its use very general, but very unsafe. The headline, "*Another Kerosene Horror,*" was seen in nearly every daily paper, with sickening details of some poor woman roasted like a martyr at the stake, set on fire by a "lamp explosion." To accentuate the danger, the cheap and inflammable benzine was sold for an illuminant under catch names, "Sunlight Oil," "French Burning Oil," etc., with preposterous recipes to make the material non-explosive. Packages of common salt colored with aniline, sold to "kill the gas," etc., filled the homes with danger, and hearts with dread. These special sources of danger confronted the State board of health at the very threshold of their duties. The oil was improperly refined, too much of the volatile materials retained in the kerosene, and no certain method of inspection was in use; the testing of the oil being too largely within the personal control of the operator. When the Michigan oil tester adopted by the board, with closed-cup inspection and the flashing point as the line of danger, was made the legal method of testing, and a State oil inspector to have charge of this business, then the people found a safe light.

The battle, however, went on for nearly 20 years in newspapers and legislative halls, often with great bitterness and frequent changes of the law, but three legislative sessions have passed without serious effort to change the law, and people are forgetting the dangers of former years.

"School Buildings: In Relation to their Construction, Warming and Ventilation, as Influencing the Health of Teachers and Scholars." This paper was founded upon results secured by the personal inspec-

tion of the condition of the rooms of more than 50 school-houses in this State while occupied by scholars, determining the temperature, moisture, and amount of carbonic acid as measuring the condition of ventilation.

This paper included the material used in a paper read before the State Medical Society, but with additional matter and a further discussion of the subject.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE BOARD FOR 1874.

The work of Secretary Baker in bringing the local boards of health into cordial co-operation with the State board, in issuing circulars, etc., was continued.

The annual address of the president of the board was on "Entailments of Alcohol." It was an able and scholarly paper in behalf of the sanitary and moral benefits of total abstinence from alcoholic beverages.

Seven special papers or reports from the standing committees of the board were presented during the year. 1. "Impurities and Adulterations of Table Syrups," by Dr. Kedzie. This was an expose of the quality of glucose syrups that had been sold under catchy but false names. 2. "Drainage for Health," by Dr. H. F. Lyster. This is an extended and valuable paper, giving important information about the influence of drainage in Michigan upon the general health.

3. "Poisonous Wall Paper," by Dr. Kedzie. The color green, so abundant in nature, so pleasing to the eye, and so readily combining with other colors to produce softened shades, was early adopted by decorators of house walls and papers for ornamenting our homes. The chemist knew that this most beautiful green was formed by a combination of arsenic and copper, but as this salt was non-volatile no danger was apprehended from its presence in the coloring matter of wall papers, where its presence was often so disguised by combination with other colors that its detection was not easy at a casual glance.

In order to place this danger clearly before the public, 80 rolls of wall paper contained this arsenical color, on sale in this State, were gathered and bound into books which were placed in the leading libraries of the State. The book bore the significant title, "Shadows From the Walls of Death." The arsenical wall papers soon disappeared from the stores and shops.

4. "The Relation of Schools to Health," by Rev. J. S. Goodman. From his long experience as the superintendent of schools of Saginaw county, Mr. Goodman was amply prepared to discuss the conditions and needs of schools of the rural class, as well as those in city and village.

He has presented a paper of great value on an important subject, but too charged with great principles and telling facts to be capable of presentation in condensed form.

5. "Resuscitation of the Drowned," by Dr. Kedzie. Three plates from photographs were inserted to illustrate treatment of the drowned.

6. "Sanitary Inspection of Certain State Institutions." In November, 1874, the board of commissioners for the supervision of penal, pauper, and charitable institutions, through C. M. Croswell, their secretary, requested me to visit the State Prison at Jackson, the Reform School at Lansing, the Detroit House of Correction, the State Public School at Coldwater, and the State Institution for the deaf and dumb and the blind at Flint, and examine into the ventilation and sanitary condition of the several buildings occupied and used by the inmates of said institutions. "The board desire you to make a full examination and report the result thereof, with such suggestions for improvement as you may think desirable, to me, at your earliest convenience."

The visits of inspection were made and the results reported at the meeting of the board of health in January, 1875, when the several standing committees were called for reports of work performed during the preceding quarter, when committee No. 4 (Ventilation, etc.) was called, the work done in examination of the State institutions was reported. By vote of the board of health this report was ordered to be printed in the annual report for 1874.

7. "Cerebro-Spinal Meningitis," by Dr. H. B. Baker. This is a very full and valuable report upon an epidemic of cerebro-spinal meningitis in the counties of Monroe and Lenawee in 1874.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE BOARD FOR 1875.

The second annual address of President H. O. Hitchcock was on "Local Boards of Health." In this he discussed the necessity for such local boards, their proper constitution, their status, and functions, and relations of such local boards within our State. The relation of local boards to the State board was also considered.

Nine papers were presented representing the investigations of members of the board, and were printed in the volume of transactions for the year 1875.

1. "The Use of Poisons in Agriculture," by Dr. Kedzie, chairman of committee No. 7. This is a discussion of the question whether the use of paris green and other poisons to destroy insects, fungi, etc., will poison

the soil to such an extent that the crops subsequently raised on such soils would be unsafe for food.

2. "Trichinæ," by Dr. Arthur Hazlewood, chairman of committee on endemic diseases.

3. "The Influence of Occupations Upon Health," by Rev. C. H. Brigham, chairman of committee on occupations, etc.

4. "The Disposal of Human Excreta," by Dr. Hitchcock.

5. "State Inspection of Illuminating Oils—A Leaf of History." Some time in the month of February, 1875, Mr. W. R. Bates of Flint, and John A. Greenslade of Detroit, met by appointment at my laboratory, to draw up a bill to be presented to the legislature then in session to provide for State inspection of illuminating oils, and to create the office of State inspector of oils, who should have charge of the inspection and branding of all illuminating oils offered for sale in this State. This bill was presented to the legislature, passed both houses, and was approved by Gov. Bagley, May 1, 1875. Under the provisions of this law, A. A. Day was appointed State oil inspector May 17, 1875. No single act of legislation has done more to protect the lives and persons of our people than this creation of the office of State oil inspector, upon whom is placed the duty and responsibility of pronouncing upon the safety of illuminating oil then in almost universal use. The "everybody's business" was transformed into one man's duty. The office of State oil inspector, appointed by the governor, with a salary of $1,500, and some 20 deputies at $900 each, is a permanent feature of political patronage in our State. It is too juicy a plum for any governor of any party to lightly toss into the waste-basket. It has come to stay, and thus insures the safeguarding of kerosene for all time.

6. "A Report of Progress of Inspection of Oils," by A. A. Day, State inspector.

7. "The Water Supply in its Relations to Health and Disease," by Dr. Hazlewood, chairman of committee on food, drinks, and water supply.

8. "Ozone," by Dr. Kedzie.

9. "The Influence of Drainage in Removing Certain Forms of Diseases, and in Promoting the Healthfulness of Cities," by Dr. H. F. Lyster, chairman of committee on sewerage and drainage. A valuable discussion of the conditions in the early history of Detroit, and the benefits secured by drainage of the marshy district some distance back from Detroit river.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE BOARD FOR 1876.

The presidential address by Dr. H. O. Hitchcock was on "The Achievements of Hygienic Science and Art." He discussed the progressive increase of longevity of civilized man during five centuries past; the possible further achievements in hygiene, and how to reduce the death-rate. He called attention to vital statistics as the basis of hygiene, and the importance of efficient local boards of health.

Besides routine matters at meetings of the board, circulars of the secretary to the members of local boards of health, and notices of outbreaks of typhoid fever in five localities in the State, the fourth annual report contains eleven special papers on reports, as follows:

1. "Means of Escaping from Public Buildings in Case of Fire," by Dr. R. C. Kedzie.
2. "Vaccination," by Dr. A. Hazlewood, chairman of epidemic, endemic, and contagious diseases.
3. "Report of an Epidemic of Scarlet Fever at North Lansing, Mich.," by Dr. O. Marshall.
4. "Report on Criminal Abortions," by Dr. H. O. Hitchcock, chairman of committee on legislation.
5. "Report of Attendance, Abstracts and Review of the Proceedings of the Health Department of the American Social Science Association," by Dr. H. B. Baker, secretary of State board of health.
6. "Water and the Water-Supply in Michigan," by Dr. A. Hazlewood, committee on foods, drinks, etc.
7. "Water-Supply in its Relations to Health and Disease," by Dr. H. B. Baker, secretary of State board of health.
8. "Report on the Water-Supply of Michigan, by Dr. R. C. Kedzie.
9. "Report on Methods of Gathering Vital Statistics," by Dr. H. B. Baker.
10. "Ventilation of Railroad Cars," by Dr. Kedzie.
11. "Diseases in Michigan During the Year 1875," by Dr. H. B. Baker.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE BOARDS FOR 1877.

The fourth annual address to the State board of health, by Homer O. Hitchcock, M. D., president of the board, was on "Heredity in its Relation to Public Health and to Legislation in the Interests of Public Health." This address was an able discussion of the recognized facts of heredity, with citation of important facts upon which its laws are founded, with suggestions of warning and also of hope for the race.

The special papers for this report include:

1. "Labeling Medicines," by Dr. Kedzie.

2. "Recreations and Health," by Rev. C. H. Brigham. This is a valuble and extended discussion of sports and recreations in reference to the health of the individual. A wise discrimination is made in means of recreation as related to age, time of year, sex, etc. Some of the more modern sports are not noticed, e. g., golf, lawn tennis, basket ball, etc.

3. "Healthful Dwellings," by Dr. H. F. Lyster. This is a brief but suggestive presentation of the importance of under drainage as a condition of healthful dwellings.

4. "Illuminating Oils in Michigan," by Dr. Kedzie. This was a lecture delivered by request, before the legislature, January 25, 1877. By vote of the State board of health it was printed in the transactions for 1877.

5. "Inspection of Illuminating Oils in Michigan," by Perry Averill, State inspector. This is the first report of inspection under the State law of inspection, by which such great benefits have been conferred upon our people.

6. "Report of the Proceedings of the Department of Health of the American Social Science Association at its Annual Meeting Held at Saratoga Springs, September, 1877," by Hon. Leroy Parker.

7. "Infant Diet," by Dr. A. Hazlewood.

8. "Small-pox in Detroit," by Dr. H. F. Lyster.

9. "Baths and Bathing," by Dr. H. F. Lyster.

10. "Persistence in Efforts to Resuscitate the Drowned," by Dr. R. C. Kedzie.

11. Three circulars by Secretary H. B. Baker with replies of regular correspondents of the board, namely, "The Water Supply of Localities in Michigan; its Relations to Health," p. 23; "Relation to the Diseases in Michigan During the Year 1876," p. 69; "Weekly Reports of Diseases in Michigan, Year Ending September 29, 1877," p. 106.

12. Three short articles, embracing replies to letters of inquiry, namely, "Relative to Erysipelas and Puerperal Fever"; "Contributions to the Study of the Spread of Diphtheria"; "Relative to Scarlet Fever."

13. "Report of Proceedings of the American Public Health Association," by Dr. Hitchcock and Dr. Baker.

14. "Special Danger Near Railroad Switches," letter by Dr. William Worsfold; remarks by Dr. Baker.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE BOARD FOR 1878.

The annual address of R. C. Kedzie, M. D., president of the board, was on "The Work of the State Board of Health." The address began by a

brief résumé of the work attempted and accomplished by the State board of health in the four years of its life, and pointed out some of the work yet before the board; the importance of utilizing the material already acquired; the improvements required in collecting vital statistics; a general circular on disinfections; means for preservation and preparation of food, and need of a sanitary survey of the State.

SANITARY CONVENTIONS.

The subject which was especially urged upon the consideration of the board was the project of holding a series of sanitary conventions in various parts of the State, where the people—professionals and laity—might meet to consider and discuss questions relating to the health and well-being of all classes, and thus promote the sanitation—the safeguarding of all the people. All questions of theology, politics and social order to be excluded. The only scriptural question admissible to such conventions was the inquiry addressed by Elisha to the Shunammite woman: "Is it well with thee? Is it well with thy husband? Is it well with thy child?" The well-being of the individual, the family, and thus of society, is the question in order and open for discussion in the sanitary convention.

In presenting so novel a departure from the usual and customary transactions of such boards, the objections to a change were frankly stated:

1. It is an untried experiment.
2. It will throw a large amount of additional work upon members already cumbered with much serving.
3. The meetings may prove to be a failure from want of public interest in such subjects, or because the facts and principles of sanitation are inadequately presented.

On the other hand the possible benefits to be secured by sanitary conventions were also noticed:

1. We may thus interest the people in sanitary work, and diffuse information of great value among our people. Printed matter of the official type and "Pub. Docs." do not greatly enthuse the public, but the *spoken word,* reinforced by the personality of the speaker, has power, because he thus comes in touch with his audience.
2. We may thus induce our people to put into practice the sanitary principles brought out in reports and circulars.
3. To enlist the interest and co-operation of physicians and others interested in sanitation.

4. To make the convention a sanitary fair for exhibiting sanitary appliances of every kind, including domestic utensils. An improved kitchen stove is as truly a sanitary apparatus as a germ-killing atomizer. Bring the health-lover and the health-preserver together to the mutual benefit of both.

5. Finally, in carrying out any sanitary reform, we need and must have the aid of the women of our State. Woman makes the home, and the appliances and conditions of comfortable living come from her plastic hand. Man merely contributes the crude materials for the family support, while it is the deft hand of woman that transmutes these dead materials into the family living.

In addition to circulars and replies of correspondents, there were eleven papers by members of the board and distinguished sanitarians, presented to the board of health and published in the transactions for 1878:

1. "Lead Poisoning from Use of Tinned Ware," by Dr. Kedzie.
2. "Report on Public Health Subjects in American Medical Association at Buffalo, in 1878," by Dr. H. O. Hitchcock.
3. "Tomatoes not a Cause of Cancer," by Dr. H. O. Hitchcock.
4. "Influence of Wood Pavements and Sidewalks on the Public Health," by Dr. H. O. Hitchcock.
5. "Public Health Subjects in Proceedings of American Social Science Association," by Dr. Kedzie.
6. "Public Health Subjects in Michigan Medical Society," by Dr. Baker.
7. "The Opium Habit in Michigan," by Dr. O. Marshall.
8. "Preservation of Teeth," by Dr. J. H. Farnsworth, Jr.
9. "Lectures on Public Health in University of Michigan, Syllabus of Lectures," by Dr. H. F. Lyster.
10. "Climate and Topography of Lower Peninsula of Michigan," by Dr. H. F. Lyster. A paper of great value.
11. "Coroners and Coroners' Inquests," by Hon. LeRoy Parker.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE BOARD FOR 1879.

By vote of the board, Dr. Kedzie was requested to take as the subject for his address as president, "A Historical Review of Legislation Relating to the Inspection of Illuminating Oil in Michigan."

The first law on the subject was that of 1869, under which the circuit judge, on petition, could appoint an oil inspector for the county, etc. Judicial appointment and a county inspector were the leading features

of this law of 1869. A flash and burning test of 110° F. and inspection fee of ten cents a barrel were also features of this law.

In 1871 this law was amended in three particulars: 1. The governor appointed the county inspectors. 2. The fee for inspection was reduced from ten cents to four cents a barrel. 3. A new section was added, which provided that inspection in this State shall not be necessary if the oil had been inspected and branded by the inspector of another State. The test was the fire test of 110° F.

The legislature seemed desirous of transferring oil inspection to other States and of discouraging inspection in this State.

The law was again amended in 1873 by restoring the inspection fee to ten cents, and by raising the test to 150° F., both for the flash and burning tests. This was the beginning of high-test legislation in the inspection of illuminating oils. Much has been said in praise of this high test, and more in denunciation of the test and of those who were supposed to have been instrumental in securing its enactment. The law was passed many months before the State board had a legal existence. Neither the State board nor any member thereof had any part or used any influence in securing the high test. The credit for the high test was due to the late Dr. Garrigues of Saginaw, then State salt inspector, who proposed the high test and secured its adoption by the legislature of 1873. The provision in Section 8 of the law of 1871 accepting inspection by a State inspector in other States was retained in the law of 1873, and re-inspection of oils brought into State bearing the brand, "Approved and stand a fire test of 150° F.," was not required. But there was no State oil inspector in Ohio at that time, and the person who assumed that title and branded his approval and warrant of 150° F., fire test, was simply the hired man of the Standard Oil Company, who earned his bread by branding their oil casks. The only practical change effected by the law of 1873 was requiring a new brand of 150° in place of the brand of 110°. The oil remained the same, and the old conditions of danger hung over our people. Such were the conditions that confronted the State board of health as it entered upon its duties, July 30, 1873. The inspection that did not inspect or give any assurance of safety, but branded oils 150°, fire test, which would give off explosive vapors at 100° F., was only a delusion and a snare for a confiding public.

Under these demoralized conditions of oil inspection, reputable dealers and citizens, who desired a safe oil and sought to drive out the scalpers who would traffic in the safety of our people, demanded a law

that would assure the safety of the public. A bill, which finally became a law, was presented to the legislature of 1875, providing for:

1. Appointment of a State inspector of oils.
2. Rejection of out-of-State inspection, and requiring inspection by our State inspector.
3. Adoption of the State board of health oil tester or closed-cup, and not open-cup, inspection.
4. Permitting use of gasoline for illuminating purposes when reservoir was underground and outside the building.
5. Burning test of 150° retained, but the flash test reduced to 140°.

For a time our people were free from accidents, and had good light, till the oil refiners ran in so much paraffine oil that the kerosene would often set into a solid mass in cold weather. Many supposed that this was caused by the high test, and demanded a reduction of the test.

The refiners found that by adding much of the heavy, or paraffine oils, to a low grade kerosene, the flashing point could be raised to 140° and thus meet the requirements of our inspection; but as illuminating oil the quality was poor, and the demand for a better oil was general.

After many experiments to find some easily applied test for the presence of paraffine in kerosene, it was found that *cold* was the best. If kerosene was cooled to 20° F., for ten minutes, and yet remained clear, there was the absence of paraffine in injurious quantity, and such oil would give a bright light. This was known as the "chill test," and was a stunner for the oil refiners, who could "never get around this chill test."

In 1877 the law again was amended, the most noticeable changes being:

1. The chill test.
2. The oil inspector to make annual report to the governor.
3. Use of oil that had not been inspected was made a misdemeanor.
4. Selling kerosene barrels without canceling the inspection brand made a misdemeanor.
5. The use of naptha in street lamps permitted.

No people ever had a better illuminating oil and one safer to use than the kerosene required to pass inspection under this law. The refiners said: "It takes the heart out of all the oils we refine to supply the Michigan trade." The price rose rapidly and again a demand was made to reduce the test in order to secure cheaper oil.

The following were the changes in the law in 1879:

1. The flash test was reduced to 120°.
2. The chill test was abolished.

3. The salary of the State oil inspector was raised to $1,500 and traveling expenses, and the pay of deputy inspectors increased.

4. Fees for inspection largely increased.

Permanent results secured in the laws on inspection in ten years—1869 to 1879, were:

1. Discarding the inspection made by irresponsible parties outside our State, and requiring inspection within our State in all instances by officers under our law who, by oath and bond, have given pledges of fidelity in their official positions.

2. Uniform inspection throughout the State by a State inspector and his deputies, in place of the loose and conflicting county system.

3. An accurate and unvarying mode of inspection by the State board of health oil tester, or closed-cup inspection.

4. Requiring the canceling of the inspector's brand on any kerosene barrel before it can be sold, so that the same inspection brand shall not serve to pass an indefinite number of barrels of oil never inspected by our officers.

To secure these fair changes in our law, which are still retained, the influence of the State board of health has been directly exerted. If progress has been fluctuating, like the waves of an incoming tide, which appear to rise only to fall again, yet, like that tide, the fluctuations have, on the whole, carried us to a higher level. When we compare our present law with that of 1869, no one can doubt but that real progress has been made in a matter intimately associated with a subject of overshadowing interest—the public health.

Beside the circulars from the secretary's office, and replies of correspondents, there were twelve articles from members of the board; two of which are of special value:

1. "Sanitary Associations," by J. H. Kellogg, M. D., of Battle Creek.

2. "Reclaiming of Drowned Lands," by H. F. Lyster, M. D., of Detroit.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE BOARD FOR 1880.

The report of the State board of health for 1880 is largely made up of the papers read at the first sanitary convention ever held in this country, viz.: at Detroit, in January, 1880, and at Grand Rapids, in February, 1880.

SANITARY CONVENTION AT DETROIT.

The first sanitary convention was held, by invitation of leading citizens, in Detroit, on the 7th and 8th of January, 1880. The papers and proceedings cover 107 pages of the report; 23 papers being read. No

attempt will be made to present even a summary of these papers. To read the titles of many of these papers will show the eminently practical value of the class of papers presented, and a few will be called to your notice:

1. "Contamination of Drinking Water by Filtration of Organic Matter Through the Soil," by Dr. V. C. Vaughn.
2. "Light in the Public Schools," by Dr. J. C. Lundy.
3. "Prevention of Pulmonary Consumption," by Dr. H. F. Lyster.
4. "Sanitary Rewards and Punishments," by Hon. H. W. Lord.
5. "The Use of Household Filters for Potable Water," by Prof. A. B. Prescott.
6. "Sanitary Progress and Ventilation," by Dr. J. S. Billings, U. S. A.
7. "Training Schools of Cookery," by Mrs. William Jennison.
8. "School Hygiene," by Prof. Sill, superintendent of Detroit schools.

The convention was a great success.

SANITARY CONVENTION AT GRAND RAPIDS.

The second sanitary convention was held at Grand Rapids on the 17th and 18th of February, 1880. The proceedings and addresses covered 120 pages, 16 papers being presented. The convention was presided over by Bishop Gillespie, who imparted a peculiar zest and life to the proceedings. The titles of some of the papers read will show the practical character of this second sanitary convention:

1. "General Sanitation—Its Importance and a Plea for Better Methods," by Dr. H. B. Baker, secretary of the board.
2. "Duty of the Christian in Respect to the Laws of Health," by Rev. J. Morgan Smith.
3. "Sewerage of the City of Grand Rapids," by A. C. Sekell.
4. "The Relation of the Clergy to Sanitary Reform," by Rev. J. F. Conover.
5. "Cooking," by Mrs. Stephen H. Ballard.
6. "Health of the Young as Affected by the School," by Prof. E. A. Strong.

The convention was a success and fully met the expectations of its friends. The people took a lively interest in all the proceedings.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE BOARD FOR 1881.

The notable features of the work of the State board of health for 1881 was the holding of two more sanitary conventions in continuation of the series inaugurated in 1880. The first of these was held in Flint, on the

25th and 26th of January, 1881, in Fenton Hall. The opening address was given by Hon. Geo. H. Durand, the president of the convention.

The meetings were largely attended and the interest of the public sustained. The character of the subjects discussed, as shown by the titles of the leading papers, is sufficient explanation of the lively interest of the citizens of Flint in the sanitary convention:

1. "Domestic Sanitation," by Dr. J. H. Kellogg.
2. "Sewerage and its Adjuncts," by Dr. Daniel Clark.
3. "Sanitation and Christianity," by Rev. C. H. W. Stocking, D. D.
4. "Domestic Sanitation," by Dr. J. H. Jerome.
5. "Force Value of Foods," by Dr. V. C. Vaughn.
6. "Forests and Trees as Sanitary Factors," by Dr. J. S. Caulkins.

With the close of the sanitary convention in Flint, in January, 1881, my work as member of the State board of health came to a close, and this historical sketch of the history of the board properly comes to an end. My appointment as member of that board expired at that time. Gov. Jerome persisted in reappointing me on the board, even after I had requested him to drop my name from its membership. "What will you do if I re-nominate you?" "I shall lay the matter before the board of agriculture and ask their advice ,which will determine my course." "Then I shall send your name to the senate." The re-appointment was made, was laid before the State board of agriculture, which advised my declining. My resignation was sent to Gov. Jerome, and a letter to the board of health, and I was no longer a member of the State board of health.

SELKIRK RESERVATION, MISSION HOUSE.

THE SELKIRK RESERVATION.

BY JAMES W. HUMPHREY.*

The Selkirk or Selkrig Reservation is, or rather was, located on sections 20 and 28 in Wayland township, Allegan county, Michigan.

In 1837 and 1838 the general government granted aid to the various churches that would establish missions to scattered bands of Indians in Western Michigan. Bishop McCoskey, of the Episcopal church, who was at the head of the western diocese, sought an opportunity through this governmental aid to bestow upon some tribe the blessings of Christian civilization. Around the shores of Gun lake was a band of Ottawas with their once proud chieftain, Sagamaw, and a few Pottawattamies.

These two tribes, now destitute and degraded with their fellows, had once been the proud and undisputed owners of a large portion of the State. Gradually they had been forced back by the more intelligent and powerful whites. Their hunting grounds had been taken from them and were fast being transformed into beautiful farms.

To these degraded fragments of once powerful tribes, which war and civilization had nearly destroyed, Rev. James Selkirk was sent in 1838 to offer them a "Mission Home." Securing the aid of Rev. Leonard Slater, an Indian missionary of the Baptist faith, located on Gull prairie, they met and held a conference with Sagamaw at his encampment. The plan of the mission—its location to the westward five or six miles, an undisturbed home, the protecting care of the church—all were explained to the wily chieftain, but he doubted the veracity of the pale-faced brother and required more time for thought upon the matter. A second meeting was agreed upon, to be held on the banks of the beautiful sheet of water now known as Selkirk lake.

At the appointed time Sagamaw, with a goodly number of his braves, met Bishop McCoskey and Rev. Mr. Selkirk on the site of the proposed

*James W. Humphrey was born in Powell, Delaware Co., Ohio, August 19, 1846. He attended the district school preparatory for the University. He enlisted in the 26th Ohio Infantry, saw active service in Tennessee and Georgia, was severely wounded at Kenesaw Mountain, June 18, 1864, but recovered sufficiently to take part in the battle of Nashville, which destroyed Hood's army. At the close of the war he accompanied his regiment as part of "Sheridan's Army of Observation" in Texas. Returning home he began his studies in the Ohio Wesleyan University. He came to Michigan in 1869, married Miss Beulah A. Sooy of Dorr that year, and since then has been engaged in educational work, having been a member of Allegan county school board for twenty-one years, six of which he was county school commissioner, and one year as teacher of pedagogy in Hope College, and for eight years teacher in the summer normal classes, and received from this institution the degree of M. A. He is the author of several valuable books for teachers, and is very much interested in church and Sunday-school work. He was a member of the Michigan Senate in 1899 and 1900. At present he is busily occupied as legislative superintendent and financial agent of the anti-saloon league.

mission. At the close of this conference the Indians agreed to accept the offer made them and remove at once to the reservation. One hundred and sixty acres on section 20 was purchased from the government, and 200 acres on section 28 from Lawrence Van De Walker of Kalamazoo. The deed was made to Bishop McCoskey and his successors, in trust, in order that the Indians could not dispose of it and be left without homes. The following year, 1839, Rev. James Selkirk, with his family, consisting of his wife and three children, James E., Jeremiah, and Charles, moved to the mission—then called the "Griswold Mission." The first work was the building of a house, which would serve for a church, a schoolroom, and a home for himself and family. Under the direction of Rev. Mr. Selkirk a log house (wigwam) having a large arbor or bower house was built. In this arbor religious services were held on Sundays, which were well attended, not only by the Indians, but by many of the early pioneers. His sermons were delivered in English and interpreted by Adoniram Judson or Mawbere, an educated Ottawa, who was considered one of the best interpreters in the State.

In the work of education, Bishop McCoskey sent a Miss Corbin who aided materially, not only in the week day school but in the Sunday services. The bishop also sent a farmer by the name of Pollard to the mission, who was to have charge of the farming interest, and to teach, or rather try to teach the Indians the art of agriculture.

About 500 Ottawas and 150 Pottawattamies was the crude material which it was proposed to educate intellectually, morally, and in the arts of peace.

A few years later Rev. Mr. Selkirk bought a farm adjoining the reservation, and built the house now known as "Old Mission Home." It was peculiarly constructed. The outer wall consisted of hewn timbers, tenoned at both ends, which were set upright and secured to both sills and plates by entering a continuous mortise and pinned together. His parlor was furnished by the skill of his own hands, not only from necessity's sake, but to teach the dignity and worth of labor. The furniture consisted of a sofa, two large rockers, one corner chair, a large arm-chair, with six others all of black walnut and very neatly upholstered, a center table, also his work. Rev. Mr. Selkirk was well fitted for the task assigned him. Having studied medicine, he was often called outside the reservation to the sick, there being no physician within 25 miles. For 14 years the work of the mission went forward under the fostering care of the Episcopal church, with government aid.

But true progress in any line was meager. That an Indian can never appreciate the blessings of civilization seemed almost true of these. To

hunt or to fish, while the squaw wove baskets for the industrious whites, seemed their natural desire of life. Among the Indians educated on the reservation and worthy of special mention, were David Foster and his son Charles, both able ministers, whose work among others of their tribe was very successful.

In 1855 the government made a new treaty with the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawattamie Indians, granting to each family 40 acres, and after remaining on the land five years a deed was to be given them. This land was located near Pentwater, Mich. All the Indians but about 25 families left the reservation and went to Pentwater. It took them about 15 years to get and lose possession of the land given them by the government, and in 1870 they returned to the reservation.

Designing white men saw in the reservation desirable land, and told the Indians how it could be "all theirs." Taxes were not paid, and a tax title deed was granted to each family.

Today only seven families are left on the reservation and they upon the poorest farms. The white man has again shown his superiority. For a team, or a horse and buggy and a little change, the Indian has parted with his home and gone farther north.

Rev. James Selkirk, the leading spirit of the reservation, and who made it his home for 38 years, was held in high esteem by both the Indians and whites, and gave the best of his life to the seemingly fruitless task of inducing the Indians to conform to the usages of civilized life. He was a Mason, belonging to Carson lodge, Detroit. He received the 33rd degree in Scotland. He died October 5, 1877, at the age of 86, and was buried in the family cemetery. His son, Jeremiah, was killed by an Indian at Crow Wing, Minn., in 1858.

His youngest son, Charles, fitted himself for the Episcopal ministry. He spoke several of the Indian languages fluently, and at the early age of 16 was interpreter for Rev. J. L. Breck, a missionary among the Ogipawa Indians in Minnesota. He died at Pentwater, where he was teaching an Indian school, November 19, 1860, at the age of 22.

The eldest son, James E., died October 4, 1901, at his home in Wayland, and was buried with Masonic honors in Elmwood cemetery.

A PREHISTORIC FORT AT CLIMAX.

BY F. HODGMAN.*

I have been asked to write for the State Pioneer and Historical Society an account of a prehistoric fort at Climax. There is very little to be told beyond the statement that within the present limits of the village of Climax, there once existed something which, for want of a better name or of any knowledge of the object for which it was constructed, was called by the early settlers the "old fort."

The village of Climax is situated on the prairie from which it took its name, in sections 2 and 3, township 3 south, range 9 west. It is nearly on the watershed between the valleys of the St. Joseph and Kalamazoo rivers and is said to be the highest point on the line of the Grand Trunk railroad between Port Huron and Chicago. The so-called fort occupied the crest of a knoll in the southwest part of the village. This knoll is probably the highest ground in the township and overlooks the surrounding country for a long distance in every direction. Its height does not vary much from 1,000 feet above sea level.

The first settlements were made in this vicinity in 1831. At that time the country near by was all either prairie or oak openings, the undergrowth having been kept down by the annual fires set by the Indians to rid the ground of the dead grass and weeds, for the benefit of the green grass in the spring. The knoll was covered with good-sized oak trees. The open country around it showed everywhere the evidences of former cultivation. There were numerous mounds near by, nearly all of which have been destroyed and leveled with the earth. Some of them contained bones and other human relics. The so-called garden beds occupied most of the open ground for a mile around. They were marked by trenches or paths several inches deep and from one to three feet wide, which parted the land off into different tracts. The beds were from four to six feet wide and from two to ten rods long. They were irregular in size and shape and not laid in straight lines. They were also laid in various

*Francis Hodgman was born in Climax, Michigan, November 18, 1839. He graduated at the Michigan Agricultural College in 1862. From 1857 to 1863 inclusive, he taught district schools during the winter terms. In 1863 and 1864 he was clerk in a jewelry and drug store in Littleton, N. H., 1865 to 1868 was photographer in Galesburg, Michigan. He served as county surveyor of Kalamazoo county from 1868 to 1893, and was engineer in the location of Coldwater, Marshall and Mackinac R. R. in 1870 and 1871. Was chief of a party in the location and construction of Rio Grande Western R. R. in Utah in 1881 and 1882. Since then he has been civil engineer, farmer, author and publisher at Climax, Mich., editing the Michigan Engineer. Among his books are "Manual of Land Surveying," "Wandering Singer and his Songs." He was the originator of the "Climax" wheat.

directions and at different angles with each other, as if the land had been parceled out to different persons and each worked up to the line in his own way. The paths were deep enough so the plow would run out of the ground in crossing them and their location could be plainly seen in the freshly plowed ground for many years after its settlement by the whites. The knoll rose in the midst of these "garden beds." I first knew of it in 1844. Nearly the entire field of 40 acres in which it stood was then covered with large oak timber and a thick undergrowth of hazels, oaks, and hickories, which had sprung up in the dozen years since the annual fires had been stopped.

Around the summit of the knoll was a ditch two or three feet deep and ten or twelve feet wide with earth banked up along its sides, making it very plain and distinct and easily traced. Large trees were growing in its bottom and along the banks showing that a long time had elapsed since its construction.

The first schoolhouse in town was only a few rods away where, a little boy of four years, I attended my first school, and where, as the years passed along, I got nearly all the common school education I ever had. In that field was our playground and it was a favorite sport of us school-children to make believe we were Indians, make wigwams by binding the tops of the saplings together, and race and chase each other around and around that old ditch.

Many were the speculations as to who dug it and what it was dug for, but nobody knew anything about it. Because of its form, and its commanding position, it was commonly called the "old fort." But that was a mere conjecture. The ground it occupied has been cleared and cultivated for many years. The old ditch is for the most part filled up. A few of us who knew every foot of the ground in our younger days can now go on the ground and trace out its location, but a stranger would fail to find it. It is now rarely mentioned in the village, and it is probable that there are many people living within half a mile of the old fort who never knew there was such a thing there. About a quarter of a century ago I made a survey of the ditch and found that its form was that of a perfect ellipse, or oval, enclosing one and three-tenths of the summit of the hill. Its longest diameter was 330 feet, pointing 30 degrees east of north. The shorter diameter was 210 feet. In "Our Village," a local historical poem, written in 1879, the poet thus refers to the old fort:

"The time's but an instant, a quick-fleeting breath,
Compared with the time since the angel of death
Laid the Mound-builders low, whose work we may still
See encircling the ground at the top of the hill.
Men call it the fort; but can any one tell
Why that circular ditch was there laid out so well?

Did the Mound-builders once stand in battle array
And fight 'round the fort, as we call it today?
Or was it a spot where by moonlight the fairy
Would dance on the knoll overlooking the prairie?
It was one time our playground; the old schoolhouse stood
On the hill by the graveyard, and there was the wood
Where we wandered and clambered the hazels among
And played we were Indians and hunted and sung.
How often that ditch we then followed around;
We knew every sapling and tree on the ground.
The trees are now gone and the ditch will soon fill,
But ever in memory we'll cherish them still."

The ditch has filled. There are a few of us who played there in childhood left to cherish its memory, and that of the happy days spent there. But the little mound on the hill will soon cover us, too. We shall mingle our dust with that of the men who built the fort, and in days to come will be no more known than they are now.

GEBI-WAU-BECK. (INDIAN SPIRIT ROCK), CLIFFSIDE, ST. IGNACE DE MICHILIMACKINAC.

FROM NEW ENGLAND TO LAKE SUPERIOR (1854).

BY LT. GOV. O. W. ROBINSON.*

In May, 1854, the writer, then 19 years old, left a New Hampshire country town, in company with several gentlemen, one lady (an aunt), her three-year-old daughter, and a sister 13 years old, for the almost unknown copper regions of Lake Superior; Ontonagon, Mich., being our point of destination.

The route was by rail to Buffalo, N. Y. At Buffalo we boarded the steamer Mayflower, one of a line of magnificent packet steamers then plying between Buffalo and Detroit. Arriving at Detroit, the party went to the old Railroad hotel, a low, wooden structure, with several wings and additions, resembling an old-fashioned country tavern more than a city hotel. It was located on the present site of the Detroit opera house. Here we remained five days, awaiting the departure of a boat for Sault Ste. Marie. At Detroit we embarked on the propeller Northerner, bound for the Soo.

The journey up the Detroit river, across Lake St. Clair, and up the St. Clair river was delightful; but in crossing Saginaw bay we encountered heavy seas that made nearly all on board seasick, an experience by no means pleasant, but entirely new to our company. The scenery along the St. Mary's river, with its hundreds of wooded islands, was magnificent, and most charming. Arriving at the Soo, it was necessary to break bulk and make the portage around the falls (the first canal was not completed until 1855). Here we met a motley crowd of people, cosmopolitan in character. There was the proud army officer, with his gold braid and brass buttons; the common soldier in regulation uniform; the Chippewa Indians arrayed in their gaudy-colored blankets, leggins, and beaded moccasins; the business men and common laborers from many nations, and a confusion of tongues equal to that of "Babel."

*Orrin W. Robinson, of Chassell, Houghton county, was born in Claremont, August 12, 1834, where he acquired a district school education. At the age of 19 years he moved to Ontonagon, Mich., where he remained two years, employed in the mines, and then started for Green Bay, Wis., making an overland trip with snow shoes, while the provisions and blankets were carried by dog-train. He camped in the woods nights, taking about two weeks to make the trip. From Green Bay he went to Kossuth county, Iowa. Returning to Hancock, Mich., he engaged as receiving and shipping clerk for the Quincy mine, which occupation he followed 12 years. In 1873 he organized the Sturgeon River Lumber Co., and built mills at Hancock, which were removed to Chassell in the fall of 1887, and he has been superintendent of the company since its organization. He has served as deputy collector of customs, superintendent of the poor for Houghton county; was delegate to the national convention in 1892; served in the house in 1895 and the senate in 1897; and elected lieutenant governor in 1899. Closely identified with all the public improvements of his district, he has witnessed the change from a frontier wilderness to a civilized and prosperous country.

Leaving the Northerner, we, together with our personal baggage, were transferred to small flat cars, passengers and baggage being promiscuously intermixed, and taken across the portage, a distance of about two miles, to the village of Sault Ste. Marie, situated on the shore of Lake Superior.

The railroad over which these cars passed consisted of wooden rails strapped with iron, while the motive power consisted of several small mules. Arriving at the village, we went to the Chippewa house.

Soon after entering the hotel, and while the newly-arrived passengers were lounging about the parlor, there entered a giant nearly seven feet tall, broad-shouldered, and otherwise well proportioned. He was dressed in a white blanket coat, buckskin trousers, a vest of continental style made of loon skins, a black slouch hat and beaded moccasins. After passing around the room, peering into the faces of both men and women, he fastened his gaze upon me, and holding out his hand, demanded in a "fog-horn" voice, "Give me that quarter you owe me." Somewhat frightened, I timidly asked, "What do I owe you a quarter for?" The answer came loud and fierce, "For taking care of your dog coming up on the boat." As I had no dog, and knew he had not been on the boat during the passage, I summoned my nerve and told him to go to a place supposed to be much hotter than the Soo. To this reply he laughed most heartily, patted me on the head, and said, "You'll get along all right, my boy," and walked out of the room. He was but one of the many quaint characters met with on Lake Superior in the early days.

We remained at the Soo two days while the freight was being transported from the Northerner, lying at the foot of the rapids, to the propeller Baltimore, lying at the head of the rapids, in the waters of Lake Superior. The route for transporting the freight was over the same railroad and by the same mule power that had taken us to the hotel. Everything being in readiness, we bade good-bye to the genial landlord and his excellent wife, Mr. and Mrs. Van Anden, and went on board the Baltimore, one of the three small craft then constituting the Lake Superior fleet propelled by steam, and started on the home stretch for our destination.

I might here state that these three boats, the Sam Ward, Manhattan, and Baltimore, a few years previous to this time had been taken from the lower lakes, and by means of runways or skids, had been hauled overland around the St. Mary's rapids, a distance of about two miles, and launched in the waters of Lake Superior.

Keeping very close to the above, we had an excellent view of the Pictured Rocks, the most magnificent scenery in Michigan, and arrived

at Marquette, then a village of a few hundred inhabitants, in due time. Here we met S. S. Robinson, who was then superintendent of a group of small mines lying along the range a few miles east of Lake Gogebic, owned and operated by the North American Mining Company.

At this time there was no breakwater at Marquette, and but one small dock or pier where boats could land.

Having discharged the Marquette freight, we again set sail, and, passing the Huron islands, we rounded Keweenaw point and made our next landing at Eagle River, then a flourishing village second in business and population to the settlements then existing along the south shore of Lake Superior. Here a long pier extended from the shore out into the lake to a point of safety for the landing of boats drawing not over 12 feet of water.

The Pittsburg & Boston, or, as more commonly known, the old Cliff mine, was located about two miles from this point, and was then in a most prosperous condition. It was this industry that gave to Eagle River its flourishing condition at that time. It was here I first saw native copper as mined on Lake Superior. Huge masses, cut into convenient sizes for handling, weighing from three to seven tons, lay piled on the shore awaiting shipment to the smelting works.

After discharging cargo for several hours, during which time many of the passengers "tramped" back to the Cliff and viewed the mine, we all went on board again, and the old Baltimore steamed back to Eagle Harbor, a distance of about five miles. The captain had gone to Eagle River first, as the weather was calm and he could effect a landing. Eagle Harbor is a small land-locked bay with a narrow, intricate entrance channel (since improved), lying between abrupt rock-bound shores. We made the entrance safely, and after discharging cargo started out for Ontonagon, but were not so fortunate in getting out. The boat became stranded on the outer rocks, where she was exposed and in great danger from any seas coming from the lake; but fortunately there was almost a dead calm until we got afloat again about six hours later.

There was no way of getting relief from the outside, so after an ineffectual attempt to "wasp" her off by means of lines attached to anchors and worked from the boat's capstands, the order was given to "lighten freight," and all hands—crew and male passengers—went to work loading all kinds of freight, such as barrels and boxes, that could be easily handled, into the yawl and life-boats, and landing it upon the nearest beach. The unloading went on for about two hours, when the boat slid

off the rocks and was again afloat; then the tedious task of reloading the freight by small boats was gone through with, and we were under way once more, but not in the direction of Ontonagon. The captain found his boat was taking water in the hold and ran back to Agate Harbor under the pretense that he needed more fuel. Arriving there, we tied up to trees alongside a bold shore, where there was sufficient depth of water to allow the boat to lay where an ordinary gang plank reached from boat to shore, and a few of the deck hands were put to toting on wood, while the captain and most of the crew overhauled the freight in the hold and got at the leak.

The passengers strolled through the woods and engaged in a game of snowball, a novelty for them in the early days of June.

The captain found that when the boat first struck the rocks the planking was shivered though not broken for a space of about two feet long and ten inches wide, and she was taking considerable water.

How to repair the damage so that he could safely proceed on his voyage was a serious question to Captain Ryder, but with his years of experience as a pioneer sailor upon Lakes Huron and Superior, he was not long in devising a way out of the difficulty.

He took woolen blankets from the beds and cut them into pieces sufficiently large to cover and overlap by a margin of two inches on all sides the shivered planking. Then taking from the cargo a few kegs of white lead, he put a thick layer of lead over each square of the blanketing until he had prepared ten or twelve layers. These alternate layers of blanket and lead were placed together and covered with a two-inch plank. Cedar props were cut from the adjoining woods and taken aboard and fitted to proper lengths. Everything being in readiness, the patch was placed over the shivered part, the props, with one end resting on the plank covering the patch, and the other end against one of the cross timbers forming the deck above, were driven to a perpendicular position, and the leak so effectually stopped that the boat was run for three seasons following without further repairs. All this was done without the passengers' knowledge, and it only came to my knowledge several years afterwards, by Captain Ryder telling it to one of the passengers who was on board that trip.

We left Agate Harbor late in the afternoon, and the next morning found us at anchor one-half mile off the shore from Ontonagon. At that time boats could not enter the mouth of Ontonagon river. The sea was too

heavy to launch the yawl or bring out a lighter, but by eleven that morning it had calmed down sufficiently to launch the yawl and the passengers were taken ashore. There were several oxen and horses on board, which were plunged from the deck of the boat into the ice-cold water. They made a landing on the beach where they were caught, blanketed, and run into warm stables. Freight was at that time landed by means of lighters, poled by native-Indians out and in through the mouth of the river to where the boats lay. Ontonagon was then the metropolis of all of the Lake Superior settlements.

Having described our trip of three weeks' duration that now requires only as many days to make, and having, I fear, wearied your patience, I will close.

THE LEGEND OF THE INDIAN SUMMER.

MARY E. CHAMBERLAIN.*

There is a beautiful tradition of the Indians in the poet lore of that fast vanishing race relating to the coming of those marvelous days, the aftermath of the summer, which crown the year with a fair, fleeting glory, a dream-like beauty, evanescent and lovely beyond compare. The legend runs like this:

High up in the heavens the Sun-god, he whose symbol is the white bird Wakehon, looked down upon the earth one day, smiling to see how well he had finished his labors of the year. Now the Sun-god is not the *One*—Ta-ren-ya-wa-go, Holder of the Heavens; no, he is only the Manito of the sun which, as we know, is the heart of the sky. He is fat and fair and lazy; then also he sometimes is very cross and out of temper, and at such times earth, sky, air, and water all feel his frowns. Often, however, he is good humored; and then it is that all things rejoice in his smiles. But looking down this day and seeing all so well done—all the grain ripened and gathered, all the fruit perfected and stored, the meadows lying tranquil, the forests still and peaceful, the game abundant, then it was that the Manito grew restive and bethought himself that he was much in need of a respite from such exceedingly good behavior—of which he sometimes grew very tired.

He was not much given to thinking, because he was fat and lazy, but now he set himself to it to find some speedy way of indulging such mischevious pranks as he felt disposed. The better to help his meditations he filled and lighted his great calumet, his mighty peace-pipe, that should not have been smoked except in the council lodge, and so sat down to his musings. After a long time he hit upon a plan that filled him with glee.

"Aha!" he cried, "I will get me up and away into the far, frozen Northland where my brother Peboan (the winter) reigns, and I will help him strip these forests, still these rivers, and send the icy blasts sweeping over the great lakes and waters, drifting the powdery snow through the villages and piling it high about the wigwams. I'll nip the hunter's fingers and make the old men cower over the coals and the women and children wail in the storm. It will be rare sport to see my brother Seegwan (the Spring) work till he sweats to repair my mischief—the lazy fellow!"

After this, overcome by the labor of thinking out things for himself to which he was not accustomed, and besides being still surfeited with the great feast of the Medway that was held but lately in the month of the Sturgeon when all the fruits and grains, the game and fish are most abundant and delicious, the lazy Sun-god failed to note the sly approach of Weeng, the Spirit of Sleep, who with his many hued pinions came fluttering softly in the air with a gentle, murmuring noise that in time stole away the senses of the Manito, and while not at all meaning to linger he yet drifted away into peaceful slumber. Then, as he thus slept, summer gaily tarried, flaunting her most vivid colors in the very face of the stupid Sun-god; the waters laughed softly, the winds murmured in gentle undertone, all things in nature conspiring together to laugh at and mock him, yet always so quietly as not to disturb his slumbers.

*Mrs. Mary E. Chamberlain, Vice-president for Muskegon county, is a native of the State of New York, but came to Muskegon, Mich., in the early "seventies," where she now resides. Mrs. Chamberlain is an artist of ability, excelling in the painting of marine subjects; she is interested in historical study and has done some good work along that line in her writings for different publications, and with pen and brush has won for herself an enviable reputation.

While he dreams the smoke from his great peace-pipe fills the air—you see it resting on the far hills and craggy uplands in a purple haze, there in the still valleys, there on the quiet waters and over all the landscape like a shimmering veil. And not till his mighty calumet is smoked out to its very latest spark will the fat and lazy Manito awake. This then is the Indian Summer.

THE LEGEND OF THE SHOOTING STAR—THE WAKENDENDAS. AN INDIAN IDYL.

From the twilight skies a pale star looked down with wistful longing upon the beautiful, green earth. All about it its brother and sister stars were bright and happy and in bands sported together upon the measureless shining plain in which they lived, or collected thickly along the broad road which is the pathway of the ghosts* in their journey to the far-off country of souls, the spi-men-kah,-wi-u, the fair land above.

But this one star was alone in heaven and sorrowful with longing. It turned away from the soft light of the moon, when she walked forth adown the broad heavens, and shuddered when the sun, the bright Heart of the Sky, flung wide the gates for the beautiful Wabun, the Dawn-Maiden. Fairer under the light of the young moons or the bright shimmer of the sun seemed the lovely earth than all besides, and the still, green meadows, the cool, waving forests, the blue rivers softly flowing—all more blissful than the star-lodges yet in the sky.

Every night, when twilight fell, the star looked for its image reflected in a tranquil lake, set round with tall rushes and mighty forest trees whose wide arms interlaced—seeing with envy the Namagoosh (trout) and the sly Kenozha (pickerel) leaping in the sunlight or flashing in the moonlight, hearing the Dainda (frog) calling among the reeds and rushes—watching the bright Wawatossa (fire fly) flitting through the darkness above the softly whispering water. Every night, there, the loon cried to the echo hiding on the shadowy strand—the whip-poor-will answering clear and sweet in the far distance; there the wild geese stretched their lazy flight across quiet waves—plover piped from the sedges—the owl hooted far off in the lonely forest.

All through the long months of the moon while she walked the sky the star looked down upon that fair lake lying tranquil beneath it with waves flashing in soft undertone of happy secrets; it saw the coming of sweet blossoms in the bright Moon of Flowers (May) and how they crept close to the edge—saw the gentle fawns in the Month of Deer (July) come trooping down to drink of its cool waters—looking, watching, until now in the gray Month of the Beaver (November) the star had grown worn and pale—breathing its life away in sighs of longing.

Then it was that the great Master of Life, Ta-ren-ya-wa-go, Holder of the Heavens, saw with compassion and gave the star its wish because of his love which keeps all things within the circle of his arm.

So, slowly—gently through the soft purple twilight, while Gushkewan, the Darkness, and his brother Weeng, the gentle Spirit of Sleep, hovered in the air, the star came drifting downward, floating—drifting—falling from the wide shining plains of heaven, the fair land above.

Through the forest a band of hunters came laden with game. Silently but quickly they traversed in unerring certainty the trackless solitudes. They knew that just beyond, not far away, the twinkling fires of their wigwams gleamed redly through the darkness, flaming upon the laughing children at play upon the smooth turf about the lodges, flashing from the glittering ornaments of the women as they moved about preparing the evening repast, shining redly upon the grave

* The milky way.

faces of sachems and braves as they sat smoking the calumet and listening to the voice of the Che-nee-ga-ha, the story teller, as he sings of their wars and their deeds of valor.

All but one of the hunters hastened onward, seeing all this awaiting them at the end of their wearisome march; but he, the dreamer, the one who saw where there was naught, he, looking skyward beheld a star falling swiftly through the darkness. All its paleness is gone now and it flames in ruddy splendor across the sky.

"See," he cried, "it is the Wakendendas, the meteor!"

Then they turned to look in wonder, and the wonder grew as the star flamed downward. Nearer, nearer it came until at length it rested upon the bosom of a sleeping lake; when, lo! straightway it blossomed forth an earth flower with slowly-unfolding silvery petals and heart of gold, lying rocked in blessed rest and peace upon the softly murmuring water that whispered of many tender secrets to it.

Thus was born the beautiful O-kun-dun-mo-ge, the Water Lily.

JOHN R. BAILEY, MACKINAC ISLAND

THE PROVINCE OF MICHILIMACKINAC.

BY DR. JOHN R. BAILEY.*

We know the land surface of the earth lies mainly between the equator and the north pole, and is, to all intents and purposes, continuous. The only so-called, separation being the shallow Strait of Behring, a mere depression of the uplift of 36 miles between the headlands of Asia and America, with an intervening island. Behring strait is frozen over from October to April and the ice bridge can be crossed with facility in sledges, and in summer with canoes and larger craft.

Hundreds of years before Columbo with his caravals was sighted by the natives of the Bahama islands, the Indian roamed the land from the steppes of Asia to Patagonia. But Spain in 1492 or soon after claimed all America by asserted discovery. That power was not strong enough to keep her holdings and other nations. France, Britain, Holland and Portugal seized portions of the territory and planted colonies. They too, claimed by right of discovery, and, like vandals, had little respect for the natives.

Our province Michilimackinac being a large part of New France afterwards a subdivision of Canada, like the rest of the vast area, was inhabited by the Aborigines, since called Indians, who came from Asia at a period unknown.

Esquimaux is understood by all the tribes bordering the Arctic ocean for 10,000 miles through Asia and North America. The Nulato Indians within the Arctic circle and the Apaches of New Mexico, speak the same language. The Esquimaux style themselves Enyuin people, and the beginning of their winter is the first of the year. It is divided into four seasons and twelve moons.

Kingegan, Alaska, has long been a trading place with the Asiatic tribes who cross the strait from East cape in boats in summer, by way of the Diomede island. They meet the natives of the west coast and those of the Mackenzie and Yukon river basins who come far from the south to trade. In July the Mackenzie is navigable for large vessels into Great Slave lake, more than 1,000 miles south of the "Frozen Ocean" and the Yukon as far. Fish and game are abundant in all this territory and barley, oats, and potatoes will grow to maturity at Fort Morman, latitude 64° 31′ north.

In Arctic climes the days of summer are long, the heat of the sun often intense, nights are short, and the face of nature develops rapidly. The rivers and even the streamlets become irresistible moving floods. They teem with terrestrial life along their borders and aqueous life within, and winged aerial life upon their waters. Therefore there is food enough and to spare for the Tartar Indian nomads.

There is a mixed-blood Indian woman, about 68 years old, on Michilimackinac island who went there at the age of 17, of the Kilistinoux or Cree tribe. She was

* John Read Bailey was born in New York City, July 23, 1833, and was the oldest son of Captain Joseph H. Bailey, U. S. Army Medical Corps. From 1834 to 1850, during the Florida and Mexican wars, his father was stationed in Arkansas and Indian Territory. The family were on a plantation, worked by slaves, near Fort Smith, Ark., and from 1852 to 1854 they were stationed at Fort Mackinac. John R. graduated from the medical department of the University of Michigan in 1854, and was appointed acting assistant surgeon U. S. army, Fort Mackinac, and Indian physician, Michilimackinac agency. Since 1854 he has been post surgeon over 20 times, also at Fort Snelling, Minn., and Fort Hamilton, N. Y. In June, 1861, he formed a company, and, "either with sword, musket, or scalpel," proffered his services to Gov. Blair, which were accepted. Events directed him to St. Louis, Mo., to assist his mother in influencing his father and brothers to side with the government, and father, four sons, and two sons-in-law served in the Union army. He was commissioned surgeon 8th Missouri Infantry, and brevetted Lt. Col. U. S. Volunteers, serving on the staff of Gen. William T. Sherman and others, and as chief of several general and many field hospitals, and was special medical purveyor of the army of Tennessee. Dr. Bailey has been a resident of Mackinac Island for 50 years.

born in the Churchill river country, between Hudson's bay and Great and Little Slave lakes. She says her people went to the north in summer, by way of Great Slave lake, to barter with the tribes on the "Frozen Sea." They started early in March, and did not return until the next year. They met the people from the "Sea" coming up the river "half way;" some of her people returned and others went north and did not come back. Other parties from the south went north by way of the Red river of the north, to trade and sell furs. They, also, would go one year, start in March and not come back until the next season. Time then was no object. This woman, Madam Cadreaux (Cadro), is part French. Her people gave her in marriage to Cadreaux when she was only 12 years old. He was a *coureur de bois*, and an "*engager*" of the Hudson's Bay Company. Madam Cadreaux (now Cadotte) is an intelligent, industrious, hard-working woman, and is generally respected. She relates this story as a part of her life, without the slightest idea it has any bearing of importance.

MADAM CADREAUX (CADOTTE).

The Kilistinoux have their more ordinary place of abode in the vicinity of the "Sea of the North," and are allied with the Assineboines. They are the *Sioux* of the north, and of the bands of Sioux far to the south of them.

Buddhist priests from China were in "Fusang," 120,000 li, about 2,500 miles, east of Kamtchatka, and due east of China, before the Christian era. Images of the God, Guatama, sitting cross-legged, are found in Mexico and some are in their national museum. There is no mystery about the origin of the native American. The Indian came from Asia, the cradle of the human race. He is *American*, truly and we are *Unistats*, inhabitants of the United States, and then there are Canadians, Mexicans, Brazilians, etc. The Indian may have been Aryan or Mongolian, or other extraction; that is of no consideration. Time, climate, food, habits, and environment, with all their influences, have effaced his lineage and made him a distinctly marked type. So Columbus was not far out of the way when he called the natives *Indians*.

FORT MACKINAC, MICHILIMACKINAC ISLAND, 1885.

Now, we come to the founding of a New France on the banks of the St. Lawrence, in the valleys of the "*Mesipi*," and the basin of the Great Lakes.

1608, New France. From 1534 successive voyages were made from Europe, over the Atlantic up to 1608, when we find Samuel Champlain's colony firmly planted at Quebec. New France had been taken possession of in 1534 by James Cartier in the name of the French king. It is inferred that some Frenchmen of the many expeditions to this continent, and from fishing fleets to Newfoundland, remained and intermarried with the natives, adapting themselves to their condition and mode of life.

June, 1609. Champlain, with only two white men and 60 Hurons and Algonquins, ascended the Richelieu (Sorel) into the lake that bears his name, and defeated the Iroquois. The Iroquois and all the five nations who lived on the shores of Lake Ontario and in New York province were at war with the Hurons and Algonquins, whose range was the Ottawa and St. Lawrence rivers. Afterwards the French called all Algonquins, wherever found, Ottawas.

Champlain had gotten from the savages rude drawings of the St. Lawrence and chain of lakes that gave crude ideas of their vast extent. Having learned of the distant Hudson bay, the large fresh-water lakes, of the copper found on the shores of Lake Superior, the fish of the waters, in unlimited quantity, and fur-bearing animals, he wished to visit them. The great object was to secure the fur trade, discover the "North Sea," and explore the route to China.

1615. That year the Indians of the St. Lawrence and the lakes who went annually to Trois Rivieres (Three Rivers) to trade with the French asked Champlain to lead them against their old enemies, the Iroquois of New York. The Hurons and Algonquins were assembled at Montreal and Champlain accepted their proposal. He went to Quebec for supplies but, returning July 1st learned the Indians got impatient and had returned to their villages. Father Joseph Le Caron, a Recolet, and 12 armed Frenchmen went with them. Champlain followed with ten Indians and two Frenchmen. Both parties took the Ottawa route to the Indian villages at the head of Georgian bay in the province of Michilimackinac. There they were reinforced and joined by detachments from Michilimackinac and Green bay, all in our province. *The two first parties*, on reaching Lake Nippissing, floated and paddled down French river into Georgian bay, there taking a southward course to the Huron villages, more than a hundred miles, about the head of the bay. Then the allies crossed the country, by way of the river Trent, to Lake Ontario. They boldly crossed the lake and besieged the Iroquois, who were intrenched in a fort on Onondagua lake. They were not successful and returned to their homes with Champlain.

From 1608 to 1633 the Recolets of the gray robes, are the dominant religious order in New France. In 1622 they had no less than five missions from Acadia to the borders of Lake Huron. Champlain himself was a zealot, firmly imbued with the Roman faith. "Canada was a true child of the church." The statesman, soldier, and the priest with his cross went hand in hand and planted a shrine in every village. Their object, too, was to secure the rich fur trade, and proselyte the natives to the *Church of Rome.*

1622. The Hugenots received a concession in New France, but their stay was short. Then there came three Jesuits, one of them John de Brebeuf, whose career and final death is historic. 1627 Louis XIII. (Richelieu being Cardinal, and really King) chartered the Hundred Associates Company, with almost sovereign power, granting forever Quebec, the Fort, all New France, and Florida. Champlain was one of that company. The Roman Catholic church was to be the established one, and no other. That, with the Indian wars and the Hugenots, led to new troubles in the Province, and

"A strange harmonius inclination
Of all degrees to reformation."

1629. The British captured Quebec and New France, but returned it by treaty in 1632. 1633 Champlain is again placed in command of New France. This time under the Hundred Associates Company and the Jesuit priests of the black robes in the ascendent. Then the Indians began retrading with their old friends. One hundred and fifty Huron canoes arrived at Fort St. Croix (Three Rivers) and with them John Nicolet, the interpreter. Champlain directed Nicolet to proceed with the returning convoys to "La Nation des Puants" (now Green Bay, Wis.), Michilimackinac, to make a treaty with them and learn of "the Men of the Sea" about their country and "the great water," "Mesipi."

1634. As instructed, Nicolet returned with the Indians by the Ottawa route, Georgian bay, Straits of Michilimackinac, and Lake Michigan, conveyed by seven Hurons in bark canoes towards the land of the Winnebagoes, in "Ouisconsin." Leaving French river, he met at the Manitoulin islands the Am-a-kou-ai, or Beaver nation. They were descended from the "Great Beaver," next to the "Great Hare" their principal divinity. Their usual homes were the "*Isles du Castor*," Beaver islands, in Lake Michigan. The French named them "*Nez Perces*," from their habit of wearing ornaments and feathers thrust through their noses.

To a certain extent, the tribes about the straits were cannibals; that is, they had a custom of feasting on some of their captives, taken in war, and made slaves of others.

The Winnebagoes considered Nicolet as the "*Wonderful man*," a Manitou with a message of peace, and a delegation of braves escorted him to their camps. Notwithstanding this, he did not fail to impress them. Arriving, he advanced, clothed in a robe of "Chinese damask, sprinkled with flowers, and birds of different colors," and from pistols in each hand he discharged volleys in the air to the right and left.

Four or five thousand of the different tribes soon after met him in council, and he made an alliance with them, and urged them to keep the peace with each other and the tribes eastward of Lake Huron and the Nez Perces. After the treaty he visited the Mascontins, six days' journey up the Fox river, and other Wisconsin tribes, and the Illinois of the prairies, all in our province.

1635. In the spring he started homeward with the seven friendly Hurons. They joined the Georgian Bay Hurons on their annual trading trip to his fort on the St. Lawrence, and probably reached Three Rivers about July 19, 1635.

Samuel Champlain died in the Fort of Quebec December 25, 1635.

The five nations of the Iroquois league south of Lake Ontario, and the Algonquin confederation, of the Canadian Provinces, were constantly at war. The Iroquois claimed the hunting grounds in and about the Straits of Michilimackinac and vicinity and most of the region of the St. Lawrence near to Quebec.

1642. Father Isaac Jogues and Raymbault, S. J., planted the cross at Sault Ste. Marie, in the Province of Michilimackinac. That same year, October 27, 1642, Jean Nicolet was drowned by the upsetting of a launch, near Sillery, on the St. Lawrence. His death was mourned by Frenchmen and Indians alike.

After the general Algonquin defeats on the banks of the Sorel, in 1648 and 1649, and at the Village Etharita, near Georgian bay, December 16, 1649, "the Hurons and Ottawa settled for some years on Michilimackinac island," and again fled to the islands at the entrance of Green bay, thence to the mainland.* When the Huron mission of Etharita was destroyed 30 villages were abandoned, and the remnant of frightened natives fled across the water to the islands and mainland of Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior. In the massacre Father Grelon escaped, and afterwards went to China. Years after on the plains of Tartary, he met a Huron

*Nicholas Perrot, pp. 91, 92.

woman who had been one of his flock on the shores of Lake Huron. She had been sold from tribe to tribe until she had reached the steppes of Central Asia.*

In the Iroquois massacre of Hurons, March 16, 1649, Father John de Brebeuf, S. J., and March 17, Father Lallemant, S. J., were cruelly tortured to death. Father Allouez afterwards found some of the Hurons at Chagauamigong bay and Apostles islands, Lake Superior, in 1665.

1654. Two French traders, Sieur Raddisson and Sieur des Grosselliers, pass by way of Michilimaciknac island and Point Iroquois (St. Ignace) through the straits to La Baye (Green bay). They return in 1656 with 60 canoes loaded with furs, and a large party of Hurons and Ottawas bound for the market at Three Rivers, on the St. Lawrence. In 1658-9 the same two Frenchmen were at Cha-gam-am-igong bay, Lake Superior, Province of Michilimackinac. 1660. At that date New France had been held by the French crown at least a century, and included what is now the Dominion of Canada and outlying islands, northern New York, Louisiana, a southern domain embracing the valleys of the Mississippi and Ohio to the lakes, and west to the Pacific ocean. Her Indian adherents were the Algonquin league, about 100 tribes, of Canada, New England, and the country bordering the great lakes, and southward.

Opposed to this great confederation was the Iroquois league of the Province of New York, five nations, allies of the English and foes of the French, with their Indian supporters. The approximate number of Algonquins in the Province exclusive of the southern domain, has been estimated at 90,000 souls. It is safe to say, if 60,000 can be found today, not more than one-fourth are pure bloods. They are mixed with French and other whites and are surely being absorbed. It is claimed the number of Indians in this country in 1492 was 250,000, and there are now about that number. At least three-fourths of them in the United States have a large infusion of white or negro blood, official figures of a census to the contrary notwithstanding.

1665. Nicholas Perrot was the next known adventurer who made a canoe voyage through the Straits of Michilimackinac, and from 1534, when Cartier explored the St. Lawrence and planted a colony in the interior that subsequently carried the fur trade to the banks of the Saskatchawan, there were Frenchmen in our province. Many, who were illiterate, made no record; they were simply trappers and *voyageurs*. They intermarried with the Indians and adapted themselves to their mode of life. The savages built forts and surrounded them with palisades of cedar 12 to 25 feet high, for protection against other tribes. The French did the same and taught the natives how to improve them. The *voyageurs* were the pioneers, the advance pickets of the coming hosts of European usurpers.

1668. French continue to advance (as well as the English, Spanish, and Portugese in other parts of the continent) until they are found in the region of Michilimackinac, controlling large and valuable missions under the Jesuits. About this time New France was divided into the following provinces:

1. Hudson Bay—All territory north of 49° and west indefinitely.
2. Quebec, with Canada East, southward to the head of Lake Champlain, and westward to the headwaters of the Ohio.
3. Michilimackinac—The country west of Quebec, and southward to the Ohio, west as far as a line of the western boundary of what is now Minnesota, north to 49°, and all the drainage of Lakes Superior and Huron.

Acadia (Nova Scotia), Cape Breton, Newfoundland, etc., were also included in New France, besides the territory before mentioned. Louisiana, under the French, claimed all south of 31° east of the Mississippi and west of Georgia, and west of the Mississippi, from its mouth to its source, as far as the Pacific ocean. It trenched on the Spanish possessions of Florida and New Mexico.

*Shea. Cath. Missions, who cites Charlevoix, Chap. V, p. 45.

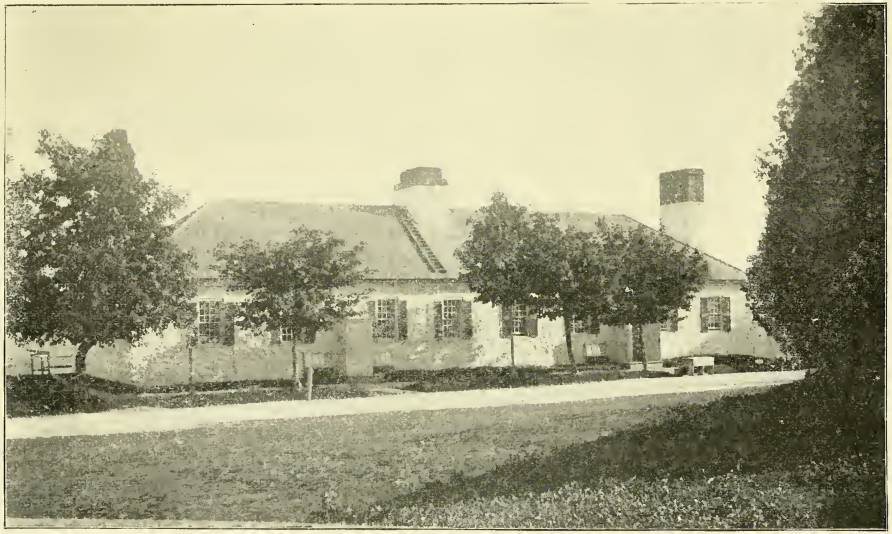
1700. The province of Detroit was set off from Michilimackinac, and included all of Canada west of the cataract of Niagara, and north to Lake Huron, that part of Michigan south of Saginaw bay, and most of Ohio and Indiana. Detroit was settled by Cadillac in 1671, who moved his soldiers and some of the Indians down in canoes and batteau from St. Ignace de Michilimackinac where they had been established since 1669. In a few years it became more important than Michilimackinac. Before 1701 Michilimackinac had a history, and after that date a separate history. Before and after these last dates the capital, and the metropolis of the province of Michilimckinac was on the island of the same name in the straits of Michilimackinac. It was not only the seat of justice and base of supplies, but the center of trade of a vast territory. It was the headquarters of the French trappers and traders and their *coureur de bois* and white and Indian *employees*. The "*Fairy Isle*" was well known and gave its name to the extensive province of Michilimackinac.

Mich-ili-mack-i-nac (Algonquin) is the name given by the Indians, and rendered through the French to the island now called *Mackinac*, pronounced in English, French, and also Indian, *Mack-i-naw*. Several meanings are ascribed to it, and they depend on the original root word. Thus, in Ottawa, Chippewa, or Cree, similar dialects, the shades of interpretation, also spelling would vary. Hence we have the translations, "*Great Turtle, Turtle, Fairy Island, Dancing, or Fairy Spirits,*" *etc.* "In the mouth of an Algonquin it is Michilimackinac; in that of a Chippewa, Michinimackinac."* The Turtle on which the world of the Indians rested, and Beaver, Fox, Plover, etc., tribal totems, were wont to assume the forms of spirits and fairies. Michili-mackinac, contracted to Mackinac, final *a* broad, *c* silent, there being no *w* in French, is pronounced in English—Mack-i-naw.

An Indian interpreter, Macka-de-pe-nessy, son of an Ottawa chief, says that Mi-she mi-ki-nock (Chippewa) does not mean "large Turtle," nor "monstrous large turtle." Michilimackinac is not derived from "Michimickinock." When the Ottawas discovered the Island of Michilimackinac, long before the Spaniards first came to America it was inhabited by a small remnant, independent tribe, who became confederates with the Ottawas.

The Ottawas were then living on Manitoulin Island, Lake Huron. Their enemies, the Iroquois of New York, often made war with them. Once, in the dead of winter, the Ottawas were having a great jubilee and war dances, on Manitoulin island, to celebrate their victory over the Winnebagoes of Ouisconsin, when the Iroquois swept down upon them and annihilated all but two. These two, a young man and maiden escaped, and traveled over the ice to Michilimackinac island with inverted snow shoes. That was done to prevent their tracks being followed. They made their hiding place in the natural caves of the island. They selected the wildest part of the forest and lived in seclusion. They were occasionally seen, and in time they raised a family of ten children, all boys. One winter the whole family vanished in some mysterious way. Ever since the Ottawas and Chippewas have called them "Paw-gwa-tchaw-nish-naw-bay," "Wild, roaming, supernatural being." To this day they are in existence, roaming in the wildest parts of the island and on the mainland they can be seen or unseen, just as they, as spirits, please. Sometimes they will throw a stone or a war club at a person walking in a lonely place, at other times they will throw at your dog and set him to barking with fright. Again, they will in day or night, throw clubs at a lodge in a lonely place and have been heard walking around the wigwam. They have been tracked over the snow by hunters, but never overtaken. An Indian or hunter walking or hunting alone will apprehend some great evil and be seized with unearthly fright that makes him shiver from head to feet, and the hairs on his head stand up like porcupine quills.

*For particulars refer to the story of Alexander Henry in Mackinac, formerly Michilimackinac.



OFFICERS STONE QUARTERS.

You are benumbed with terror by these spirits, the sensation is so awful. But they never harm any one.

When an Indian recovers from the spell he generally exclaims, "Pshaw! there is nothing to fear; it is Paw-gwa-tchaw-nish-naw-bay approaching me; he wants something." Then they leave tobacco, powder, or something else that the spirits fancy when in the flesh in their tracks. If they appear and talk to you they always begin with the sad tale of the catastrophe on the island of Michilimackinac, and whoever is so fortunate as to see and talk to them always becomes prophet to his people.

If you are imaginative and seek these lonely woods and caves alone, and the proper spell comes over you, perhaps you may see these spirit fairies face to face and learn of them their tragic fate. Therefore, according to understood traditions, the tribal name of these people was *"Michine-macki-naw-go,"* which is to this day a monument to their existence. The Ottawas and Chippewas named the little island *"Mi-shi-ne-macki-nong,"* in memorial of their former confederates. It is the vocative case of the Indian noun, *"Michine-macki-naw-go,"* and is where the name Michilimackinac originated.

1660. October 15th Father Rene Mesnard, S. J., was at Keweenaw bay, Province of Michilimackinac. It is thought he perished, after an encounter with a bear, which he killed, near the headquarters of Black river, Ouisconsin, about August 10, 1661.

1669. Father Allouez is at the Algonquin mission of Ottawas at La Pointe du Saint Esprit, Lake Superior. That year he went to Quebec and turned over to M. de Courelles some Iroquois captains whom he had redeemed of the Ottawas. Father Claude Dablon was sent to the Superior missions and Allouez went to Sault Ste. Marie and remained until November 5, 1669. He then departed for Green bay (Baie des Preants) by way of the Straits of Michilimackinac, arriving December 2, 1669. Many Hurons and Ottawas, after the Georgian bay massacre, December 2, 1649, fled beyond the straits to the large islands and bays at the head of Lake Superior. Subsequently they were joined by Father James Marquette at the Mission of La Pointe du Esprit. They cultivated fields of Indian corn, tobacco, and northern products, and their clearings were extensive. Not content with rural pursuits, their young men encountered the Sioux and were repulsed by those Tartars of the plains. Defeated, they again fled to the Island of Michilimackinac and the region of the straits. Marquette followed and was on the island the winter of 1669, where, with Dablon, "they began the mission of St. Ignace." That mission was firmly started on the north shore of the straits in 1671, Father Marquette in charge, under Dablon. A rude chapel had been built in 1669. Lands were cleared "three leagues around their villages and perfectly well cultivated," and Huron and Ottawa palisade forts built for protection. From 6,000 to 8,000 Indians were gathered about the mission. Here, 1763 the first Fort Michilimackinac, in the province of that name, was established, and garrisoned by 200 French soldiers. It was the most important point in Canada, the center of the fur trade, and the Straits were "the home of the fishes." The outlines of the fort are visible to this day, and helped to verify the position of Marquette's grave.

1671. A treaty was concluded, "Process Verbal," with the many tribes of Indians assembled at Sainte Mary du Sault, which placed them under the protection of the king of France. Had that treaty been continued any length of time it would have made the French domain permanent in North America.

1673. Marquette wrote, when he with Joliet left to explore the Mississippi: "It was on the 17th of May, 1763, that we started from the Mission of St. Ignatius, at Michilimackinac, where I then was." Returning from the discovery, Marquette died May 19, 1675, and was buried at the mouth of the little river that bears his

name. Two years after the Kiskakon band of Ottawas and a number of Iroquois disinterred the remains, cleaned his bones, inclosed them in a neat birch-bark "*mocock*," and conveyed them to the mission of St. Ignace. Here they were deposited June 9, 1677, with funeral honors, in the little vault under the altar of the church. There he now reposes, the "guardian angel of the Ottawa missions," opposite the beautiful island of Michilimackinac, "the birthplace of Michabow, the Indian God of Waters," the home of the "*Great Manitou*," and of the "spirits," whom the Indians delighted to worship. That church was burned by the Jesuits in 1705, when they got discouraged and moved to Quebec. May 4, 1877, the foundations of the old church were discovered at St. Ignace de Michilimackinac, and September 3, 1877, by careful excavation, a part of the charred remains of Marquette, in the vault, with a much decayed bark casket. There is now a plain monument over the site of the grave. When Detroit was settled, in 1701, Cadillac withdrew the troops to that post; many Indians and French, but not all, removed. Fort Michilimackinac was regarrisoned in 1714, but had much declined. Father Charlevoix visited Michilimackinac (St. Ignace) June 28, 1721, and wrote: "The fort is preserved and the house of the missions;" the church was not mentioned.

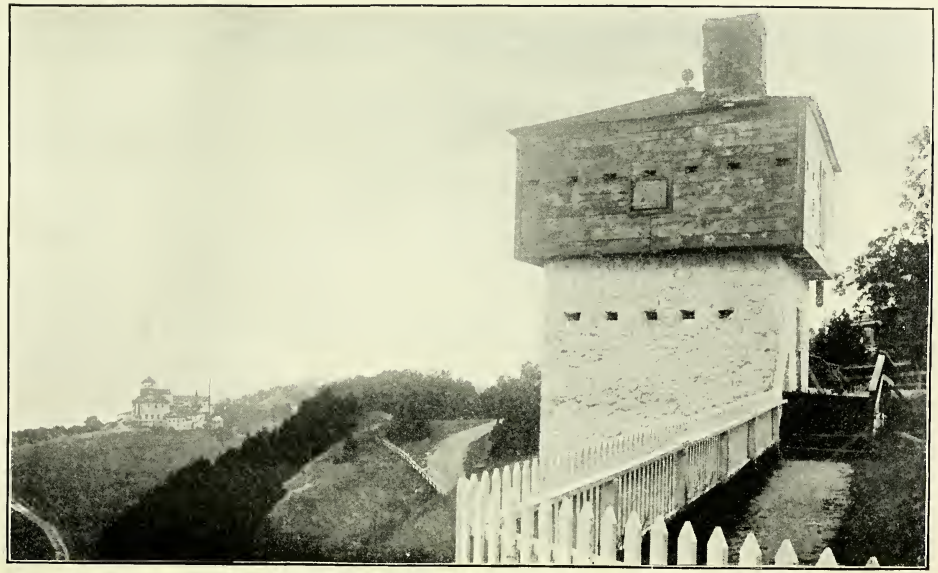
1721. Subsequently the fort and the mission were established at South Michilimackinac (the date has not been determined), Mackinaw City, where the railroads of the southern peninsula now terminate. The movement to that site must have been gradual up to 1760, when Canada, resulting from the victory before Quebec, was transferred to the British crown.

There were frequent encounters from 1684 to 1760, between the British and French and their Indian allies, also disputes between the governors of New York and Canada about their boundaries. After the transfer of Canada, in 1760, and the forts, including the second Fort Michilimackinac on the south side of the straits, in 1761 the Indians did not take kindly to British rule. The conspiracy of Pontiac followed. Eleven forts along the line were to be attacked, on the same day, among them the one in the wilderness on the Straits of Michilimackinac. That happened on the birthday of King George III, June 4, 1763. The garrison of three officers and 90 men were surprised during a game of bag-gat-iway, part of the command and English traders scalped alive and butchered, except Alexander Henry, who escaped, but the French were not molested.*

1764. The year following the post was regarrisoned by a detachment of troops sent by Lt. Col. Bradstreet, under Capt. Howard. The fur trade was resumed and the post and mission remained until 1780.

1780. During that year the garrison and settlement were transferred to Michilimackinac island, where, November 4, 1780, Lt. Governor Pat. Sinclair moved his headquarters. In a letter to Capt. Sinclair, August 21, 1780, Gov. General Fred Haldimand wrote: "It is however, my desire that the post, although moved to the island, may still be called Michilimackinac, and the fort styled *Fort Mackinac*." This, then, is the third post of Michilimackinac. It is more secure than the one on the mainland from attacks by the fleet of the rebel colonists. The three blockhouses, arched stone magazine, stone walls, stockade, necessary buildings, and foundation, and walls of the stone quarters were mainly completed within three years. The ditch about the fort was never finished, and the stone quarters were not completed for some years after. That position, commanded by Fort George (Holmes) and hill, was only tenable against Indians. But of the island, Lt. Col. McDonall wrote, May 2, 1815, "I am prostrated with grief at the restoration of this fine island—a fortress built by nature for herself." There is a copy of the Indian deed of Michilimackinac Island, May 12, 1781, through Gen. Fred Haldimand

*Henry's Travel, etc., p. 107.



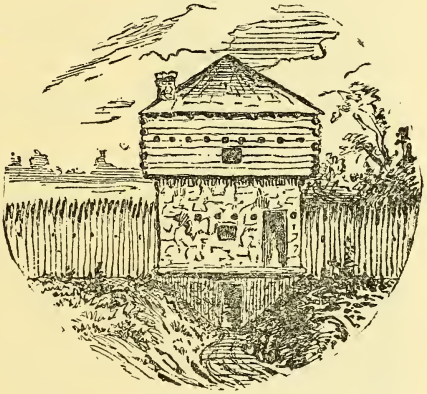
WEST BLOCK HOUSE, FORT MACKINAC, BUILT BY THE BRITISH, 1780–1895.

and Lt. Gov. Sinclair to George III., King, etc., for £5,000 New York currency, published in your records.

1783. Michilimackinac island and fort was transferred to the United States, through George III., by treaty, but possession was retained until October, 1796. The post was then occupied by the command of Major Burbank, U. S. Artillerists and Engineers.

1812. On the morning of July 17, 1812, the island was captured by British troops, with Canadians and Indians, commanded by Capt. Charles Roberts from St. Joseph's island, St. Mary's river, who first informed Lt. Hanks, U. S. Artillery, Commanding, that war had been declared. Not a gun was fired by our troops. Surrender was the best policy to avoid a general massacre.

1814. A joint United States land and naval expedition, under Col. Croghan and Capt. Arthur Sinclair, attempted to recapture the island. August 4, 1814, they were repulsed by the British and Indians, under Col. Robert McDonall, and retreated to



EAST BLOCK HOUSE, 1780.

their shipping. Major Holmes was killed and 12 privates, 3 officers, and 48 men wounded, and two missing. This was the battle of Michilimackinac, where the fates were against the United States forces.

1809. The American Fur Company was chartered in New York State, John Jacob Astor being president and principal shareholder. The capital was $1,000,000; subsequently at different times, the North West Fur Company, Mackinac Company, and South West Fur Company were bought up, and in 1815 American Fur Company re-established.

About 1817-18 more active operations began. William Mathews, agent of the company in Montreal, procured the clerks, *voyageurs*, and outfits. Gurdon S. Hubbard was one of the clerks employed for five years, salary $120 per year and board. Ramsey Crooks and Robert Stewart were managers on the Island of Mackinac.

Besides the garrison of Fort Mackinac, the population was about 500, mostly Canadians and mixed-blood Indians. In summer the traders employed by the Fur Company congregated with their collections from various parts that extended from the British dominion north, beyond the Missouri and Ohio rivers south, in fact all

the Indian hunting grounds, to the Pacific ocean. These, when collected, added more than 3,000 to the population; also the Indians assembled, for trade and annuities were often 3,000 to 4,000 more. Their wigwams lined the beach, two or three rows deep, from beyond the Arch Rock, east to Lover's Leap, west, three miles or more.

1834. Mr. Astor transferred his interests to Ramsey Crooks and associates, who continued the business until 1842, when the offices of the company were closed.

The Fur Company's buildings cost $50,000, and $3,000,000 worth of merchandise was annually exchanged in the Indian country for furs. Besides, the government paid Indian annunities and for support of troops $1,000,000 more.

With closure of the fur trade the fisheries became prominent and remunerative, and the catch of salted fish some years sold for $1,000,000. But the fish are fast being exterminated by trap and pound nets, and nothing but international legislation or agreement can prevent their total extinction. Now Mackinac island is one of the famous health resorts of the world, with a summer population greater than the Fur Company had in its palmiest days. It is a city of the fourth class, closely connected by ferries, with the railway lines of both peninsulas, and has a system of water works, sewerage, and electric lights unsurpassed; also local and long-distance telephones, and telegraph lines to all points.

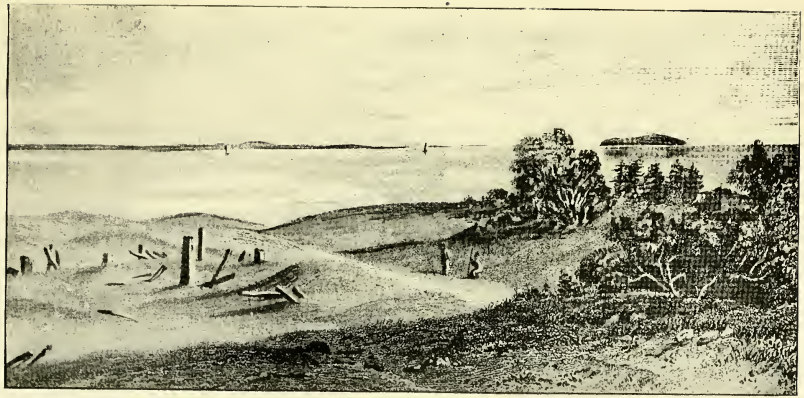
The Province was long ago dissolved, and the immense county under Britain and the United States has been carved and shorn of its magnificent proportions down to its present area.

1875. March 3rd Congress passed the Mackinac Island National Park Bill, and the commanding officer of Fort Mackinac was *Ex-officio* Superintendent. March 3, 1895, a proviso in the Sundry Civil Bill caused the park, fort and military reservation to be transferred to the State of Michigan, for a State park, and for no other purpose.

1897. March 31st the Michigan legislature passed a joint resolution that provided for restoring Fort Mackinac and reservation to the United States.

If under French and British regime, and this nation up to 1895, the possession of the Island of Mackinac and its fortification, has been deemed so important, why should a continuance of its occupation be considered useless? A strategic point once selected, on any commercial highway, must so long as there is any necessity for an army and navy, for foreign or local defense, always remain. More vessels of every class, with a greater tonnage and larger value, annually, pass through the straits and by ferry across them, than in any channel of the known world. Assuming there is no longer any danger from Great Britain, as our differences are settled by arbitration, suppose in time of peace and fancied security there should arise an insurrection, riot, rebellion, or a band of robbers should invade these channels in an armed vessel, and any of said parties hold the position for two or three days, interrupt navigation, and stop the railway ferries? They could destroy floating property and lives, levy contribution and interrupt railway connections that would cost this government more than it would to hold the fort a hundred years. A small garrison, with two or three properly mounted disappearing guns, and a gunboat well armed to rendezvous in the harbor, and patrol the waters, would be ample security, at comparatively little cost.

When better fields are being set off as National parks and reservations, that help to perpetuate the memories of civil strife, why not regarrison the old fort, on the historic island, where battles were fought with a foreign foe? This is an island named by the savages, and whose settlement by the whites is almost coincident with the discovery of this continent; where the soldiers of three great nations have proudly marched over its sacred soil, and on the shores of the straits their flags have triumphantly waved.



SKETCH FROM SCHOOLCRAFT, 1820. SITE OF FORT MICHILIMACKINAC ON SOUTH SIDE OF STRAITS.

THE JESUITS IN MICHIGAN.

BY JOHN E. DAY.*

The purpose of this paper is not to add—if that were possible—anything to what history has handed down to us about the Jesuits, but to ask and answer as briefly as we can three questions: Who were the Jesuits? What was their purpose in the north-west? What did they accomplish?

At the commencement of the sixteenth century there was in Spain a man whose name was Ignatius Loyola, or more precisely, Ignatius of Loyola, the latter being the name of his estate, a person of considerable distinction in wealth and social position. Educated as a soldier, he fought in the battle of Pompeluna, was severely wounded and taken prisoner by the French and suffered a long and tedious confinement in hospital and in prison. While thus confined, his thoughts were turned from a martial to a religious career. The idea of a truly religious life then prevailing among the priesthood of the Catholic church was an idea of exclusion from the world. They held that, in order to lead a pure life, one must withdraw from society and retire to some cloister, back in the mountains, and so conquer the world by evading contact with it. Thus a life of self-abnegation, meditation, and penance was the highest type of the religion of that time. Loyola thought differently. An active Christianity was the only kind that appealed to his active mind. He would achieve purity of life by meeting evil in all its forms and vanquishing it in open combat. When released from prison, though crippled and deformed, his intellectual and spiritual strength seemed to increase as his physical power relaxed, and the reform of the church became the ruling spirit of his life. Friends and sympathizers gathered about him, and the movement assumed a tangible form in the order of "the Society of Jesus," shortened to Jesus-ites and finally to Jesuits. But this order could not thrive without the papal blessing. In 1545 Loyola appealed to the Pope for his sanction, which was withheld through fear that the new order might oppose the old church; but on the representation that the Jesuits would occupy themselves mostly in the new world, among the savages of America, Pope Paul granted the request and bestowed the papal blessing. At this time the world was filled with the spirit of adventure and discovery.

The Scandinavian, the German, the Spanish, the French, and the English were deeply engaged in the work of planting and nurturing colonies in newly discovered America. England and Germany along the Atlantic coast, France to the northwest, and Spain to the south, and thus it happened that many a wild dream of conquest and empire found a partial fulfillment, or utter failure in the forests and plains of the new world. The Spaniards, in search of this Eldorado, followed the Atlantic coast to the south, seeking a climate like that of their own land, found their way across the equator, across the tropics to the south temperate zone, and made Paraguay the center of their diocese and gathered their converts there.

Meanwhile the new order had spread into France, and as she had vast possessions in America, and was active in the work of exploration and colonization, the French Jesuits sought to establish branches of the new order in the northwest. Samuel de

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Champlain, founder of Quebec, following in the footsteps of Cartier, who 50 years before had made an unsuccessful effort to establish a permanent settlement in Canada, entered the mouth of the Saint Lawrence river and followed its course to the Ottawa, thence to the country of the Hurons, in 1615, noting their ignorance and degradation, was induced to bring with him a number of the Jesuit fathers, some of whom assisted him in his warfare against the Indians. While thus engaged with the Hurons against the Iroquois, he was wounded and was forced to spend a winter in the lodges of the Hurons. In this way he became familiar with their needs and learned their language. From this time till the day of his death he was engrossed with their spiritual welfare, and it was the ambition of his life to bring some of these savages to a knowledge of the religion of the Jesuits. A mission was established at St. Joseph, in the country of the Hurons, including 15 ecclesiastics, houses were built, fields were planted, a college was begun, when death brought all his plans to a sudden end. Champlain, like Loyola, began as a soldier but ended a missionary.

After the death of Champlain, Joseph Chaumonot spent many years among the Hurons with equal zeal and labor. It was he who gave to them their name, Huron. Before this they were "Yandots" from whom the Wyandots sprang. These "Yandots" had a way of face decoration, and of arranging the hair, so as to make them appear exceedingly frightful; and the French exclaimed, "Quelles Hures," and they caught the name Hurons. Chaumonot composed a grammar of the Huron language, and, according to Charlevoix, did many other things for the benefit of the tribe. Peter Chardon also spent many years among the Indians of and about Michigan, and, becoming familiar with the languages of nearly all the tribes, made an unsuccessful effort to unify them and mould them into one common language.

Father Charlevoix was the literary man of the time. He seems to have been an animated diary of passing events. While working with a zeal equal to any of the rest, he kept a record of all things worthy of note. He passed through the straits and down Lake Michigan in 1720, thence to the Mississippi and down to New Orleans, establishing various missions on the way.

The first mission established in what is now Michigan was on one of the Madeline islands in Lake Superior at La Pointe. In 1665 Father Allouez, a Jesuit living near Quebec, learned that there was in the "Big Sea" a group of islands where all the tribes met on neutral ground and on familiar terms, to spend the summer in fishing and hunting, and he at once concluded that this would be a favorable place for him to plant a mission, for his subjects being in a peaceful mood, would be more disposed to receive the gospel of peace than when hearing the war-whoop, or in sight of the war paint. With the help of friendly Indians a mission house was erected and the mission received the name "La Pointe Saint Esprit," the mission of the Holy Ghost. These islands of Madeline were a sort of summer resort to all the tribes except the Iroquois, and were of course more frequented in summer but never wholly deserted. Allouez labored here many years, the only white man in a circle of hundreds of miles. At last two others, Father Nicholas and Father Dablon, joined him. Father Marquette was here in 1669 and from here started on the search of the Mississippi river. Father Mesnard was here about the same time, and Father Henepin in 1680. Then for a century the place was deserted and the buildings in the meantime destroyed. In 1781 Father Portier made some attempt to renew the mission, with but meagre success. In 1835 Father Baraga revived the mission, and it is now maintained by the fathers of the Franciscan order. The early Jesuits entered the territory of the northwest by way of the St. Lawrence river, to the Ottawa, thence to Lake Superior, avoiding the falls, and thence to the lower lakes. Attention had been called before this to the prospect that some where on this highway of waters, an extensive trading post would be built, and that at such a point would be

the most favorable place to establish a mission. With this thought in mind, Father Marquette, in 1664, visited Michilimackinac and planted the Jesuit cross. The mission house, the fort, and palisade, and the outside fringe of French cabins and Indian huts soon became evident. Just here let me say that two of these fathers last mentioned deserve a more extended notice first, because we as pioneers of Michigan have a greater interest in them, and also because of the virtues which adorned their characters—Marquette and Baraga. The Indian tradition of the former describes him as a very beautiful man, mild in manner yet full of zeal, and a face lighted up with spirituality. The same tradition states that he died at the mission of Saint Ignace, which he had established, in the midst of his Indian converts, worn out with privation and exposure, but with a smile of triumph on his face. Two hundred years later, in 1876, a Jesuit missionary learned the facts of his death at this mission, and after a great deal of search, an elaborately made box of birch wood was exhumed in a fair state of preservation and in it were found the bones of a human body, supposed to be that of Father Marquette. These bones were divided, and Marquette College, of Milwaukee, has a portion and a Jesuit college in St. Louis has the other portion, each held as sacred relics.

Baraga was an Austrian, who left the city of Vienna immediately after his ordination and came to America for the purpose of laboring among the Indians. His first work was at Arbre Croche, now Harbor Springs, where he labored with great zeal amidst untold hardships, and succeeding in baptizing 461. From here he went to a mission near the present city of Grand Rapids, where he remained a year and a half, baptizing 170. From here he went to La Pointe. His life here may be summed up thus—hardships and privations without number, often times fish and poor bread his only food, giving almost everything to the poor and improvident Indian, teaching, traveling, visiting the sick, making books in the Indian language—he thus gained the title of "Apostle to the Chippewa and Ottawa tribes." In 1845 he left La Pointe and went to L'Anse, engaging in similar work even after he was raised, in 1853, to episcopal honors. At this place he made a dictionary of the Chippewa language, which marked him foremost among Indian scholars. He died at L'Anse in 1868, mourned by all who knew him.

Three other missions were established about 1664, Green Bay, Sault St. Marie, and St. Joseph, and in 1701 Cadillac visited the Strait of Detroit and founded that mission which was the beginning of that city.

Now, if we hold these men up to view, we are reminded of the famous three-sided shield, in which one could see just that face that was apparent in his mind while looking. Is it self-denial and devotion? There are abundant proofs of it. Is it courage and endurance? They are equally evident. Faith and religious zeal? We shall not look in vain. Even the martyr's glory is theirs in many instances. Jogues was stabbed by professed friends while on his rounds of missionary work, Chaumonot went out in the wilderness to minister to the sick and dying, and his cloak and his breviary were all that ever returned. But we can see also bigotry, priestcraft, deception, and ignorance. We can see the worship of a form and a symbol, and the neglect of the vital substance of true religion. We of to-day smile at the thought that the finger of a priest dipped in water and touched to the head of an unconscious subject would check the influence of Satan and start the soul of such a subject on the true path to glory; yet such was their faith in the priestly office, and such their practice. But what was the underlying purpose of it all? First, exploration for the purpose of colonization. France had large possessions in the north; Spain practically owned the south; and England from the east was encroaching on both. Now, if Jesuit influence could be used to prejudice the Indians against the English there would be great gain. Furthermore, every new colony planted in the north strengthened the power of France. Second, the spread of the

dominion of the Pope. To this all their teaching tended. Like the roads to Rome, all tended to this center; and it was this that at last, in spite of their zeal, devotion, and courage, wrought their downfall. The heart of their teaching and practice was the absolute and unquestioned supremacy of the spiritual over the secular authority. The Pope's word was to be final and without appeal. The fruit of this teaching was seen at Acadia. The Jesuits taught the people that, although the French power was overthrown and the British had won in the strife for supremacy, yet their allegiance was to the Pope, and to him only—that allegiance to England meant disloyalty to Rome and the loss of their souls. The people promised to be strictly non-combatant, but England would not be satisfied with this, and her treatment of the Acadians made some of the darkest pages in her history. The result of the Jesuit teaching would be the subversion of all governments and the establishment of a universal hierarchy, and the nations began to feel alarm.

James I. excluded them from his dominions as early as 1604, Venice 1606, Portugal 1759, France 1764, Spain 1767, and Pope Clement XIV. 1773. Yet notwithstanding these repeated edicts of excommunication, they prospered in the old countries and in America. You might as well try to stop the growth and spread of Canada thistles by pasting a proclamation against them on a fence corner in the field. A third purpose was the conversion of the Indian. There is no doubt but some such men as Champlain and Marquette and Charlevoix planned and wrought with this object in view, and their zeal and sacrifice deserved a greater measure of success. But with most, the Indian was used only as a tool to aid the Pope against the Protestant. Did these Jesuits seek to establish a papal empire in America? Perhaps, and why not? England was pushing her civilization from the Atlantic far into the wilderness. France and Spain, while with one hand they strove to hold England in check, they were with the other opening the south and the west, that their soldiers and their citizens might enter. If the See at Rome offered the best of all governments—as they taught—why should they not spread its influence abroad? There is evidence, though it must be confessed not entirely conclusive that Loyola cherished the plan of some day erecting a government at Paraguay, that should embrace all the Indians and the Spanish and French in America, sufficiently strong to overcome the Protestant element and drive out the English from the country. To this end an effort was made to mould into one dialect the languages of the various tribes, and make it the language of the new empire. Charlevoix wrote a history of Paraguay in which the plan is outlined.

What was the result of the Jesuit efforts? The first result to the religious world was the grand awakening. It was the rosy gleam of morning, which broke upon the darkness of the middle ages—the sign that a better day was at hand. Parkman has said: "It was an evil day for Protestantism when a French artillery man fired the shot that struck down Ignatius Loyola" for that shot turned a soldier into a reformer. It would have been a far greater calamity had the plans of Loyola been allowed to succeed. That shot awoke the echoes of a world-wide reformation; for it was not alone in the Catholic church the awakening was felt. Loyola was born in 1491; Martin Luther was eight years older.

The first Jesuit society was formed in 1534. Ten years before this Luther had stood before the Diet at Worms and declared his thesis that set in motion the wheels of the great reformation. Luther died 1546, Loyola ten years later. Note how the two lives and their current events ran side by side. Another result was the opening of the wilderness to the advance of a better civilization. In this they were pioneers. In this their endurance served our State and the great northwest a wonderful purpose. Penetrating to places almost inaccessible, they established forts and trading posts, which in turn gave place to the farm, the village, or the city. In this they are entitled to our gratitude. Again, the Jesuit leaders

gave to the Indian the first taste of the sweets of civilized life. They taught the Indians how to erect houses and live in them. They showed them how to cultivate the soil, and how to plant trees for fruit, and to provide for a day of future need. They classified their language, and taught them the authority of law. It was a preparatory work. They were the "John the Baptists" of their time, and made it easier for those who followed to gain the confidence of the Indians. Their confessed failure to convert the Indian admits of explanation. First, the Indian hadn't time to be converted. Between the French on one side, and the English on the other, and their Indian foes between times, the poor Indian had reason for greater alarm for the safety of his scalp than for that of his soul. The hunt for enemies and food took all his time. Then the life to which the Jesuit would lead them was so utterly at variance with the one their inclinations and their ancestors had taught them that they could not accept it. They taught a life of work. The Indian wanted a life of leisure. They taught the elevation of the wife. The Indian regarded her only like his pony, a bearer of his burdens. Again they taught a future life of spirituality, while he was entirely materialistic and regarded his dog and his gun as things not to be omitted from his view of the future life. But it must be confessed that the Protestants under more favorable circumstances have been only a little more successful. We have given them lessons in peace and self-control, and have emphasized the lessons with the musket and the bottle. We have stolen their birthright and robbed them of their glory, and have flattered them with promises never kept. And as a sedative to our conscience we have gathered a few of them on farms and in schools, and tried, with but scant success, to make of them something nature never intended them to become. One thing more the Jesuites have done; they have always been the firm patrons of a high standard of education. Schools were among their first institutions, and their colleges and seminaries have been sought for their superior advantages by Protestants as well as Catholics. The Jesuits have left their impress upon our civilization, and their names upon the pages of our geographies. We have a Champlain, a Marquette, a LaSalle, a Charlevoix, a Joliette, a Henepin, a Baraga, and a Cadillac, and thus so long as Michigan and the great Northwest have a history, a civilization, and a geography, the Jesuits will not be forgotten, or thanklessly remembered.

EAST TENNESSEE CAMPAIGN AND SIEGE OF KNOXVILLE.

BY BYRON M. CUTCHEON.*

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

The following paper on the siege of Knoxville, East Tennessee, November, 1863, constitute chapters XII and XIII, of the unpublished history of the 20th Michigan Infantry, prepared by General Byron M. Cutcheon, historian of the regiment, who commanded the regiment during the operations described.

This regiment was recruited in the old third Michigan congressional district, then composed of Washtenaw, Jackson, Calhoun, Eaton, and Ingham counties. The companies came from Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor, Chelsea, Grass Lake, Parma, Battle Creek, Marshall, Eaton Rapids, and Lansing. The first colonel (A. W. Williams), and the lieutenant colonel (W. Huntington Smith), were from Lansing. General Cutcheon went out as captain of the Ypsilanti company. As indicated in the paper, he was an active participant in the scenes and actions described. The paper opens on the morning of November 17, 1863, the day following the battle of Campbells' Station.

SIEGE OF KNOXVILLE. FORT SANDERS.

November 17-November 29.

If it were put to a vote of the living members of the 20th Michigan which was the hardest day's march in their whole history, it is probable that a majority would say it was that from Lenoir Station to Knoxville, November 16 and 17, 1863. The distance of 24 miles was made in a little less than 24 hours, and during that time the regiment was under fire nearly eight hours, and from 10 to 12 o'clock engaged in a desperate struggle with a force of nearly or quite ten times their own, equipped with artillery, and accompanied by a force of cavalry so immensely superior to ours that we were in constant danger of being out-flanked and our retreat cut off.

As indicated in the last chapter, the condition of the roads was such as to make them almost impassable, and to add to the difficulty, the night of the 16th was intensely dark, and every little stream was swollen beyond its usual stage. This was the third night that the men had been practically without sleep.

At Huff's Ferry and at Lenoir they had not been permitted to lay aside knapsacks or arms, and on the march from Campbell's Station to Knoxville, they were not allowed to fall out of the ranks. If they slept at all they slept standing in the

*Byron M. Cutcheon, the son of Rev. James M. and Hannah Tripp Cutcheon, was born at Pembroke, N. H., May 11, 1836. He is of Scotch-Irish descent, the name being originally McCutcheon. Both branches of his ancestors served in the revolutionary war. He attended school in Pembroke, and then went to the Ypsilanti Seminary in 1858. He studied and taught, graduating from the University of Michigan in 1861 with the degree of A. B., and in 1866 he added to this the degrees of LL. B. and A. M. He resigned his position as principal of the Ypsilanti Union Seminary in 1861, to enter the 20th Michigan Infantry, in which he was made second lieutenant and captain in July, 1862, and was successively promoted until he became brigadier general in 1865. He took an active part in many battles and was twice wounded at Spottsylvania, Va., May 10, 1864. After an honorable discharge, he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1866, and began the practice of his profession in Ionia, removing to Manistee in 1867, and going to Congress from this district in 1882. In 1891 he moved to Grand Rapids, and continued the practice of his profession until 1901. He has held many official positions, and acquitted himself with great credit in all. He is a member of a number of organizations and is a ready writer and speaker, and several of his speeches and addresses have been widely circulated. General Cutcheon was married in 1863 to Miss M. A. Warner of Dexter, Mich., and they had six children, five of whom are living, occupying positions of trust.

fence corners. Then, too, they had no rations except such as they took in their haversacks on leaving Lenoir's on the morning of the 14th, or such as they saved from the train on the morning of the 16th. When, therefore, the brigade climbed the hill on which the fort, afterward named Fort Sanders, stood, they were about as completely exhausted as any body of troops could be. When the word was passed along the column that the men would be permitted to rest for a time, most of them simply unrolled their blankets where they stood and lay down, and inside of five minutes were sleeping the sleep of exhaustion. About two hours later, when we were awakened, the sun was up, and the troops were moving into position around Knoxville. The town was situated on the north, or northwest bank of the Holston river, and surrounded by a series of commanding hills, making the place highly defensible. Three small streams, known as First creek, Second creek, and Third creek, flow from the northwest in a generally parallel direction into the Holston, one through the town, one in the west edge of town, and a third creek a third of a mile toward Loudon. The Loudon or Kingston road enters the town from the southwest on a line nearly parallel with the river. As it approaches the town it rises over a prominent ridge between Second and Third creeks, known as "White's Hill," the most commanding portion of this hill being on the north side of the road. Four or five hundred yards farther east, between the road and the river, was "College Hill," crowned with the college buildings, around which a redoubt had been thrown up for artillery.

The engineers, under the direction of Capt. O. M. Poe, chief engineer on Gen. Burnside's staff, had in advance located a line of works following the line of College Hill, White's Hill, and the ridge connecting it with another high hill near the railroad station, known as "Temperance Hill."

The most prominent work of defense was a half finished star fort on White's Hill, about 100 to 125 yards north of the Loudon road. This fort, known to us as Fort Sanders, was commenced by the Confederates, and is known in all their reports as Fort Loudon. This fort was the key to the position, sweeping with its guns the space between it and the river, the open slopes and plains in front, and enfilading the front of our line on the right nearly to the round-house and railroad station.

The division marched to the positions assigned, as follows: The first brigade, Col. Morrison commanding, with left resting on Holston river, right extending to Loudon road. Third brigade, Col. William Humphrey commanding, left resting on Loudon road, right extending to a point midway between the fort and the round-house. Second brigade, Col. Christ commanding, right resting on Second creek near railroad station, left connecting with Humphrey's brigade. From a point in front of the fort around to the right of the division, the railroad followed the base of the hills, on a line nearly parallel with the works, or vice versa, the works were parallel with the railroad.

Benjamin's battery of 20-pounder Parrots occupied the west front of the fort, sweeping the Loudon road and around to the northwest, and north to and beyond the Clinton road. Buckley's Rhode Island battery of 12-pounder brass Napoleon guns, occupied the rear face of the fort, commanding the valley in rear of White's Hill as well as College Hill, and enfilading the front of Col. Morrison's line.

One section of Roemer's battery was placed in lunettes, or semi-circular redoubts, immediately on the right of the fort, sweeping the slope of the hill in front of Fort Sanders, and enfilading the space between the works and the railroad, on our right.

Along this line, on the morning of the 17th, every man who could be provided with a pick, a shovel, or a spade, was set at work to prepare for the defense. All day they worked like beavers, and by night had a pretty good line of entrenchments. The regiments were posted as follows: 100th Penn. between Loudon road and

Fort; 20th Mich. two companies in the unfinished north part of the fort and the rest on the immediate right, on the left of, and in front of, Roemer's guns, and connecting with the 17th and 2d on the right.

Toward evening of the 17th the enemy began to make his appearance on the Loudon road, and moving columns toward our right along a ridge about 1,000 yards west of our line. On the morning of the 18th Gen. William P. Sanders, with his brigade of cavalry, was holding the Loudon road at the Armstrong house, a large brick residence with a conspicuous tower, on a prominent rise of ground about a mile from the fort. Here he was attacked by the enemy's infantry in force, and forced back from the Armstrong house; but soon afterward rallied a part of his forces on a nearer hill, where, during that afternoon, he fell, mortally wounded, at the head of his troops. This fight was within plain sight from the fort where we were stationed, and which from that day took his name as Fort Sanders. Gen. Sanders was a most gallant officer, and had recently been promoted to brigadier general. He was a classmate at West Point of our old commander, Gen. O. M. Poe. That evening our cavalry, on the north side of the river, fell back within the lines of the fortification, and the investment was begun. On the evening of the 20th the 17th Michigan made a sortie and drove out a rebel picket from a brick house on the north side of the Loudon road, about 800 yards in front of Fort Sanders, and burned the buildings. The light of the burning buildings disclosed their position, and while they were returning to the line the enemy shelled them vigorously, with the result that Lieutenant Billingsly and one other were killed and four wounded. This unfortunate event happened when the regiment was almost within its own lines.

During the following days the 20th Michigan constructed a new line of breastworks farther back on the crest of the hill, and moved back, filling up the old rifle pits. On the 21st it rained hard all day, and the new pits were converted into mud-holes. On the 23d we discovered that during the preceding night the enemy had run a rifle pit from a piece of woods beyond the railroad on our left front, out into the open field which lay directly in front of the fort, and just beyond the railroad track. Brush or bushes from the woods had been set up along the top of the parapet of the rifle pit, and from behind this screen the rebel sharpshooters commenced firing upon every one seen moving in the fort or behind our works. Gen. Ferrero determined to dislodge these sharpshooters, and ordered Col. Humphrey, as soon as it was daylight on the 24th, to send a regiment to take and hold the pit. Col. Humphrey selected the 2d Michigan, commanded by Maj. C. Byington. At about 7 o'clock in the morning of the 24th, the 2d Michigan moved out of our breastworks and formed in the railroad cut, directly in front of the line of the 20th, our skirmishers being ordered to support the movement. The 2d charged across the field in most gallant style, but the men began to fall the moment they started from the railroad.

It was a thrilling sight to see the brave men go forward in the face of almost certain destruction. They charged about 300 yards and threw themselves upon the enemy's rifle pit, but instantly found themselves enfiladed by a furious fire from the woods on the left. They held on for about 30 minutes, when all that were left of them fell back to the railroad, having lost almost one-half their number, including Maj. Byington, mortally wounded; Adjt. Noble, killed; and three other officers wounded. The total loss was 86 in killed, wounded and prisoners.

Wednesday, November 25th, the enemy attacked some of our works on the summit of a high hill on the south side of the river, in plain view from our position, and about 2,000 yards from Fort Sanders. While Capt. W. D. Wiltsie of Company H was watching the progress of this fight through a field-glass, standing near the regimental headquarters, he was picked off by a rebel sharpshooter from the woods

on our left front. The bullet entered his body near the spine, and produced paralysis of the lower part of the body and legs. He was carried to the Court House hospital where he died on the night of the 27th, meeting his fate with most heroic fortitude. Capt. Wiltsie was one of the most valuable officers of the regiment. His death was a great loss to the command and to the service.

The following is copied from the diary of Lieutenant (afterward Captain) McCollum, who succeeded him: "The captain felt from the first that he had received a mortal wound. He regretted that it was not his privilege to die on the field instead of being cut down in such a murderous way. He exhibited remarkable coolness and self-possession. He entrusted me with his effects, and instructed me in regard to the settlement of his accounts. He wished his son to have his sword and with it to fight for his country, were it ever assailed by traitors."

There was no more heroic or manly death in the history of the regiment than that of Capt. Wiltsie. On the same evening Lieut. Col. L. L. Comstock, commanding the 17th Michigan, next on our right, was also shot by a long-range sharpshooter, and mortally wounded. He died the same night. Thus each of the three Michigan regiments lost its commanding officer. Byington of the 2d on the 24th; Comstock of the 17th on the 25th; and Smith of the 20th on the 16th.

It was evident from the movements of the enemy on the 26th and 27th, by their posting of batteries on the south side, and other indications, that the crisis of the siege was near at hand, and that an assault might be expected any day. It was expected that the assault would come at daybreak, and so each morning before dawn the whole command on the line of our division stood to arms in the trenches until it was fully daylight, so that any movement of the enemy would be quickly perceived. But everything remained about as usual until the night of the 28th.

The rounded hill upon which Fort Saunders stood had recently been covered with a growth of timber, mostly second-growth pine, with here and there a large oak tree interspersed. This timber had all been chopped down and the small pines used in making platforms and revetments for the fort, and the principal part of the large oaks utilized in constructing an abatis in front. The fort itself had been laid out by a skillful engineer, and was designed as a star bastioned fort. The south and west parts were well advanced toward completion; the west or southwest bastion was practically complete. A ditch about 10 feet wide and of varying depth, from 4 to 7 feet, surrounded this bastion. The railroad ran at the foot of this hill, and beyond it was the piece of woods before referred to. These woods afforded a good cover for assembling a large body of troops. In front of the fort in the direction of these woods were many small stumps standing, and a quantity of telegraph wire had been run from stump to stump in several concentric lines, so as to form a formidable obstruction to a force attacking in the dark or in the partial light of the early dawn. This was called the "tangle" or "entanglement." At about 10:30 on the night of November 28th (Saturday), our pickets were driven in all along the line in front of the fort from the Loudon (or Kingston) road to the Clinton road, and many of them were taken prisoners. Those not taken fell back to the fort and to the lines on either side. Before midnight a new detail was made and a new picket line established near the foot of the hill, but on the near side of the railroad. On our right, on Col. Christ's front, a number of buildings were burned, which for a time lighted up the scene brilliantly. By midnight matters had quieted down somewhat, but we now felt certain that an attack would be made at dawn. Occasionally the rebel batteries recently planted on the south side of the river would open and fire a few shots, either as siganls or to keep us stirred up.

Before daylight Roemer opened with two of his guns, shelling the woods on our right along the Clinton road, and a shell bursting at the muzzle of one of the guns killed one of our men in Company H and mortally wounded one in Company K.

The night was cold and frosty, and toward morning a heavy white fog settled over all the valleys, reaching almost up to the fort. In the valleys, between the hills and over the low lying hollows, it lay like a vast sea of milk. The day was just dawning, and the light was still struggling with the fog, when up out of the midst on the left front of the fort in the direction of the woods beyond the railroad, came the sound of rapid picket firing, almost smothered in the fog. The firing was followed by a rather feeble yell. From our position on the right we had a very good view of the slope on the west front of the salient, and watching intently in the direction of the firing and yelling, we presently saw a column of rebel troops burst out of the fog, coming on at the double quick, directly toward the completed bastion of the fort. On they came, in column of battallions, line on line, brigade after brigade, with arms at trail, heads down, with little or no yelling; but with a steady tramp, and a low "hep, hep, hep," they came in an apparently irresistible surge toward the west front of Fort Sanders.

The moment they showed out of the fog the fort opened with canister and shrapnel and cut gaps in the advancing column. Still they came on without hesitation or wavering. Presently the leading line struck the wire entaglement, and many of them went down in confusion and disorder. At the same moment the musketry opened from the fort and from the breastworks on the right and left, and added their leaden hail to the deadly work of the artillery. The ground was almost piled with the fallen, and yet the supporting lines pressed forward until the ditch was reached. The assaulting column struck the point where the ditch was widest and deepest, and the parapet highest and most difficult of access. The ditch was filled, the living and the dying mingled together. While this first mass was still struggling in the attempt to reach and scale the parapet, a second column of a brigade, in like formation, rushed up the slope farther to the north and nearer to Roemer's guns. From the position of the left companies of the 20th Michigan, they had an unmolested flank fire into the left flank of the storming column without themselves receiving any considerable fire in return. The moment the assault had developed, Company C of the 20th was ordered into the fort, and went on the double quick to the assaulted salient, where they rendered gallant service in manning the parapets. In vain the assailants sought to climb the parapets; as fast as they showed their heads above the line of fire, they were tumbled into the ditch. In vain their officers sought to drive or persuaded them to renewed attempts. The task was hopeless; and at the end of 45 minutes from the time the first shot was fired, the battle of Fort Sanders was over. No assault was ever more gallantly and persistently delivered; none more completely and decisively repulsed. Three battle flags, 500 stands of arms and 225 unwounded prisoners were among the trophies; 129 killed and 458 wounded added to the measure of the loss of the enemy.

The total loss of our division, during the siege, was 261, of whom 27 were killed, 148 wounded, and 76 missing. The loss of the 20th Michigan was 30, of whom two were killed, 16 wounded, and 12 were captured in the attack on the fort. From the opening of the campaign at Campbell's Station to the raising of the siege of Knoxville, December 5th, the regiment lost 1 officer and 4 men killed; 4 officers and 41 men wounded; and 17 men missing; total 67 out of less than 275 men engaged, or about 25 per cent.

AFTER FORT SANDERS.

November 29-December 5, 1863.

The assault upon, and the defense of, Fort Sanders are among the most heroic as well as the most important events of the war. It was decisive of the campaign in East Tennessee, and completely and permanently severed the connection between Virginia and the Confederate capital on the north, and the great food producing regions of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and the other States west of the Alleghany Mountains, on the south. It also forever settled the status of East Tennessee as a loyal part of the Union, and though Gen. Longstreet lingered around Morristown and Dandridge and in the valley of the French Broad river until the following March, this occupancy was only for the purpose of feeding his troops, and was without important military or political results.

Before leaving the subject of the siege of Knoxville, it seems desirable to speak further of the repulse of the assault upon Fort Sanders, and of the part which the 20th Michigan took therein. The story as given in the last chapter is from the standpoint of one who was on the inside of our works, near the right of the fort, and in the center of the regiment, and who only saw the left flank of the assaulting column as it came on. It really does scant justice to either the attack or the defense. In 1890 was published Vol. XXXI of the official records of the Union and Confederate armies, containing all the official documents relating to the Knoxville campaign, Confederate as well as Federal. From the documents we are now able to know the Confederate side of the attack, as well as the official statements of the Union generals as to the defense.

And *first* it will be well to understand definitely the forces that delivered the assault, and where they were ordered to attack. In General Longstreet's report, at page 461 of the above-named volume, he states: "The assault was made at the appointed time by Generals Wofford's, Humphrey's, and Bryan's brigades." Again he says, at the bottom of page 460: "Gen. Jenkins was ordered to advance a brigade, a little later than the assaulting columns, and to pass the enemy's lines east of the fort and continue the attack along the enemy's rear and flank." This would have brought Jenkins' brigade directly upon the front of the 20th and 17th Michigan regiments, but as a matter of fact, they struck the northwest bastion of the fort, just at the left of the 20th Michigan. Again Gen. Longstreet says, at the top of page 461: "Two brigades of Maj. Gen. Buckner's division, under Brig. Gen. B. R. Johnson, having arrived the day before, were ordered to move in rear of Gen. McLaws and at a convenient distance, to be thrown in as circumstances might require." We see, therefore, that the assault was actually made by three brigades of McLaw's division (Wofford's, Humphrey's and Bryan's), supported by two brigades of Buckner's division under Gen. B. R. Johnson, and further supported on the left by Anderson's brigade of Jenkins' (Hood's old) division; so that the assault was actually delivered by four brigades and supported by two more brigades, all the very flower of the Confederate army.

General Longstreet says on the page last quoted: "When within 500 yards of the fort, I saw some of the men struggling back, and heard that the men could not pass the ditch for the want of ladders or other means. Almost at the same moment I saw that the men were beginning to retire in considerable numbers and very soon the column broke up entirely and fell back in confusion. I ordered Buckner's brigade halted and retired, and sent the order for Anderson's brigade of Hood's division to be halted and retired; but the troops of the latter brigade had become

excited, and pushed up to the same point from which the others had been repulsed, and were soon driven back." We did not realize at the time that this assault by Anderson's brigade was an entirely distinct attack, designed to strike not the fort but the breastwork held by the 20th and 17th Michigan.

Turning to the organization of Longstreet's army, as given at page 451 of the volume referred to, we find that Humphrey's brigade consisted of four Mississippi regiments; Wofford's brigade of four Georgia regiments, together with Cobb's and Philips' legions; Bryan's brigade consisted of four Georgia regiments; while Anderson's brigade of (Hood's division) which assaulted next to our regiment, consisted of the 7th, 8th, 9th, 11th, and 59th Georgia regiments under the direct command of Brig. Gen. Anderson. So it will be seen that the actual assault was made by four brigades of 17 regiments, and two legions, and it was supported by the fire of nearly 30 pieces of artillery.

Maj. Gen. Lafayette McLaws' report of the assault, which assault was made by three brigades of his division, also throws a good deal of light upon this battle. In the same volume, at page 490, after giving an account of the assault and its repulse, he adds: "When it was seen that Wofford's brigade could not mount the parapet, Gen. G. T. Anderson's brigade of Hood's division came rushing to the assault in the same place where my command had attempted it, but was repulsed at once and retired." This makes it certain that there were two assaults, by two columns from different divisions (McLaws' and Hood's), commanded by independent commanding officers; and that both were promptly repulsed. General McLaws thereupon proceeds to discuss *the causes of his defeat*, and this again is very interesting reading. On the same page, 490, he first states that there was no panic; that his sharpshooters were advanced to within easy range of the enemy's (our) works; "that they prevented the enemy using their cannon upon the assaulting columns," and that "but few men were shot *by musketry*, even in front of my line, and many of those by the enemy holding their guns over their heads and firing without aim." What then was it that demoralized his column and compelled them to desist from the assault, and retreat? He says: "*Most of the men were killed by a fire from the left of my line over which I had no control.*" As McLaws controlled the Confederate line from the fort to the river he must mean that this fire came from the north and east of the fort, where Roemer's guns and the 20th Michigan were. Again on the next page (491) General McLaws says: "The main cause of the failure was, however, the slipperiness of the parapet, upon which it was impossible for any large body of men to gain a foothold, *and the severe fire from the north side of the fort*, which drove the men from the most accessible point of ascent." Here, then, we have the declaration of the major general commanding the assault that the "main cause" of the failure was the fire from the north of the fort. It is a fact well known to the writer, that owing to the lay of the ground and the position and direction of the breastworks, no infantry fire from beyond the line of the 20th Michigan could possibly reach the assaulting column. The left section of Roemer's battery occupied redoubts between the two left companies of the 20th, and the center of the regiment. From the time the attack commenced at about 10:30 o'clock on the night of the 28th, until the assault was repulsed, Roemer's battery fired 169 rounds, and it ought not to be forgotten that his guns were in part served by 13 detailed men from the 20th Michigan.

It is a fact which can be verified by the men of Companies A and D, who were in the unfinished northwest bastion of the fort, that these companies fired away almost the last cartridge that they had, and that, too, at point blank range.

Near the close of the firing the commanding officer of Company D sent word to Maj. Cutcheon that their cartridges were nearly exhausted, and asking for more

ammunition. The cartridge boxes of the killed and wounded were gathered up and sent to them.

It is not too much to claim, therefore, our enemies being the judges, that what saved Fort Sanders on the morning of November 29, 1863, was not the 79th New York in the salient, nor Benjamin's 20-pounder Parrots, which could not sweep the "Sector without fire" over which the main part of the assaulting columns rushed, nor yet the murderous hand grenades which slaughtered the men already in the ditch from which they could not get out, but rather that deadly, steady, unintermitting, and unerring aim from the left wing of the 20th Michigan, and the devastating discharges of canister and shrapnel from Roemer's left section, just north of the fort, served in part by the men of this regiment.

There are one or two other extracts from Confederate reports which ought to be placed on record here. Brig. Gen. M. Jenkins, commanding Hood's division, says at page 528: "I instructed him (Gen. Anderson) to break over the enemy's breastwork at a point which I designated to him personally, about 100 yards to the left (our right) of the fort, and then to wheel to the left and sweep down the breastworks. * * * * Anderson's brigade, instead of directing its attack as I ordered, against the breastwork to the left of the fort, and then in case of failure of McLaws' column, taking it in reverse, also moved too far to the right, and before the staff officer and courier, dispatched the moment I perceived their misdirection to order them to the point already designated, could reach them, the distance being short from the starting point to the fort, became involved in the direct attack upon the side of the fort. After gallant efforts on the part of the officers and men to overcome the physical difficulties and storm the work, the brigade fell back to its previous position." Had not Anderson's column lost its proper direction, and had it carried out its orders as given, its attack would have fallen directly upon the front of the 20th Michigan, where from the moment it rose over the little ridge near the railroad it would have received the concentrated fire of the 20th, 17th, and 2d, and a flanking fire from two sections of Gitting's 10 pounder Parrot guns on our right, with the direct front fire of Roemer's two guns. It seems fairly doubtful if Anderson's brigade would have fared any better had it assaulted on our front where ordered, than it did farther to our left.

Brig. Gen. Bushrod R. Johnson, commanding Buckner's division, at page 532 of the Official Records, says: "On Sunday, November 29th, having previously received order from the lieutenant general commanding, to that effect, my command moved at daylight, at the signal for the attack from the rifle pits in front of Fort Loudon (all Confederates call Fort Sanders "Fort Loudon") to support the assaulting columns under Brig. Gen. Humphrey. Gracie's brigade advanced on the right or south of the East Tennessee & Virginia railroad, and Fulton's command (Johnson's brigade) moved from a position on the north of this road, distant some 800 or 1,000 yards from the fort. In the advance the latter command crossed the railroad in front of the rifle pits, and approached to within 250 yards of the fort, on the left or north of the salient, on which the assault was made. It here came under the enemy's fire, especially from the rifle pits on the north of the fort. At this time Gracie's brigade, which was moving up in rear and on the right, was ordered by the lieutenant general commanding, who was on its front, to be withdrawn, and seeing it move to the rear, Johnson's brigade (Fulton's command) was halted and the men covered themselves from the enemy's fire by lying flat on the ground."

Here, then, is still a third brigade which came under this fire from the north side of the fort, and was compelled to halt and lie down. To recapitulate, they first poured a murderous fire into the left flank of McLaws' division, led by Wofford's and Humphrey's brigades in the first and main assault. Second, when Anderson's brigade of Hood's division came rushing to the attack, they met a like experience,

and were quickly repulsed; and third, when Johnson's brigade of Buckner's division crossed the railroad and attempted to push up toward the breastworks, they were obliged to lie down by this same withering fire from the north side of the fort.

All men of the 20th know and can testify that no musketry fire came from on our right, because the lay of the land did not permit it. In the light of these official reports of the Confederate commanders, we are constrained to the belief that no command in the entire army did more, or so much, for the defense of Fort Sanders, and consequently for the salvation of Knoxville and East Tennessee, as did the 20th Michigan. If this presentation of the evidence on this point, almost 40 years after the event, shall promote a better understanding of the facts, and a juster estimate of the services of this regiment, it will sufficiently justify the wisdom of undertaking the work of preserving its history.

It will not be deemed out of place to call attention to the fact that among all those who acted prominent parts as regimental, brigade, division, or corps commanders, in our division at least, in the defense of Knoxville, only the writer of this survives. Burnside commanding the army; Hartsuff and Potter commanding the army corps; Hartranft and Ferrero commanding divisions; Morrison, Christ, and Humphrey commanding brigades; Dawson, 100 Pa.; Byington, 2d Mich.; Comstock, 17th Mich.; have all crossed the river and pitched their tents "On Fame's eternal camping ground."

REMINISCENCES OF THE MICHIGAN LEGISLATURE OF 1871.

BY LEWIS M. MILLER.*

I.—Personal and Introductory.

One bright winter morning in January, 1871, found me on a Michigan Central train on my way to Lansing. At Jackson I intended to take an afternoon train on the Jackson, Lansing & Saginaw railroad, that being then my most direct way of reaching the capital city. I had just received from Henry N. Lawrence of Branch county, engrossing and enrolling clerk of the house of representatives, the appointment of assistant, and I was on my way to assume the duties of that office.

A severe storm of sleet a few days before had covered each bush and tree with a crystal coating that flashed back every sunbeam, intensifying the brightness and beauty of the day. Nature seemed to sympathize with the brightness which had unexpectedly come into my life. The appointment which I have received, it is true, was but a humble one, yet it had come to me in a manner peculiarly gratifying. In 1869 Mr. Lawrence and I had been rivals for the position of assistant enrolling clerk, but, on account of his superior age and experience, he had secured the prize. When he was elected enrolling clerk, two years later, he remembered his youthful competitor. A specimen of my handwriting having met the requirements of his fastidious taste, he made me his assistant.

The fact that this preferment came to me without political wire-pulling, and as a recognition of especial fitness, was a source of satisfaction far beyond what the humble office could have brought. But there was still another source of gratification. I had been released from an unpleasant situation. When the appointment came, I was teaching a district school in the township of Ray, Macomb county, at the very spot where, a score of years before, I had first opened my eyes upon this world. Judging from appearances, the old schoolhouse must have been my predecessor in the neighborhood by another score of years. At any rate, it had struggled so long against the elements of destruction and decay that its usefulness as a shelter to the young ideas that were shooting under my supervision was nearly past. Ridgeboards had dissolved partnership; shingles had parted company with roofboards; and roofboards had been divorced from rafters. Snowbanks often accumulated in the garret during the night, to melt in the daytime, under the genial heat from a huge box stove filled with beech and maple wood blazing merrily. Here, there, and often elsewhere, little streams of water would ooze through the

*Lewis Montgomery Miller was born near "Freeman's Mills" in the township of Ray, Macomb county, Michigan, March 3, 1849. His parents were both born in Massachusetts, but came to Macomb county in territorial times and were married at Mt. Clemens in 1844. He was educated in the district schools of Macomb and Oakland counties and in the high school at Mt. Clemens, but more particularly by a continuous and persistent course of reading and investigation in favorite lines of study. He taught district schools in Macomb and St. Clair counties and also taught in the high school at Big Rapids. He has at different times been engaged in editorial work in Mt. Clemens, Big Rapids, Grand Rapids, Detroit, and Lansing. He studied law in the office of Hubbard & Crocker at Mt. Clemens, and was admitted to the bar November 14, 1871, in the Macomb county circuit court, after an examination in open court before Judge William T. Mitchell. He was elected circuit court commissioner of Macomb county in 1872. The only other elective offices he has held are justice of the peace and police justice in Muskegon and member of the board of education in Lansing. Mr. Miller, however, is best known to the people of Michigan through his connection with the legislature and his work as compiler of the general statutes. In the house of representatives he was assistant enrolling clerk in 1871-3; corresponding clerk in 1874; and chief clerk in 1893-1902. In the senate he held the office of secretary in 1885-1890. During the democratic administration of 1891-2 he held no official connection with either house, but was one of the regular legislative press correspondents. The legislature of 1895 elected him compiler of the general statutes, and as such he prepared and annotated the Compiled Laws of 1897. He resides at Lansing.

ceiling and descend upon the head, trickle down the neck, or ricochet across the nose of some urchin absorbed in earnest study, or in the still more earnest pretense of it, to be followed by a whoop worthy of a juvenile Apache practicing for the future warpath.

The storm of sleet which had so adorned the face of nature, seemingly for my benefit, had seriously interfered with the rural mail delivery of those days, which depended for its efficiency upon the frequency with which the neighbors went to "town," the village of Romeo some seven miles distant. I had had no news from the outside for several days. One evening after the close of school, as I sat by the ramshackle stove, waiting for the fire to burn down to a condition safe to leave, and wishing that something might happen to transport me to more pleasant surroundings, I heard a carriage driven up to the door. A young man had been sent from Mt. Clemens to notify me of my appointment and to take me back with him. The school board released me from my contract. I reached Mt. Clemens about midnight and the next morning was on my way to Lansing.

No wonder that the face of nature looked bright. I was entering upon my life's work, although I did not then fully realize it. As I now look back through the vista of 30 years, I recognize one of the many demonstrations in human experience, that

God has his plan
For every man.

II.—The State and its Governor.

A brief sketch of the material conditions and the civil organization of the State at this time will aid in the understanding of the work of the legislature of 1871, and will also be useful as a basis of future comparisons. Michigan had increased in population very rapidly during the last two decades. The federal census of 1850 showed but 397,965 inhabitants, while that of 1860 showed 751,110 and that of 1870, 1,184,059. Running back by decades, Michigan had 212,267 inhabitants in 1840; 31,639 in 1830; 8,896 in 1820; 4,762 in 1810; and 551 in 1800.

The assessed valuation of the real and personal property in the State in 1870 was $272,816,927, while the true value of the same was estimated at $731,467,701. The total of taxation was $5,949,487, and that of municipal indebtedness was $4,306,169.

There were 5,088,957 acres of improved farm lands, and 4,182,558 acres of unimproved. The value of farms was $398,096,746; of farm implements and machinery, $13,556,863; of live stock, $49,727,919. The value of the various products of the State for the year ending June 1, 1870, was as follows: Of farms, $82,171,561; of orchards, $3,537,278; of flouring mills, $19,013,816; of lumber, lath, and shingles, $33,356,986; of foundries and machine shops, $5,688,846; of tanneries, $2,557,043; of fisheries, $569,623; of cheese factories, $219,288; of woolen factories, $1,138,172; of peppermint oil, $66,873; of coal mines, $64,200; of salt, $1,148,761; of iron mines, $2,721,965; of one rolling mill, $690,500; of copper mines, $3,986,866; of plaster, $131,400.

There were in the State then 2,220 church organizations, having 1,395 edifices; 5,419 public schools of all grades; 23 higher institutions of learning; 156 private schools; 26,241 libraries of all kinds with 2,188,048 volumes; 215 newspapers and periodicals; 1,027 post-offices; and 41 national banks, with a total capital stock of $5,385,000, and resources aggregating $13,245,700.46.

The railroads of the State were the Michigan Central; Detroit & Milwaukee; Michigan Southern; Chicago & Michigan Lake Shore; Jackson, Lansing & Saginaw; Ft. Wayne, Jackson & Saginaw; Grand River Valley; Grand Rapids & Indiana; Michigan Lake Shore; Michigan Air Line; Flint & Pere Marquette; Ionia & Lan-

sing; Kalamazoo & South Haven; Peninsular; Detroit, Hillsdale & Indiana and the little Paw Paw road of four miles.

Michigan was represented in congress at this time by Senators Jacob M. Howard and Zachariah Chandler, and by six representatives. The supreme court was composed of James V. Campbell, Isaac P. Christiancy, Benjamin F. Graves, and Thomas M. Cooley. There were 16 judicial circuits. The senatorial districts numbered 32, as has always been the case under the present constitution. The last representative apportionment, made in 1865, had assigned the 100 representatives as follows: Bay, Gratiot, Houghton, Huron, Keweenaw, Montcalm, Muskegon, Ontonagon, Sanilac and Tuscola each one; Mason, Lake, Manistee, Grand Traverse, Lenlanau, Manitou, Antrim, Otsego, Crawford, Kalkaska, Missaukee, Wexford, Charlevoix, and Benzie together one; Mackinac, Cheboygan, Chippewa, Emmet, and Presque Isle together one; Marquette, Delta, Menominee, and Schoolcraft together one; Midland, Isabella, Iosco, and Alpena together one; Newaygo, Oceana, and Mecosta together one; Allegan, Barry, Cass, Clinton, Eaton, Ingham, Ionia, Lapeer, Livingston Ottawa, Saginaw, Shiawassee, and Van Buren each two; Berrien, Branch, Calhoun, Genesee, Hillsdale, Jackson, Kalamazoo, Macomb, Monroe, St. Clair, and St. Joseph each three; Kent, Oakland, and Washtenaw each four; Lenawee five; and Wayne nine.

The senatorial districts were arranged as follows: 1st—Second, third, fourth, seventh, and tenth wards of Detroit and Greenfield, Hamtramck, and Grosse Pointe townships, Wayne county; 2d—First, fifth, sixth, eighth, and ninth wards of Detroit; 3d—Brownstown, Canton, Dearborn, Ecorse, Huron, Livonia, Monguagon, Nankin, Plymouth, Redfield, Romulus, Springwells, Sumpter, Taylor, and Van Buren townships, Wayne county; 4th—Macomb; 5th—Oakland; 6th—Washtenaw; 7th—Monroe; 8th—Second and third wards of Adrian and Adrian, Franklin, Cambridge, Rome, Rollin, Woodstock, Hudson, Dover, Medina and Seneca townships, Lenawee county; 9th—First and fourth wards of Adrian and Madison, Fairfield, Odgen, Riga, Palmyra, Blissfield, Raisin, Ridgeway, Macon and Tecumseh townships, Lenawee county: 10th—Jackson; 11th—Calhoun; 12th—Hillsdale; 13th—Branch; 14th—St. Joseph; 15th—Cass; 16th—Berrien; 17th—Allegan; 18th—Van Buren; 19th—Kalamazoo; 20th—Barry and Eaton; 21st—Ingham and Clinton; 22d—Livingston and Shiawassee; 23d—Genesee; 24th—St. Clair; 25th—Lapeer, Sanilac and Huron; 26th—Saginaw, Midland, Gratiot, and Isabella; 27th—Tuscola, Bay, Clare, Gladwin, Iosco, Ogemaw, Roscommon, Crawford, Oscoda, Alcona, Alpena, Montmorency, Presque Isle, and Cheboygan; 28th—Ionia and Montcalm; 29th—Kent; 30th—Ottawa, Muskegon, and Oceana; 31st—Newaygo, Mecosta, Mason, Manistee, Manitou, Leelanau, Grand Traverse, Antrim, Emmet, Lake, Osceola, Wexford, Missaukee, Kalkaska, Charlevoix and Otsego; 32d—Mackinaw, Chippewa, Marquette, Schoolcraft, Delta, Houghton, Keweenaw, Menominee, Ontonagon and territory attached, and islands of Lake Superior, Green Bay, straits of Mackinac, and Ste. Marie river.

The only State institutions established at this time were the university, agricultural college, normal school, reform school, asylum for the deaf, dumb, and blind, asylum for the insane at Kalamazoo, and State prison.

GOVERNOR BALDWIN.

Henry P. Baldwin, who had just entered upon his second term as governor, was a native of Rhode Island, of Puritan ancestry. Although he received but a common school education, and entered upon a mercantile career very early in life, he was one of those studious characters, who never deem their education finished. He was a lifelong student and his graduation came only with his death. He was a State senator in the notable war legislature of 1861-2, and took a prominent part in its

work, being chairman of the finance committee and of the select joint committee for the investigation of the State treasury and the conditions growing out of the embezzlement by State Treasurer McKinney. He had been elected governor in 1868 by a vote of 128,051 to 97,290 for his democratic opponent. In 1870 he received 100,176 votes to 83,391, a magnificent endorsement, for his majority was only 4,000 less than before, although there had been a falling off of 28,000 republican votes.

Gov. Baldwin at this time was in the prime of life and mental vigor. He was spare and of rather frail physique, with hair touched by the frosts of time. He was of nervous temperament, restlessly active. When in earnest conversation, his words followed one another so rapidly that he seemed to have more to say than time to express it. He was not so constituted as to shake off care and be satisfied alone with the dignities and honors of his high office, but, impelled by the same wearing anxiety that was so characteristic of Lincoln, he strove to fulfill the utmost letter and spirit of his whole duty to the State, and he worked and thought early and late. A more conscientiously industrious and faithful public officer never served any State. He was a sincere Christian and a regular attendant upon divine service. He believed in transacting the business of his office with a formality and dignity consistent with its high character, not as a means of exalting himself, but as a duty he owed to the people who had entrusted their greatest honor to his keeping. He adhered to the practice of sending messages to the two houses by the hand of his private secretary, Frank G. Russell, who announced them and delivered them with much dignity. Such formality, however, had not been uniformly observed, for tradition asserts that Gov. Ransom's private secretary once appeared at the bar of the senate with the announcement: "Say, here's a message from the old man."

He brought his private carriage with him from Detroit, and an amusing incident is said to have occurred when his coachman was driving back to Detroit at the close of the session. He was obliged to adjust some part of the harness and drove to the side of the road, stopping just at dusk in front of Rev. John Levington's home in Brighton. Levington was then at the high tide of his crusade against free masonry and was expecting at any moment to be Morganized by the enraged fraternity. Hearing the noise of a carriage stopping in front of his house, he looked out of the window. Seeing a large, dark, closed conveyance, he yelled, "The masons are after me," and bolted through the back door and across the country, at a pace that, had he not wasted so much of his wind in his tirades against masonry, might have carried him into the next county.

Cultivated, refined, ever courteous, imbued with that true American asistocracy which distinguishes, but never separates, a high official from the common people, he was in all respects a model governor. While the people of the State of Michigan have sometimes approached the other extreme in the choice of a governor, they have never surpassed the magnificent standard set by Gov. Baldwin.

The other constitutional officers, associated with Gov. Baldwin and forming what may be called his cabinet, were Daniel Striker, secretary of state; William Humphrey, auditor general; Charles A. Edmonds, commissioner of the state land office; Victory P. Collier, state treasurer; Dwight May, attorney general; and Oramel Hosford, superintendent of public instruction.

III.—The Old Capitol.

The legislature of 1871 convened in the old capitol building, which had been in use ever since the location of the seat of government at Lansing in 1847. This building, which was first occupied by the legislature of 1848, was the first capitol erected by the State, that in Detroit having been built in territorial times. It was a large rectangular, two-story frame structure, located in the center of block 115,

fronting on Washington avenue. Its heavy framework was constructed of timbers felled within the limits of the "town of Michigan," afterwards named Lansing, which was laid out by the State as the site of its new capital. Much of that timber was black walnut. So massive and solid were the beams that, if they could have been utilized in the interior finish of the new capitol, there would have been no occasion for scraping imitation walnut off of cheap pine and renewing the cheat, as has recently been done. The original cost of the building was $18,541.73. In 1865, at an expense of $3,971.29, an extension of 16 feet had been made on the south end. This threw the cupola out of center and made the building resemble a man afflicted with the toothache in one jaw. The main entrance was on the east side, from Washington avenue. In the hall was a wide, quarter-circular stairway, winding from the east to the south as it ascended to the second story. On the first floor, at the foot of the stairs, was a door opening north into the supreme court room. A double door gave entrance south into representative hall. On the second floor, in front, were the executive offices. On the south was the senate chamber, and, on the west side, the state library. Just north of the latter was a small room afterward assigned to the commissioner of railroads, and opposite that, in front, was the office of the superintendent of public instruction. The other State officers occupied apartments in a flimsy brick building, which cost the State $15,562.00 and stood on the site of the present capitol. The legislature of 1853 had ordered its construction, and it had been enlarged ten years later at an expense of $6,482.00. This building may have been "fire-proof," as the legislature intended, but it certainly was not wind-proof, if we can believe its sometime occupants, who solemnly assert that it used to tremble under the rude assaults of the westerly blizzards that swept over the hill.

Every department that occupied the old capitol was greatly inconvenienced by lack of room. The extension of 1865 had given each legislative hall two small rooms on the south side, with a space between, back of the presiding officer's chair, for the filing of printed bills. As one of each pair of rooms had to be used as a folding and mailing room, only one committee room was left to each house. This was virtually monopolized by the judiciary committee and its clerk. This lack of room brought the members together more intimately and made them seem more like one largge family than they ever have seemed since the old capitol was abandoned. It is but one of the many instances of "out of the old house into the new"—finer quarters at the expense of the tender companionship of home life.

Representative hall was heated by a large wood-furnace, whose smoking propensities sometimes caused sudden adjournments. The senate chamber was warmed by two large box stoves. Both halls were lighted by kerosene lamps. The numerous headaches and "that tired feeling" of which the statesmen had been wont to complain in former sessions—especially the representatives—had always been charged up to faulty ventilation. Many a scheme had been tried as a remedy, but only to be abandoned as some other was suggested. But now, great expectations had been aroused by the putting in of the Ruttan system. Foul air was to be banished and fresh air made as plentiful as in "God's own temples." More than that as one of the janitors solemnly assured a press correspondent at the opening of the session, the powerful draft of the ventilator in the hall was expected to put an end to all long-winded speeches. "When a fellow gets up and begins to 'hem' and 'haw' and cough," said the janitor, "as they always do before starting out with a speech as long as the Central railroad, the speaker will wink at me, and I will just give this 'ere cord a pull, and his wind is all gone in a jiffy." But, alas! for the "well laid plans of mice and men." Later in the session the janitor sorrowfully admitted that his hopes had not "ended in fruition." He had tried the ventilator's pull on a certain loquacious member, but it had resulted in a dismal failure, and the speech

had gone on—somewhat like Tennyson's brook. Tradition is the handmaid of history and often whispers in the ear little confidential explanations of mysterious events that her mistress does not deign to record. In this case, tradition reveals the secret of the failure of the ventilation scheme. The foul air was to be drawn out of the hall through openings near the floor in the front of the platform on which the lobby seats were placed in the rear of the hall; but the platform on which the second tier of seats was placed had a similar front running down to the floor and effectually cutting off all connection with the hall. Instead of drawing out foul air, the ventilator had been pulling at the broad side of a pine board. And the headaches, and the "tired feelings," and the long speeches continued to afflict the statesmen.

Although the quarters assigned to the use of the supreme court were very inadequate and far beneath the dignity of the highest legal tribunal of the State, yet that body was far less inconvenienced than any other occupant of the old building. The supreme court at that time was a kind of peripatetic institution. It had no settled home. And yet it could not be said to be without "a local habitation and a name," for of the former it had two—Detroit and Lansing—and with all the gravity and regularity of a pendulum it vibrated between the two. And as to a name, it had already gained one illustrious in the annals of American jurisprudence, made so by the genius of Campbell, Cooley, Christiancy, and Graves.

The clearest case of inadequate accommodations was found in the library. There books, pamphlets, maps, documents, and papers, numbered by thousands, weighed by tons, and valued in priceless sums, were so piled and packed together that it was difficult to find anything wanted. The executive rooms, two in number, were perhaps the best adapted of any of the apartments to the uses for which they were assigned. They had once been fitted up in a style consistent with their use; but any one visiting them for the first time, at this period, was irresistibly constrained to cry out: "Ichabod, Ichabod, the glory has departed!"

On account of the lack of storage room, thousands of valuable documents and important archives were mouldering in the attic and rotting in the cellar. And tradition asserts that the firemen of the house had often found these stores a convenient source of supply for furnace kindling. The old building at this time was as dry as tinder, and, with all the stoves and kerosene lamps distributed throughout the apartments, "eternal vigilance, was the price paid to protect the capitol and all its valuable contents from a disastrous conflagration.

Theodore Tilton in 1869 had alluded to the capitol as a "magnificent ruin" and had called the attention of the people of the State of Michigan to the wisdom of the course taken by the husbandman in the parable, who said: "I will pull down my barns and build greater." It had become grossly inadequate as a capitol building long before it was abandoned; but, with all its faults, the people loved it still, for what it had been. And there was many a sad heart in Michigan when the news came of its destruction by fire.

IV.—The Legislature of 1871.

The legislature of 1871 was, in many respects, a notable one. Its personnel was strong, including the names of many men either already prominent in public affairs or destined to become so. Many important questions, whose origin dated back in legislative history, crowded upon this body for determination, and its contributions to the statute laws mark several improvements in State policies.

Lieutenant Governor Bates.

At the head of the senate, by virtue of his election as lieutenant governor, was Morgan Bates of Traverse City, one of the most original and unique characters that ever attained prominence in Michigan. He deserves much more than a passing notice, for he escaped becoming one of the great men of the country only by retiring to the obscurity and tranquility of the wilderness, just at a time when his experiences best qualified him for broader fields of work.

He was a native of New York. He commenced his life-work—"the art preservative of all arts"—when he was but seven years of age and so small that he had to stand on a type box to reach the case. He became a publisher before he was of age and employed Horace Greeley as a journeyman printer. The two eccentric geniuses seemed to be congenial spirits and formed a life-long friendship. He was "Boss Bates" to Greeley from that time on, although their relative positions were changed when he went to New York and became Greeley's foreman. In 1833 he was foreman of the old Detroit *Advertiser*. Becoming part owner of that paper in 1839, he published it until 1844 as a whig organ. He was one of the "Argonauts of '49" and spent the most of six years in California, making two trips thither by way of Cape Horn and founding at San Francisco the *Alta California*, the first daily paper west of the Rocky mountains. On his return to Michigan, he spent two years in the auditor general's office; but he was not the kind of man to dry-rot in a mere clerkship. His "ruling passion" overpowered him, and he again took up the editorial pen. Declaring, however, that he was tired of the stir of the big world, in 1858 he went to the little village of Traverse City and founded the *Grand Traverse Herald*, which he published until his death in 1874. He was first elected lieutenant governor in 1868 and re-elected in 1870.

His politics were of the strenuous type, having been developed during the stormy agitation of the slavery question. He was a rabid abolitionist and hated the antebellum, pro-slavery democrat with a hatred that knew no mitigation, and which his moral courage and positive convictions of right and wrong would not permit him to suppress. It was said of him that his conception of Hades was "a place designed by the Almighty after the fall of Adam had made it possible for man to degenerate into a democrat." He was an admirer of Clay, and in 1844 bet every dollar he had on the election of that statesman to the presidency. The day after the news of Clay's defeat reached Detroit, he stood on Campus Martius and paid out $7,000 to a jeering mob of "Locofoco" winners. He declared, years afterward, that he didn't mind losing the money, but he did hate "like the father of all democrats to pay those bets to such a d—— mean crowd."

He was noted for his wit and shrewdness. His quaint remarks were always original and spontaneous. A letter was once received by the senate and read by the secretary, making inquiries as to the whereabouts of two orphan girls supposed to be living in Michigan. Years before, they had been abandoned by relatives in Pennsylvania, who were now anxious to find them. The venerable, white-haired president of the senate solemnly arose in his place—presenting a compound picture of Josh Whitcomb and Pickwick—his benevolent face glowing with humane impulses, and said: "If any of the honorable senators know of any abandoned females, the chair would be glad to be informed where they may be found. As on another occasion, "silence reigned in the vast ampitheater."

When Andrew Johnson became president, he was offered re-appointment as register of the United States land office if he would support "my policy." He indignantly spurned the offer and sent to the president one of the most caustic productions of his vigorous pen, which now sounds like a scene from a comic opera,

but which then fitted so exactly into the sentiment of the times that it was extensively copied by the anti-administration press.

He was naturally hot-tempered, yet he was kind-hearted and will-long be remembered in the Grand Traverse region for his innate goodness. He was "a friend in need" to the poor "homesteaders" who flocked to that part of the State in the '60's, many of whom had barely enough money to pay the entry fees at the land office of which he was then the register. He would loan the needy ones money, always with a passionate declaration that they were a set of idlers who were trying to beat him. But he never asked any of them to pay the notes he always insisted on taking, and just before his death he burned thousands of dollars' worth of such paper.

He was short and thick-set, with a round, smooth-shaven face so mobile and expressive that it readily reflected his quick changes from good humor to anger. Although nearly 65 years of age at this time, he was vigorous and active, and could still say, as said in 1869, in response to the messenger boys who had just presented him with a gold-headed cane: "I may not need it in my steps today. Though years have rolled over my head sufficient in ordinary cases to make it necessary, I thank God, owing to the clear and salubrious climate of the beautiful region of Grand Traverse, I am yet able to run a foot-race with the boys." Urgent business matters made it necessary for him to leave before the close of the session. In his farewell address, he quaintly implored the senators, if at any time he had manifested impatience under protracted debate, to attribute it to physical, rather than mental bile. Resolutions of thanks were adopted and touching remarks made by senators, showing the genuine esteem of the senate for its venerable presiding officer.

I shall never forget the kindly look and the words of commendation he gave me once, as I presented to him for his signature an enrolled bill I had prepared with especial care. "Bless my soul!" he exclaimed, as he adjusted his glasses, "it is plainer than print." I was young, then, and doing my best to justify the confidence that had been reposed in me by Mr. Lawrence in making me his assistant.

SOME PROMINENT SENATORS.

Edward G. Morton of Monroe, had he not been a democrat, would have been the leader of this senate. He was a native of Vermont, and, like Lieut. Gov. Bates, had learned the printer's trade very early in life. For 40 years he had been engaged in editorial work, and few political writers of his day were sharper or more incisive than he. He had been a member of five houses, a senate and a constitutional convention before he took his seat in this senate. As a legislator, he had especially distinguished himself in behalf of the asylum for the deaf, dumb, and blind at Flint, and for the insane at Kalamazoo. His speech in favor of appropriations to complete the latter, in 1865, was printed among the documents of that session, republished in a New York journal on insanity, and afterward printed for free distribution. Of this he said it was "the greatest compliment he ever received for public services." His report as chairman of the committee on geological survey created a genuine sensation. As one of the press correspondents said: "He proceeded to harness up Pegasus, attach him to the non-poetic theme of the earth's bowels, and submit a report gorgeous with figures of speech and twined about with roses of rhetoric." After noticing particularly what the geological survey of the State, under charge of Prof. Winchell would contain, he continues:

"In fact, this survey, fully completed, will enable the citizens of the State to look into the mysterious depths of the earth, and read in the rocks the history of past geological epochs, as well as the surface world in which we live, move, and have our being.

"It will map out the highways of the frost king as he journeys from the straits of Mackinac and curves on his passage by way of southern Illinois to Kansas, and show us the belt of country subject to excessive cold and reaching from the sunny south to the eternal snows in the north. It will show us the effect of our great inland lakes in tempering the northern portion of the State to a mild climate for successful agricultural pursuits. Even the winds will be the subject of thought as they frolic and dance by the lightning's flash, frantic with the music of thunder, and their effects on our water-girdled State, as they sweep the lakes, will be made interesting by this survey to all who live in the great State of Michigan.

"Let us then, by the completion of this great enterprise, astonish the world in regard to the unbounded wealth and resources of Michigan, and when we journey east to the old homes of our fathers, or to the fatherlands of the old world, we can point with pride to our fields laden with bountiful harvests, to one of the finest fruit-growing regions in the world, to profitable fisheries more extensive than those of any other State, to our salt wells in the Saginaw valley, to iron and copper mines valuable beyond the computation of figures, to our noble forests of pine and other valuable timber for the wants of man, to our healing mineral springs with magnetic powers for the afflicted, and to our chain of railroads, whose 'chariots rage in the streets and jostle one against another in the broadways, and seem like torches and run like lightnings,' * * * and a thousand other elements of wealth, prosperity, and happiness; and then turning to our noble university and educational, benevolent, and religious institutions, and to the happy and industrious homes on our hills and in our valleys, alive with hardy sons and beautiful and intelligent daughters, in our conscious pride we can stand erect like the majestic pines of our wilderness and exclaim: *Si quaeris peninsulam amoenam circumspice.*"

Alanson Sheeley of Detroit, who had been a member of the senate of 1867, was an especially strong member of this one. He was a man of great mental and physical activity and one of the most substantial business men that ever represented the metropolis in legislative halls. Although an uncompromising and bitter opponent of the liquor traffic, yet he was one of the most genial of men, and witty withal. In the caucus for the nomination of a president *pro tem.* he received one vote and was called upon for a speech. With a merry twinkle in his eye and his broad face illuminated with smiles, he arose and thanked the senators very effusively for the compliment of that lonesome vote, and assured them upon his honor that he did not vote for himself. "If a speech is what you want," said he, "there are two requisites of a good one. The first is an intelligent speaker, and the other is an intelligent audience, neither of which appears to be present." And he sat down amid peals of laughter which senatorial dignity could not smother.

Of the other senators, Lorenzo P. Alexander, Robert V. Briggs, Mylo L. Gay, Bela W. Jenks, Seth C. Moffatt, Layman B. Price, Abraham C. Prutzman, Uzziel Putnam, Jr., William Stoddard, Wales F. Storrs, John C. Waterbury, William S. Wilcox, and Alfred B. Wood had been members of former legislatures. Senator Alexander had been a member of the constitutional convention of 1867, and Senator Prutzman for ten years a member of the state board of agriculture. Afterwards Francis B. Stockbridge was United States senator; Josiah W. Begole, Senator Moffatt, and Harrison H. Wheeler were congressmen; and Senator Moffatt was a member of the constitutional commission of 1873 and speaker of the house of 1881. Philip H. Emerson was for twelve years United States associate justice of the supreme court of Utah, and James W. Romeyn United States consul in Chili. After their service in this senate, Byron D. Ball became attorney general; Senator Begole, governor; Senator Jenks, member of the state board of education; James M. Neasmith, commissioner of the state land office and member of the board of

corrections and charities; Senator Putnam, member of the board of corrections and charities; Caleb D. Randall, member of the board of control of the state public school at Coldwater; Senator Wheeler, circuit judge; and Senator Wilcox presidential elector. Senator Wilcox was also inspector of the state prison both before and after this session. Senator Wood was chosen president *pro tem.* of this senate.

LEADING REPRESENTATIVES.

The house could show no less notable a list of strong members than the senate. The contest for the speakership brought out two excellent candidates, John J. Woodman of Van Buren and Benjamin W. Huston, Jr., of Tuscola. Both were popular with the members and well equipped for the position. Woodman had been a member of four previous legislatures and had been both speaker *pro tem.* and speaker. Huston, who had been a member of the constitutional conventions of 1867 and was afterwards attorney general, was a good lawyer and had been speaker *pro tem.* in 1869.

Only 58 of the republican representatives were present at the caucus, and the contest was close. The first ballot stood: Woodman 28, Huston 29, Hazen 1. The second ballot gave Woodman 29 and Huston 28, Hazen having disappeared, and Woodman being declared nominated. Huston lost the nomination by the carelessness of two or three friends from the Saginaw valley, who arrived on the latest train and spent the evening hunting for rooms, instead of going immediately to the caucus. He was re-elected speaker *pro tem.* The democrats nominated Charles B. Fenton of Mackinac, a member of the legislature of 1867 and a gentleman of culture and refinement.

Atthe head of hte roll call stood the name of the venerable John J. Adam of Lenawee, a man whom the people of both Territory and State had delighted to honor. He had been a member of the first constitutional convention, of the second "convention of assent," secretary of the senate, regent of the university, representative in 1839 and 1847, senator in 1840 and 1841, state treasurer and auditor general. His democracy was of as strenuous a type as Lieut. Gov. Bates' republicansim, although he was less emphatic in the expression of his political opinions, for he was a gentleman of the old school, courtly and dignified. The republicans used to call him "the Old Adam," or "Original Sin." One day he discovered in a joint resolution asking congress for further appropriations to improve a harbor, which resolution had been drawn and introduced by a brother democrat, a statement that the money before appropriated had been "judiciously expended" by the national government. For a democrat to acknowledge, directly or indirectly, that a republican administration had done anything "judiciously" was antagonistic to his articles of faith and he vigorously opposed the measure.

Another picturesque character was William H. Brockway of Calhoun. He had been a Methodist minister ever since 1833, originally of the itinerant, saddle-bag type. Having graduated from a blacksmith shop, he had hammered the hearts and souls of men, on the Lord's anvil, into better relations with the "chief aim of man," even as he had beaten the glowing iron, in his father's shop, into forms of usefulness and beauty. He had taught school and preached to pale faces and to red men, been chaplain at Fort Brady for eight years, learned business methods in making ends meet as financial agent of Albion college, and had had legislative experience in both houses. While a strict observer of the highest Christian standards, so far as himself was concerned, his extensive experience among all types of humanity, as well as his naturally sympathetic impulses, made him far more patient with human frailties than those of his cloth are generally supposed to be. An instance of his sternness in rebuke and his readiness to forgive occurred during

the session. A member—"nameless here forevermore"—had been caught absent on a call of the house. Having been stopped at the bar of the house, he ran down the lobby and leaped over the railing, but his feet caught and he fell sprawling on the floor. Considerably abashed, he got up and went to his seat. Mr. Brockway arose, indignant as Father Neptune over the unwarranted disturbance of his watery domain, his flowing white beard lending dignity to his appearance, and in a tone of voice that was in itself the keenest rebuke, moved "that the gentleman from ———— be required to take his place outside the bar, be brought in by the sergeant-at-arms, and be required to render an excuse, not only for his absence without leave, but also for the disorderly maner in which he entered the house." This was done. The next day the friends of the offending member wished to have the record expunged from the journal. Mr. Brockway arose, and, believing that repentance is a condition precedent to the remission of sins, said that he would gladly support the proposition, provided the gentleman would himself apologize "not only to the house but to myself as well, for his rude and insulting treatment last evening." By this time the member was heartily ashamed of himself, and, with tears in his eyes, made full apologies. By unanimous consent the record was then "blotted out forever."

The other representatives who had had experience in former legislatures were Alexander B. Copley, Alvin N. Hart, Ezra Hazen, Samuel W. Hill, Henry H. Holt, Norton L. Miller, Charles R. Millington, William H. C. Mitchell, Almond B. Riford, John Walker, Jacob Walton, Darwin O. White, and James A. Williams.

Mr. Hart had been a member of the constitutional convention of 1835, and Messrs. Hazen and Holt of that of 1867, Mr. Hill had been associated with Douglass Houghton in the geological and lineal survey of the upper peninsula, completing the work after Houghton's death. Eli R. Miller was for several years one of the state fish commissoners. Preston Mitchell had been assessor of internal revenue and was presidential elector in 1876. W. H. C. Mitchell was for a long time register of the United States land office. John Roost, one of the most influential members of the "Holland colony," had been United States enrolling officer and assistant assessor. And Bracey Tobey had held office for half a century in New York and Michigan, having been associate district judge in the former State.

The honors received later by members of this house were as follows: Allen C. Adsit, circuit judge; Andrew Climie, regent of the university; Lyman Cochrane, first superior court judge of Detroit; John F. Coulter, senator and member of the capitol building board in Nebraska, and representative in Kansas; Claudius B. Grant, regent of the university, circuit judge, and now justice of the supreme court; Henry H. Holt, lieutenant governor; Julius Houseman, congressman; Martin V. Montgomery, commissioner of patents and associate judge of the District of Columbia; Charles Y. Osburn, for eight years collector of customs in the upper peninsula; Samuel Post, thirteen years pension agent at Detroit; Albert P. Swineford, commissioner to the New Orleans exposition and governor of Alaska. William R. Bates, the youngest member, later held several federal positions, but is best known in the State for his services as secretary of the republican state central committee and his long association with Senator McMillan as political secretary. William Chamberlain, who was for some time president of the state agricultural society, became later one of the best prison wardens ever appointed in Michigan.

Nor is this all that might be said of the remarkable personnel of the legislature of 1871. Many senators and representatives, whom lack of space has required me to number among the rank and file and pass over without particular notice, were men of sterling qualities, and several of them were heard of in later legislatures.

There was a sharp fight for the secretaryship of the senate between Henry S. Sleeper and James H. Stone, both of Kalamazoo county. The former had been

assistant secretary in 1865 and 1867 and secretary in 1869. Sleeper received thirteen votes in caucus to eleven for Stone. Frank Shumway, at present a skillful physician and surgeon and member of the state board of pardons, was a senate messenger. In Bernhardt Rice, its fireman, the senate had inherited a veritable heirloom, that had come down from the early '60's. He was of Teutonic birth, but his first name had been Hibernicised into "Barney." He was indispensable to the upper house for many years afterwards.

The contest for clerk of the house had been affected somewhat by a "bolt" against George P. Sanford, the regular republican nominee in the first district of Ingham county. He had represented the district in the house of 1869, but 98 leading republicans had united in an open protest against his renomination, and he was defeated by the democratic nominee, Alvin N. Hart. Nelson B. Jones and Daniel L. Crossman, both of Ingham county, were the candidates for clerk, representing the two factions. Jones had first appeared at the capital in 1851, when he had walked all the way from Jackson and secured an appointment as messenger in the house. He had been assistant clerk in 1861 and 1863, and chief clerk from the extra session of 1864 to that of 1870 inclusive. Crossman had been a representative in the sessions of 1869, and 1870. Jones was nominated by the house caucus, by a vote of 39 to 21. This was his last term as clerk. He was the first clerk to bring order out of chaos in the running of the clerk's desk, and he laid the solid foundation upon which his successors have built. Samuel F. Cook, who has kept the house journal so accurately, under successive clerks, for lo! these many years, made his first appearance this year, as assistant clerk. Colonel B. Burr, at present a distinguished specialist in mental diseases and long connected with the Eastern Michigan asylum for the insane, was clerk's messenger. David Barry, who has since made himself prominent as a press correspondent at the national capital, was a floor messenger.

Stephen D. Bingham, whose record as prosecuting attorney in the famous McKinney embezzlement case, as editor of the *State Republican* for years and as one of the best chairmen of the republican state central committee, has made him well known throughout Michigan, was the compiler of the legislative manual.

This legislature was very fortunate in the character of the representatives of the press sent to record its daily doings. Charles B. Lewis, better known as "M. Quad," at the opening of the session ably represented the *Free Press*, as he had done in 1869; but he was succeeded by Joseph Greusel, the well known "Yusef," who then began a long and honorable career as legislative correspondent. Charles K. Backus had represented the *Advertiser* and *Tribune* in 1869, and now came back to continue his excellent work. Lewis J. Bates was a strong and conscientious representative of the *Post*. Stephen B. McCracken, who had represented the *Free Press* in 1867, was now the agent of the state associated press, and was for many years afterward a regular attendant upon legislative sessions.

V.—The Senatorial Contest of 1871.

The first and greatest problem to be solved by the legislature of 1871 was the choice of a United States senator to succeed Jacob M. Howard. The solution came only after the most notable political battle ever fought in Michigan. It was indeed a war of the Titans. No quarter was asked or given. But one warrior could win the victory. Death was the fate of the vanquished. Never before or since, in the political history of the State, has the utter selfishness and heartlessness of practical politics been better demonstrated.

THE FOUR CANDIDATES.

Four champions entered the lists—Jacob M. Howard, Austin Blair, Thomas M. Ferry, and William A. Howard. Each had his elements of strength, which were eloquently urged and enlarged upon by his supporters, and his points of weakness, which were mercilessly paraded and magnified by his opponents.

Jacob M. Howard, a native of the Green Mountain State, a descendant of illustrious New England ancestors and a graduate of Williams college, had long been prominent in Michigan history and politics. Although a lawyer of learning and marked ability, his mind had been irresistibly attracted to public affairs and he had naturally developed into that happy combination of lawyer and public man which has given to this country its greatest statesmen. After an extensive experience in the State legislature and the lower house of congress, he was elected United States senator in 1862, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Kinsley S. Bingham, and had held that office ever since; and it has been aptly said of him, that "it was his good fortune to serve in the senate during a period which will always be distinguished in American history, as the stormy close of one great epoch and the birth of another; but it was his genius and power of intellect that, in the midst of the grand issues and momentous events, made him conspicuous as one of the leaders in the highest branch of the national legislature." He was one of the few typical statesmen that have represented Michigan at the national capital.

No less prominent in State history and politics at this time was Austin Blair. Not to have known him would have "argued oneself unknown." Of sturdy Scotch ancestry, he came from pioneer "York State" stock. He was a graduate of Union college, an eminent lawyer and an experienced statesman, matured by long service to both State and Nation, but especially endeared to the people of Michigan as their "war governor."

Among the four candidates Thomas W. Ferry was the only native of Michigan, having been born at Mackinaw. He was also the only one that had not been favored with a collegiate training, thus approaching most nearly to that favorite type of character, a self-made man, a type which the American people delight to honor, especially when the work has been well done. He also was experienced in the legislative halls of both State and Nation.

William A. Howard was a native of Vermont. Although he was a graduate of Middlebury college, the credit of that was due only to his own determination and indomitable perseverance, for his early life was a continuous struggle against poverty, ill health, and adverse circumstances. He was a good lawyer, an eloquent orator, and had been one of Michigan's most talented and able representatives in congress.

THE CANDIDATES COMPARED.

Such were the four competitors for the senatorship, and certainly the State had reason to be proud of the array of talent from which to choose a senator. Its equal has never been seen in a senatorial contest in Michigan. Blair and the two Howards, while differing somewhat in mental grasp and characteristics, were nevertheless peers in intellect, culture, and public experience. Ferry, although less intellectual and cultured, was a man of no mean endowments, and his business capacity and public experience well fitted him for the place he coveted. Jacob M. Howard, Blair, and Ferry were then in congress, and William A. Howard had been there. Blair was the idol of the older republicans, the old soldiers and the greater part of the republican press; Jacob M. Howard, of the politicians; Ferry, of the younger and more enthusiastic element of the party; and William A. Howard, of no one in particular. Blair and Jacob M. Howard had both helped to organize

the republican party "under the oaks at Jackson," and this was strongly urged by their friends as a reason why the party should never forget them. Ferry was a leader among the energetic republicans of the western part of the State, who were ever rolling up large majorities to save the State from the democratic tendencies of the east, and his friends were not modest in reminding the party of this fact. The friends of William A. Howard were few and not very assertive. They represented the negative element in the contest, hoping to win what the others might fail to secure. The majority of the country newspapers supported Blair; many, especially in the west, advocated Ferry's election, while but few of them stood by the two Howards. Senator Howard had won an enviable reputation for statesmanship in the national councils and naturally wished to continue his good work. Blair would have been blind—nay, even stupid—not to have seen his popularity with the party, and more than human not to have wished to profit by it. Ferry was young and ambitious, and, seeing the advantage of his western location, threw his heart and soul into the contest. William A. Howard prayed for a dead-lock and a compromise, until praying was in vain.

Jacob M. Howard's most vulnerable point was his residence in Detroit. This objection was urged against William A. Howard also. It is true, the latter had recently gone to Grand Rapids to take the position of land commissioner of the G. R. & I. Railroad Company, but, so far as the senatorship was concerned, his removal from Detroit was looked upon only as a political pretense. His real interests were still all centered in Detroit, and Ferry's friends declared him an interloper in western politics. Blair's weakest point was the frequency with which he had been a senatorial candidate and had been defeated. In 1857, when the republicans first had it in their power to elect a senator, he was a candidate. In 1859 he unsuccessfully competed with Bingham. In 1862 he allowed his name to be presented as a candidate, although he had only half filled his first gubernatorial term. In 1863, in the midst of his second term, it is said that he was ambitious to succeed Chandler, but, as the latter was unanimously renominated in caucus, no record was made. He was a candidate, with the usual results, in 1865 and 1869. This candidacy, therefore, was his sixth, and his third against Jacob M. Howard. Senator Howard had no political love for Blair; nor had Chandler, whom Blair had opposed in 1857, 1863, and 1869. The Detroit duumvirate, therefore, had decreed that Blair should not be elected senator, and that the whole influence of the administration should rather be turned toward Ferry. It was also for Chandler's interest to have the senatorship at this time go as far west as possible. So the politicians all over the State, to offset Blair's evident popularity, took up the hue and cry against him as a losing candidate. Ferry, at this time, had no especial political weakness of which his opponents could take advantage, but they harped upon his inferiority of talent. Unfavorable and unjust comparisons between him and the other candidates, in point of mental equipment, were often made, but they had little effect on the results of the campaign.

THE REVOLT AGAINST DETROIT.

The feeling against Detroit, among the republicans in the interior of the State, was very bitter at this time. That city had had both United States senators the greater part of the time since the State had been admitted to the Union. Of the eleven different persons elected, Lucius Lyon, John Norvell, Augustus S. Porter, William Woodbridge, Lewis Cass, Zachariah Chandler, and Jacob M. Howard were Detroit men. Alpheus Felch of Ann Arbor and Kinsley S. Bingham of Livingston county were eastern men. The only senators recognized as western men were Thomas Fitzgerald of Berrien county, appointed only to fill a short vacancy, and

Charles E. Stuart of Kalamazoo, who filled one term. So the west had enjoyed the honor of a senatorship only seven years, and was now clamoring for further recognition. Its papers set forth in glowing terms its rapid increase in wealth and population. Its great commercial interests, and, above all, its unswerving fidelity to the republican party. Ferry was its choice for senator.

The demand of the west for a fair recognition was strongly reinforced by a general revolt of republicans throughout the State, against the domination of the "Detroit ring," as they were pleased to term it. The republican press, at this period, was filled with bitter denunciations of the centralization of political power, caused by the monopoly of the two senatorships held so long by Detroit.

The Ingham County *News* said: "This concentration of power and patronage, in connection with certain other combinations, has built up a political junta—in common parlance called a ring—by which the federal patronage in the State is controlled. Since the passage of the 'Tenure of Office' act, the United States senate has become the real dispenser of the patronage of the government. This fact has stimulated and strengthened the ring and enabled it to extend its operations and ramifications throughout the State, with its satellites in nearly every county, controlling not only patronage but local nominations. Not only this, but there are many who believe that, in several localities, it has been carried further, and that, failing to control nominations, the machinery of the ring has been made use of to control local elections, to defeat republicans not in the interest of this political Sanhedrim and to elect democrats in their stead." After declaring that the existing conditions had become intolerable and threatened the harmony and usefulness of the party in the State; that republicans would no longer submit; and that such feelings were manifest in the last State convention, the *News* continues: "To this end they demand that political power and control shall no longer center in Wayne county; that the next United States senator shall not be a Detroit man, nor one controlled by a Detroit regency."

Another strong protest against the continuance of the Detroit regime was made by the Charlotte *Republican*. Among other things it said: "Against a continuance of the policy of taking both our senators from the city of Detroit and concentrating there for another term of years all the political influence of the party, centralizing there all control over national appointments to office in this State, we have before and do now most earnestly protest. * * * With both of our senators located in Detroit and working together to keep absolute and almost despotic control over the rank and file of the party, we have, as a natural result, a ring or clique of politicians in that city, who are the dispensers of federal patronage for the State. Whomsoever they endorse succeeds; whomsoever they oppose fails. As a pious disciple of Mohamet, if he would realize the full benefits of his religious faith, must make a weary pilgrimage to the tomb of the prophet at Mecca, so the faithful republican of Michigan, if he would receive the enjoyments and emoluments of an office, must make a pilgrimage to Detroit and present his petition for endorsement and approval, before he can hope for even a small degree of happiness. * * * There is no way to remedy the evil except by dethroning the power that is centralized in Detroit."

The Saginaw *Enterprise* said: "A State like Michigan, having more than a million inhabitants, cannot be kept in political dependence upon any one city or district." And, in reference to Detroit, said: "Her present monopoly of the most prominent offices in the gift of the people must not be continued."

Such was the spirit of the republican press in the interior of the State, and, in their anxiety to get out from under Detroit rule, a disposition was manifested to go as far away from that city as possible in search of a senator. The Benton Harbor *Palladium* thought that Blair did not live far enough away from Detroit.

The Bay City *Journal* objected to him because the *Advertiser* and *Tribune's* support of him showed him to be acceptable to some of the Detroit politicians. The Buchanan *Record* asserted that the *Advertiser* and *Tribune's* support of Blair—which had been kept up in season and out of season—indicated that he was the candidate of the "Detroit ring," and the *Advertiser* and *Tribune* retorted that Blair was strong with the people of Detroit, as he was elsewhere, but that the politicians were against him. The Marshall *Statesman* swung the Detroit club vigorously, and mercilessly belabored the heads of "all the Howards." It was especially severe on William A. Howard. Although, it asserts, after a residence of nearly 30 years in Detroit, he had recently taken his family to Grand Rapids, yet his intimacies, associations, sympathies, former law partners, clients, business connections, political partisans and friends, to whom he was under strong obligations, were in Detroit just as surely and effectively as were those of Jacob M. Howard. And the Ingham County *News* sarcastically inquired: "Is there anybody so unsophisticated as to believe that, in this respect, there is any difference between the two Howards? that the Howard who temporarily sojourns at Grand Rapids is any less a Detroit man, with Detroit interests and under Detroit influences, than the Howard who has an office in Detroit and stays there when congress is not in session?"

The foregoing are but a few characteristic excerpts from the editorials on this subject, with which the republican papers of the State were teeming at this time. The sentiment in favor of breaking up the "Detroit ring" was overwhelming, and astute politicians began to trim their sails accordingly.

THE BLAIR-FISH LETTER.

One of the most potent factors in the senatorial contest, and one which accounted for much of the bitterness of the fight against Gov. Blair, was a private letter written by him in 1869 to Dr. George W. Fish of Flint. No clear understanding of the senatorial question can be had without a knowledge of this letter, the circumstances under which it was written, and the use that was made of it. Amid the charges and counter-charges, assertions and denials, on the subject of this letter, some facts stand out clearly, while others will have to be given for what they are worth. Although some things asserted as facts may not have been such, yet they were believed and acted upon, and therefore had just as much effect in the preliminary campaign and became "confirmation strong as proofs of holy writ."

The senatorial contest of 1869 had been conducted with a great deal of diplomatic skill, as it was understood to have an important bearing on that of 1871. Chandler desired re-election. Blair, as usual, was a candidate. Ferry's name was freely used as a representative of the west. The *Advertiser* and *Tribune* almost viciously opposed Chandler, charging him with intemperance, boorishness, and mental incompetence. The *Post* vigorously defended him. The *Free Press* favored Chandler for three reasons: First, because he was the best representative of his party; second, because his re-election would settle the possibility of Howard's re-election in 1871, and on that issue it was decidedly in favor of Chandler; third, "because he established the *Post* at the instigation of William A. Howard, with the design and intention of destroying the *Advertiser*, thus originating this family quarrel, which we decidedly approve of." A little later the *Free Press* hurled a fire-brand into the camp of the western republicans who were demanding representation, by the editorial declaration that, while it admitted all that might be said about Chandler's character and habits and that his efforts at speech-making were as ridiculous as the *Advertiser* insisted, yet "we give the devil his due. Chandler is a Detroit man and takes care of Detroit interests and Detroit people. We are for Detroit; therefore for Chandler." The political temperature grew hotter and

hotter, as the campaign went on, the two republican organs furnishing the fuel and the *Free Press* stirring the fires that heated the furnace "seven times more than it was wont to be heated."

Meanwhile Ferry and Blair, as the latter afterwards explained, were co-operating in an effort to elect a senator in the interior of the State. Ferry was especially urgent in this matter, the "wild waves" of Lake Michigan evidently "saying" to him, that, in view of the increasing opposition to Detroit dictation, the political pendulum would soon swing to the opposite extreme. Blair supposed him to be acting in good faith, and laid his plans accordingly, doubtless relying upon his own great popularity to carry him through, in case Chandler should be defeated.

Chandler was astute enough to see that, sooner or later, one of the Detroit senators must be sacrificed to appease the anger of the western republicans; but he preferred to have the great sacrificial ceremonies celebrated two years later, with Jacob M. Howard as the central figure. So a bargain is believed to have been made between Chandler and William A. Howard, that the former should be re-elected and that the latter should change his residence to Grand Rapids and be the successor of Jacob M. Howard in 1871. To cover this bargain it was also agreed that William A. Howard should be appointed minister to China and decline to accept. Whatever may or may not have been the understanding, Howard was so appointed in 1869, declined the honor, was appointed land commissioner of the G. R. & I. Railroad Company, removed his family to Grand Rapids and became a senatorial candidate in 1871.

In pursuance of his understanding with Ferry, Blair went to Lansing at the opening of the session of 1869. But Ferry did not appear; neither did he send any word, and Blair was at a loss what to do. Upon inquiry Blair was informed that Ferry was sick, but he had reason to believe that he was not too sick to come if summoned by telegram. Later Blair learned that the delegation from the fourth congressional district had been called together and had decided to withdraw Ferry's name from the canvass. Indignant at this abandonment of their mutual agreement, without any consultation with him or any notice, Blair gave up the fight and left Lansing.

As he was leaving the hotel he met Dr. George W. Fish of Flint, an old friend, who had just arrived. In reply to an inquiry as to why he was going away, Blair explained the situation, and Dr. Fish said: "I shall stay here two or three days and I will write you of anything of interest that occurs." Dr. Fish at this time was collector of internal revenue and was liable to be removed from office, to make room for a friend of Randolph Strickland, congressman from the sixth district. Strickland was supported in his efforts to remove Dr. Fish by Senator Chandler, while Blair was trying to save his old friend.

Dr. Fish and Strickland left Lansing on the same train and naturally fell into conversation about the senatorial caucus and Chandler's almost unanimous renomination. As the story goes—although Strickland, of course, denied it—he explained the situation to Dr. Fish substantially as follows: "It's all right; the thing has turned out just as was intended. You see, Blair was trapped into the fight and is cleaned out, and we have got rid of him—he's dead. Ferry really was not a candidate. He was simply getting ready for 1871. He and Chandler had an understanding that he was to withdraw just at the right time, let Chandler go in with a rush, and old Zach is to help him next time."

Possibly Strickland was not actually authorized to make these statements, but he was known as an active and prominent supporter of Chandler. His reported statements, therefore, attracted attention and obtained a large degree of credence. Such an agreement as this between Chandler and Ferry shortly before the caucus

is not inconsistent with his reported bargain with William A. Howard earlier in the campaign. Chandler preferred to see Jacob M. Howard adorned with the sacrificial fillets, and his political prescience had doubtless convinced him, by this time, that Ferry was a much more available western candidate than William A. Howard ever could be. By such an understanding with Ferry, he could postpone the sacrifice until 1871 and save himself. And when was one political bargain ever known to stand in the way of a better one?

Dr. Fish, under date of February 22, 1869, wrote to Gov. Blair about his conversation with Strickland, "who," said he, "became communicative and slopped over under a little outside pressure, and developed to me clearly that the whole thing was managed in view of the contest two years hence. The Ferry men sold out for a consideration to be paid at the next election of United States senator." To Gov. Blair this agreement between Ferry and Chandler furnished the key to the mystery of Ferry's non-appearance at Lansing and his sudden withdrawal from the senatorial contest, without any warning to him. Highly indignant at the manner in which he had good reason to believe he had been sold out by those he trusted, to a confidential friend of 20 years' standing, Gov. Blair wrote this private letter, never expecting it to be made public:

House of Representatives,
Dist. of Columbia, Feb. 28, 1869.

Dr. George W. Fish:

Dear Sir: Yours of the 22d of February is at hand. There was nothing in the senatorial contest to give one great confidence in political affairs. It furnished one more evidence of the inconstancy of politicians, and of how little timber it really takes to make a great man of. There seems no doubt of the bargain made at Lansing, as detailed by Strickland, though I refused for some time to believe in it. Mr. (J. M.) Howard got hold of it and made a great rout over it; blew up Porter at a terrific rate, kicked everybody out of bed until he had to be appeased. He (Howard) has been the right bower of all the corrupt rings here; but while in his tantrums over this business he talked against the omnibus bill and knocked things endwise. But they have got him quieted by dint of strong lying, and he has reported their bill and falls again into line. These bargains, however, are of but little consequence.

There is not enough of Ferry even to make a man apprehensive.

They are lot of corrupt scoundrels, and will keep no agreements, except such as put money in their pockets.

You say, what are we coming to? This is a question I have revolved a good deal in my own mind, and cannot find a very satisfactory answer; but I think there is but one remedy, and that is defeat. Whenever the people learn the truth, they will apply the wholesome corrective.

Strickland is here, and Gale is here, and Ripley of Saginaw.

Mr. Chandler is cheek-by-jowl with Strickland, and will carry out his programme, if he can.

There are no open movements yet, because they do not know who is to be in the cabinet.

Of course these men make no account of services rendered the party or the country, but only to themselves.

I cannot tell you whether you had better come to Washington, but as soon as the cabinet is formed we can tell better.

It is said, and I think truly, that Delano of Ohio will be commissioner of internal revenue, and this will be very well indeed. He is a member of the foreign affairs

committee with me, and is an honest man. If we get a secretary of the treasury as good as he, I shall have some hope of successfully opposing these rascals.

Everything will have to go through the department, I think. Let us wait a little and see. It is a comfort that the rascals will have to disappoint a good many, anyway. Yours truly, AUSTIN BLAIR.

It will be noticed that a part of this letter has reference to the attempts to remove Dr. Fish from office and to put in a friend of Strickland. In spite of Blair's efforts to save his friend, this was done, and Dr. Fish shortly afterward went to East Saginaw to take charge of the *Enterprise*, in which he was interested. Early in May, 1870, Blair learned that Strickland had the Fish letter, or a copy of it, in his possession, and he at once wrote to Dr. Fish about it. Under date of May 19, the latter gave the following explanation: "When I transferred the collector's office to my successor, I had a private desk in which were many letters, yours among the rest. This desk was of the kind that might be opened by any ordinary key, but as I did not dream of anybody stealing anthing out of the desk, I did not hurry about moving my private letters. It seems I didn't know my men."

Just who purloined the letter from the desk is not known, but Strickland is the first one known to have had any connection with the circulation of the letter; and he was openly charged with having had the original at Washington, with showing it to his fellow members and with certifying to the genuineness of copies sent throughout the state. Indeed, when Blair wrote his explanation, he alluded to it as "the letter which is now in the hands of Strickland and of which I have no copy, except one made and certified by him, with which a friend has furnished me." Strickland is also reported to have said, in reply to an inquiry as to how he came by the letter, that it was sent him by Dr. Fish's successor, who found it among some old files in the collector's office; and then he added: "But it doesn't make any difference how we came into possession of it. We have got it now and mean to keep it, and kill Blair off with it in the next senatorial contest." It is certain that Strickland had the letter, for he admitted as much in an authorized statement by the Clinton *Republican*, published at his home; it is certain that he certified to copies for distribution, unless we are to presume that Blair deliberately lied in his published explanation; the successor of Dr. Fish in the collector's office was a henchman of Strickland, indebted to him for the office. It is a very natural presumption that he found the letter in the desk and very promptly transmitted it to his political godfather. And such came to be the settled belief. It was a dirty piece of business, but "everything is fair in love and war," and practical politics is the least honorable kind of warfare.

After having been circulated extensively prior to the convening of the legislature, by those desirous of "killing Blair off," it was published at length in the *Free Press* on the very day of the senatorial caucus, and created no little sensation.

All the irritating and exasperating circumstances surrounding this letter have been given, in justice to the memory of Gov. Blair. It is now 33 years since that letter was written. Political passions have subsided, and few will fail to sympathize with Gov. Blair in his protests against the dastardly manner in which his private correspondence was dragged forth and published by his political enemies. "The letter was not written to the public, or for the public," said he in an explanation of all the circumstances under which it was written; "neither did I, or any friend of mine, have anything to do with its publication, and no responsibility rests upon us for any unpleasant results that may follow from that act. To me personally it is only one of a long series of persecutions from the same sources. I have always borne them in silence, thinking it better to overlook them than to distract the repub-

lican party by public complaints." After a full explanation, he continues: "The public will judge of it. I indulge in no reflections upon it, although the provocation is strong to do so. I make no apology for writing that letter and crave no mercy in reference to it. I do not admit that it was even an imprudence to write it, for the highest human ingenuity cannot wholly protect us against thieves."

There is no doubt that Blair's characterization of Howard as "the right bower of all the corrupt rings" in Washington was a great injustice to that statesman; and there is no doubt that he afterwards expressed regret at writing that part of the letter. Howard was, therefore, surprised at Blair's reiteration of the charge in his explanation, and he came back with a reply, that is just such a legal argument as one would expect from the masterly mind of Howard. He justifies his record in a convincing manner. His reply to Blair's claim of the privacy of correspondence is purely technical, however, and scarcely in accord with a courteous regard for another's private affairs. He says: "Neither common sense nor law supports his puerile plea of personal privilege in regard to private correspondence. Both law and reason hold a man responsible for all he says of another, whether it be private or public. * * * A person might * * * by writing numerous letters give the calumny a wide and very harmful circulation, and then object to being held responsible to the parties aggrieved on the ground that the letters were private." What "might have been" is not a very forcible argument; and Blair is not known to have written any other letters of the kind.

THE NOMINATION OF SENATOR.

It was understood that the senatorial caucus would be one of the first things in order after the convening of the legislature on January 4th, so politicians of high and low degree, and others of no degree in particular, thronged to Lansing immediately after New Year's day. They carried the Lansing House by storm, filled up the Chapman House, Everett House, and Edgar House, and then overflowed into boarding houses and private residences.

Ferry's retainers were the first to arrive, on the evening of Monday, January 2d, but they were closely followed by Blair's supporters. The "Detroit lobby," under the leadership of Senator Howard himself, arrived the next day. William A. Howard's arrival seemes to have attracted but little attention, but he came before Senator Howard, for an amusing story is told, with some variations, of their first meeting in Lansing. As the senator left the 'bus in front of the Lansing House, he met William A. Howard face to face. Both stopped short, and Jacob laughingly ejaculated: "The devil!" "The devil!" responded William in the same good humor. "Why, William, you look pale," added Jacob. "Pale!" exclaimed William with a significant glance at the crowd of Blair and Ferry men around them; "well, you'll look pale after you've been here two hours." And before Jacob has elbowed his way through to the hotel register. he realized the significance of William's paleness.

The four candidates disappeared from view very soon after their arrival and left the conduct of the fight to their retainers, and it rapidly increased in bitterness and intensity. The rush and jam were awful. The citizens of Lansing even caught the spirit of the thing and seemed to regard it as a local affair. They took sides and mingled with the "boomers" from abroad. No member was allowed to eat a meal in peace, either in hotel, boarding house or residence; and as to sleeping—the lobby had "murdered sleep."

The Ferry men were, perhaps, the most numerous; they were noisy, but not offensively so; they were mostly young men, but, whether young or old, intensely enthusiastic; and they were confident of the justness of the claim of the west for

fairer recognition. Blair's forces were nearly as numerous as Ferry's and were made up of some of the most influential men from all parts of the State; they outranked Ferry's forces in age, experience, party service, and seriousness; they could not understand why Blair's magnificent anti-slavery and war record should be forgotten; and, like veterans, they kept their strength well consolidated. Senator Howard's adherents were of the same veteran type as Blair's, but they consisted of the political "ins," while Blair's friends were the "outs," as regards federal patronage. So nearly balanced, apparently, was the strength of Blair and Ferry, that Senator Howard at first thought that neither one could be nominated; so he continued to hope. William A. Howard developed little strength either among members or outsiders. Like Lazarus, he was looking for any crumbs that might fall from the table.

The caucus was called for Wednesday evening, January 4th, in representative hall of the old capitol. The idea of a secret caucus prevailed until noon of that day, when it was seen to be unsatisfactory and the doors were ordered opened to all. The time set was 7:30, but as early as six o'clock the crowd began to pour in, and by seven the jam was extreme. Senators, representatives, lobbyists, and citizens were standing or sitting on stools, steps, railings and the floor—anywhere to see or hear. The large double doors were open, and spectators out in the hall stood on every available object to raise them above the heads of those in front. Of the more prominent republicans in the State, it would have been difficult to name ten who were absent. Several prominent democrats were present, notably George V. N. Lothrop and D. Darwin Hughes. All four of the candidates were in the hall, unknown to many but alive to all that passed. William A. Howard stood back by the lobby seats, one leg thrown over the railing, with little of hope reflected in his face after the first ballot. Senator Howard had a seat not far away. His intellectual face bore a serious look, for he had begun to realize the hopelessness of his case, and he had determined to insure Blair's defeat by turning his strength, so far as he could control it, to Ferry. Blair mingled with the crowd and continued to wear a smile of complacent assurance, until the result of the last ballot was announced, when that smile went out forever. His letter to Dr. Fish had appeared in the *Free Press* that very day, and had created a great sensation. His friends had been working hard all day to palliate its damaging effect.

Every one of the 97 republican members was present, although several belated ones had to be hauled in through the windows. Jammed together almost to suffocation, the crowd was nevertheless quiet and good natured, in their anxiety not to lose a syllable or motion that was said or made. The very intensity of feeling insured silence.

Speaker Woodman was made chairman, and Senator Randall secretary. The politicians, perhaps afraid of the eloquent harangues that might be based on Blair's magnificent record, were determined that no nominating speeches should be made. The following incident is illustrative: Senator Randall was surprised at his election as secretary, and could not account for the unexpected honor. He was afterward told that the rumor had been started that he intended to make a speech for Blair, and so he was "shelved" for the time being. But it was no time for speeches. Every one was anxious for the first measurement of strength, so as to ascertain what work should be done. Representative Huston, of Tuscola, after struggling out of the sardine-like mass of humanity, voiced the unanimous sentiment in a motion for an informal ballot. Representative Brockway, of Calhoun, next arose, with as much dignity as was possible when emerging from such a jam, and in measured tones that resounded through the hall, moved that, as the

roll of the house was called by counties and that of the senate by districts, the senators and *republicans* come forward and deposit their ballots. This little slip of the tongue, like the touch of Ithuriel's spear, let loose the imprisoned spirit of mirth, and roars of laughter followed, relieving the tensity and insuring good humor.

During the counting of the first ballot, bets and predictions were made, both Ferry and Blair men claiming 40 votes. The result, however, was: Blair 30, Ferry 30, J. M. Howard 20, W. A. Howard 17. The supporters of both Blair and Ferry were surprised, but neither could glory over the other. The second ballot stood: Blair 32, Ferry 31, J. M. Howard 18, W. A. Howard 16. Although the change was insignificant, Blair's friends applauded his lead. The third ballot stood: Ferry 37, Blair 35, J. M. Howard 16, W. A. Howard 9. Ferry's friends went wild. Shouts and yells filled the air and desks were violently pounded. Bedlam reigned. Blair's friends were alarmed and commenced vigorous work among the members. Amid much confusion the fourth ballot was taken, and showed: Blair, 40, Ferry 37, J. M. Howard 15, W. A. Howard 5. It was now the turn of Blair's friends to make a demonstration. From their temporary depression they were swept to the other extreme and pandemonium itself was outdone. Another set of hats flew into the air, higher than the first; men jumped upon benches, chairs, and desks, and yelled until hoarseness choked them off. And yet a few of Blair's more sagacious friends were far from satisfied with the condition of affairs. They realized that the situation was serious, inasmuch as they knew that the greater part of the strength of the two Howards would go to Ferry in preference to Blair. It was now evident that there would be a deadlock, but that either Blair or Ferry would be nominated. Increased activity on the part of the Detroit "Howard-if-possible-but-anti-Blair-anyway" clique became apparent, as the next ballot was taken.

On the fifth ballot Blair had 43, Ferry 41, J. M. Howard 9 and W. A. Howard 4. Although Blair was in the lead, Ferry had made the greater gain. The increase in Blair's vote, however, thoroughly alarmed his opponents and forced them to decisive action. They made a frantic rush to Senator Sheley, of Detroit, who was supposed to have authority to withdraw Senator Howard's name, and he became the center of an excited, gesticulating crowd. The St. Clair and Sanilac members, who had stood by William H. Howard, were urged to abandon a hopeless struggle. As a result of this work, five of Senator Howard's votes and all of William A. Howard's votes, nine in all, went to Ferry on the sixth ballot, giving him 50, one more than enough to nominate. Blair still held his 43, while Senator Howard dropped to 4, and William A. Howard out of sight.

The work was done. The Ferry men, who had rested during the Blair demonstration and got their "second wind," now yelled themselves almost black in the face, jumped, hammered, and kicked like lunatics. The old capitol fairly trembled with their demonstrations. It was a scene indescribable, to be witnessed but once in a lifetime and never forgotten.

The successful candidate was introduced and addressed the assemblage in an elegant expression of gratitude. "There are moments in the lives of men, as well as of nations," he began, "when the command of every disposable power fails to meet the demands of the occasion. I confess to you to-night my inability to express my deep sense of gratitude for the distinguished trust which you have confided to me. Profoundly impressed with the gravity of the trust imposed, I do not shrink from its responsibilities." The character of the opponents he had met in the contest made the honor of the victory still greater, and he paid them this fine tribute:

I am more than proud to have contended with gentlemen for this place, who stand peerless in our State. The commanding genius of the present senator, whose reputation is as wide as the nation—to compete with him is honor enough for any man. To stand associated with the best speaker of our State, whose words have added strength and political power to our Commonwealth, is also worthy of any man's ambition. To contend with a governor, whose war record stands peerless in the sisterhood, is also worthy of the same.

Senator Howard returned to Washington and completed his term of office; but scarcely had he done so, when his earthly career was also ended. And Gov. Baldwin announced to the two houses of the legislature: "The people of Michigan and of the United States have lost a citizen who, for intellectual power, had few superiors. It is meet and right that we take heed that no position or strength, however exalted, is beyond the reach of the great destroyer." And in that hall, where he had met defeat, as well as in the senate chamber, eloquent eulogies were pronounced upon the deceased statesman. Before another campaign Austin Blair doubtless thinking that the nomination of Horace Greeley would effect that "one remedy—defeat," alluded to in his letter, had foresworn his allegiance to that great party, under whose auspices he had won renown. William A. Howard dropped out of sight politically. Ferry was duly elected and served three terms as senator. Then he, too, experienced the gall and bitterness of political defeat and retired to private life.

All are dead. The State has raised a monument to the memory of Austin Blair, the War governor; but to remind us of the others naught remains but a few pages of history, and those pages are growing dimmer day by day.

VI.—The Work of the Legislature of 1871.

The work of this remarkable legislature is worthy of the attention of all who are interested in the growth and development of the State's policies and institutions. A brief survey of its more important and interesting doings will now be taken.

THE NEW CAPITOL.

The necessity for the building of a new capitol had long been apparent. A movement in that direction had been made just before the outbreak of the civil war, and plans had even been procured; but the project was abandoned in view of the great expenditures they would probably be necessary in the impending struggle to save the Union.

The gross inadequacy of the old capitol and the other state building has already been noticed. Governor Baldwin, in his message, urged this upon the legislature as a reason for immediate action. As the building then used for state offices occupied the site designed for the capitol, and other accommodations would have to be provided, he recommended an appropriation of $30,000 for the construction of a building for that purpose, on the front of the old capitol block, of such a form that it might be sold for business purposes after the new capitol was completed. He also recommended an appropriation of $10,000 for procuring plans and specifications for a new capitol, and another of $100,000 for the year 1872, toward the construction of the same.

Senator Sheley introduced a bill on the subject, which was referred to the committee on state affairs and finance jointly. Those committees considered the bill and the governor's recommendations together and reported the bill which was finally passed.

Governor Baldwin took a great interest in the pendency of the bill and did all he could to further its progress, consistently with his position as governor. Considerable alarm had been excited by the recent settling of the floor and timbers under the library, owing to the great weight of books, and Governor Baldwin appeared in the hall of the house of representatives one day, at the head of a delegation of senators. With great *empressment*, in the presense and hearing of a crowd of agitated representatives, he pictured the grave danger of an avalanche of senators and ponderous tomes on the heads of the statesmen below. Not only was the project for a new capitol given a noticeable jog ahead, but the two houses, by concurrent resolution, ordered the removal of the books.

The bill passed the senate with but two dissenting votes and went to the house. Representative Hart had introduced a similar bill, but the senate bill was recommended. Its consideration in the committee of the whole was made the special order for March 22d, and its fate in the house was watched with much anxiety by the citizens of Lansing, for the agitation of the question of a new capitol had stirred up the ambitions of other cities. Ionia was a thriving place and thought herself a little nearer the center of the state. Grand Rapids was getting to be a railroad center, and was not at all averse to being made the capital. And even Midland was not without ambition, claiming to be the exact "hub" of the State. So the anxious citizens of Lansing, crowding the lobby and all the space outside of the double doors, with bated breath, watched the proceedings of

> The great, th' important day, big with the fate
> Of Cato and of Rome.

Nor could they breathe freely again, until they saw the bill favorably reported by the committee of the whole and passed by the house with only eight dissenting votes. In the exuberance of their joy they went away and "made a great feast," for the legislators, well knowing

> That happiness for man—the hungry sinner—
> Since Eve ate apples, much depends on dinner.

The act provided for a board of state building commissioners, and made the appropriations recommended by the governor. F. O. Grosvenor, James Shearer, and Alex Chapoton were appointed as such board. Mr. Grosvenor was elected vice-president, the governor being ex-officio presiding officer, and Allen L. Bours was appointed secretary. A contract was let for the construction of the building for temporary state offices, at $30,693.94, an excess over the appropriation, which was provided for at the extra session of 1872. This building was completed and accepted in November, 1871. It is still owned by the State and is partially occupied for office and storage purposes, the new capitol having already proved too small for the accommodation of all the departments.

The plans of Elijah E. Myers of Springfield, Ill., for the new capitol, were awarded the first prize and adopted by the board. He was engaged as architect and superintendent of construction, at a total compensation of $25,000. The contract for the construction of the building was let to N. Osborn & Co., of Rochester, N. Y., and Detroit, for $1,144,057.20. The act of 1871 had fixed the limit of the cost of the capitol at one million dollars, but an amendment in 1872 raised the limit to $1,200,000.

In connection with this subject it is proper to note an incident that occurred in the senate. On March 30, Senator Romeyn, who was a member of the school board of Detroit, presented to the senate the box and contents originally deposited in the corner stone of the territorial capitol at Detroit on September 22, 1823. After the State abandoned that capitol in 1847, the building was turned over by

the city authorities to the board of education, to be used for school purposes. In making some repairs in the fall of 1870, the box was brought to light. It was opened by the board of education, its contents noted, and then it was enclosed in another box, with numerous articles of interest, and ordered presented to the legislature as its proper custodian. Senator Romeyn then offered a resolution that the box "be deposited with the secretary of state, with instructions that the same be placed in the corner stone of the new capitol building," which was adopted.

THE COMPILATION OF 1871.

The constitution of Michigan provides: "No general revision of the laws shall hereafter be made. When a reprint thereof becomes necessary the legislature, in joint convention, shall appoint a suitable person to collect together such acts and parts of acts as are in force, and, without alteration, arrange them under appropriate heads and titles. The law so arranged shall be submitted to two commissioners, appointed by the governor, for examination, and if certified by them to be a correct compilation of all general laws in force, shall be printed in such manner as shall be prescribed by law."

In common with most of the States, and the United States as well, Michigan, under the first constitution, started out with the practice of having periodical revisions of the whole body of general statutory law. In no other way can the laws be kept condensed and consistent as a whole. It is characteristic of a legislature, which assembles only at long periods, remains in session but a short time, and is composed largely of men of moderate legal acumen and less literary training, to pile up crude and inconsistent statutes. Acts are passed with little regard to their effect on existing statutes, and thus inconsistencies, redundances, and duplications creep in, which, in a mere compilation, are piled one upon another and left for the mystification of public officers and attorneys, and for the supreme court to clear away.

The State of Michigan, however, had a very unsatisfactory experience with revisions, principally on account of its "ruling passion" to get something for nothing, a characteristic that has "come down to us from a former generation" of New England immigrants. The preparation of a code of laws calls for the exercise of the very best legal talent and should be done by at least two commissioners, to whom, to insure the best results, there should be made a liberal allowance of time and compensation. The character of the revisers employed by Michigan cannot be criticised, but the insufficient number of commissioners, the lack of time allowed, and the beggarly compensation paid availed to spoil both jobs.

The change from a territorial to a state government required the adaptation of the general laws to the new order of things. The legislature of 1836 made William A. Fletcher a commissioner for the revision of the laws, but he was to be paid only for the time spent in the work, not to exceed in all $1,500! Instead of being allowed the opportunity of devoting his whole time and attention to this most important work, Judge Fletcher was appointed chief justice of the supreme court, the onerous duties of which he continued to discharge while the revision was in progress, thus making the preparation of the code for the regulation of the general administration of the government of the new State virtually a secondary consideration. This revision was published in 1838 and is accordingly known as the Revised Statutes of 1838. It was so full of defects and required so much amendment, that it soon became practically useless.

In 1844 the legislature provided for a second revision by a commissioner, who, with the chancellor and the presiding judge of the first circuit, constituted a

council of revision. The commissioner, however, was practically responsible for the work, at a compensation of $150 per quarter—$50 per month—and such further compensation after his final report as the legislature might prescribe. Such further compensation proved to be the munificent sum of three dollars per day for superintending the publication. And such a man as Sanford M. Green rendered such services for such compensation. This may be deemed an instance of patriotic, self-sacrificing devotion to the public welfare, but it looks more like arrant robbery on the part of the State. This revision, from the year of its issue, is known as the Revised Statutes of 1846.

One thing that particularly frightened the State and made it look askance at revisions was the length of time the legislature had to remain in session, in each case, to enact the code prepared for its consideration. All these considerations made the constitutional convention of 1850 determine to prohibit future general revisions, a thing of doubtful advantage in view of present conditions, when the general statutes fill three ponderous volumes and are still growing.

The first compilation made under the present constitution was that of 1857. The legislature passed an act approved February 2, 1857, providing for a compilation, and Thomas M. Cooley of Adrian was elected as compiler in joint convention, by a vote of 84 to 12 for Joseph Miller of Kalamazoo county. A compensation of only $1,400 was provided for the compiler, with $250 apiece for the commissioners, who were Hovey K. Clarke of Detroit and Albert M. Baker, of Adrian. As it was further provided that 5,000 copies of the compilation were to be deposited with the secretary of state by the 1st day of November, 1857, the time allowed was limited. The character of the compiler, and not the time or compensation allowed, is what gave the State so good a work as the Compiled Laws of 1857, which has been the basis of every compilation since.

An attempt was made at the session of 1869 to pass an act for another compilation, but it failed. In 1871, however, Governor Baldwin earnestly recommended one. An act was passed, approved January 25, 1871, providing for a compensation of $2,000 for the compiler and $350 for each of the commissioners. Ten thousand copies were to be deposited with the secretary of state by March 1, 1872. The legislature elected James S. Dewey of Pontiac, by a vote of 64 to 28 for Thomas M. Cooley of Ann Arbor, 22 for Andrew Howell of Adrian, 9 for Lyman D. Norris of Ypsilanti, and 3 for Benjamin F. Graves of Battle Creek—Judge Dewey having just enough votes to elect him. The governor appointed as commissioners Charles Upson of Coldwater and Ezra L. Koon of Hillsdale.

At the time of his election, James S. Dewey was judge of the sixth judicial circuit. Inasmuch as the constitution provides that circuit judges "shall be ineligible to any other than a judicial office during the term for which they are elected, and for one year thereafter," and also that "all votes for any person elected such judge, for any office other than judicial, given either by the legislature or the people, shall be void," grave doubts arose as to the legality of the election of compiler. The senate asked the opinion of the attorney general, Hon. Dwight May, and he, after a careful consideration of the question, concluded that the compiler is an officer within the meaning of the constitution; that Judge Dewey, being a circuit judge at the time of his election, was not eligible to the office; and that all votes cast for him were void. No action in the premises, however, was ever taken, and Judge Dewey prepared the Compiled Laws of 1871.

Judge Dewey, who was then in the prime of life, being 38 years of age, had already prepared much of the work required in the compilation and was strongly endorsed by all the attorneys of his circuit, without regard to party.

STATE BOARD OF CORRECTIONS AND CHARITIES.

An important innovation in the management of public institutions was made by the legislature of 1871. This was the creation of a "Board of State commissioners for the general supervision of charitable, penal, pauper, and reformatory institutions," the name of which board was afterward shortened to its present form of "The Board of Corrections and Charities."

The first board appointed under the act creating it consisted of Charles I. Walker of Detroit, William B. Williams, of Allegan, and Henry W. Lord of Pontiac, with Charles M. Croswell of Adrian as secretary. No power was given the board to make any changes in the actual management or mode of conducting State and county institutions, but its design was, by inspection, suggestion, and comparison, to aid in making them more effective for the purposes for which they were intended.

The board commenced operations in September, 1871. The few State institutions then in existence were found to be in a satisfactory condition generally, their construction, equipment, and management being fairly good. The board was impressed with the need of a reform school for girls and urged its establishment even at that early day, though many years passed before such recommendation was acted upon.

But the best work of this board has been done among the county institutions, which were then found, with a few exceptions, to be in a deplorable condition. The jails appeared to have been constructed simply for the safe keeping of prisoners, and even in that respect frequently proved to be failures. Neither cleanliness, health, nor comfort had been considered, except in a very few cases. Foul odors from closets filled the buildings; ventilation had not been thought of, and moral conditions therein were even worse than the sanitary conditions. Little or no thought was given in those days to the classification of inmates in jails; little girls were locked up with notorious prostitutes, and truant boys were placed in forced companionship with degraded and desperate characters. These conditions have been almost entirely changed for the better. Jails are better constructed, ventilated, and managed, and prisoners are properly classified and separated.

Very few county poorhouses were found to be what they were intended for and should be. They were poorly planned, with no provision for the separation of the sexes, or, indeed, for any proper classification and separation of inmates. They were without proper heating, ventilating, or bathing facilities; and generally the inmates were huddled together and maintained in any but a charitable way. The board entered upon the correction of these evils, with patience, but with a determination which has resulted in marked improvement. Few of the old houses remain. In their places have arisen houses better adapted to the purposes for which they are intended, arranged so that a good system of classification and separation can be maintained, with fair ventilating, heating, and bathing facilities.

Even if the legislature of 1871 had done nothing else but create and set in operation this board, its existence would have been a blessing to the State.

THE INSURANCE BUREAU.

Another work of great practical benefit to the people was the creation of the State insurance bureau. Prior to this time the State had exercised but a nominal control over insurance companies doing business within the State, and that was done in the state department, whose numerous other duties overshadowed this important work. Now a separate bureau was organized, with a commissioner of insurance at its head, vested with extensive discretionary powers of supervision

and control. Samuel H. Row of Lansing, who had long had charge of insurance matters in the state department was appointed the first commissioner and held the office until January, 1883. He entered upon his duties May 1, 1871, and brought all his skill and experience to the difficult and important work of laying the foundations of the future work of the new department. The practical results attained have proved the wisdom of the legislature of 1871. Irresponsible "wildcat" companies have been banished from the State, reliable companies well regulated and controlled, the people protected and the revenues of the State largely increased by the closer attention to the collection of specific taxes.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

Another important principle, that was engrafted upon the policy of the State by this legislature, is that of compulsory education. The preceding legislature had made our primary school system a free one, in every sense of the word; and the conviction had now become settled in the minds of those interested in educational matters, that, if the education of children was of so much importance to the people as to warrant the State in offering the means of education free to all, then there was a reciprocal duty on the part of parents and children to accept such offer. If the state was bound to furnish free schools, the child was equally bound to go to school. This idea found expression in an act "to compel children to attend school;" and the foundation was thus laid of our present policy of compulsory education. In this act the responsibility for the non-attendance of children was laid altogether upon the parents; but, in the system as since developed and now subsisting, the truant pupil shares in the responsibility and may be punished as a juvenile disorderly.

LEGISLATIVE APPORTIONMENT.

The federal census taken in 1870 required, under the provisions of the State constitution, a re-arrangement of senatorial districts and a re-apportionment of representatives among the several counties. The legislature of 1871 was elected under the apportionment of 1865, based on the State census of 1864. That apportionment has been given on a preceding page, and I now give the apportionment of 1871, to show how the relative population was shifting among the counties and how the newer counties were encroaching on the older ones.

This apportionment of representatives gave Wayne nine; Lenawee and Kent each four; Allegan, Berrien, Calhoun, Genesee, Hillsdale, Jackson, Kalamazoo, Oakland, Saginaw, St. Clair and Washtenaw each three; Barry, Branch Cass, Clinton, Eaton, Ingham, Ionia, Lapeer, Livingston, Macomb, Monroe, Ottawa, Shiawassee, St. Joseph, and Van Buren each two; Bay, Gratiot, Houghton, Huron, Marquette, Montcalm, Muskegon, Newaygo, Oceana, Sanilac, and Tuscola each one. The district groups with one each were as follows: Manistee and Mason; Benzie and Leelanau;—Grand Traverse, Wexford, Missaukee, Kalkaska, Crawford, and Manitou;—Isabella, Midland, Gladwin, Clare and Roscommon;—Iosco, Ogemaw, Alcona, Oscoda, Alpena, Montmorency, Presque Isle, and Cheboygan;—Mackinac, Emmet, Charlevoix, Otsego, and Antrim;—Chippewa, Schoolcraft, Delta, and Menominee;—Keweenaw and Ontonagon;—Mecosta, Osceola, and Lake.

The first three senatorial districts comprised the same portions of Wayne county as in the last arrangements, although in the description of the third the city of Wyandotte is mentioned. The other senatorial districts are as follows: 4th—Washtenaw; 5th—Monroe; 6th—Lenawee; 7th—Jackson; 8th—Calhoun; 9th—Hillsdale; 10th—Branch; 11th—St. Joseph and Cass; 12th—Berrien; 13th—Van

Buren; 14th—Allegan; 15th—Kalamazoo; 16th—Barry and Eaton; 17th—Ingham and Clinton; 18th—Livingston and Shiawassee; 19th—Genesee; 20th—Oakland; 21st—Macomb; 22d—St. Clair; 23d—Lapeer, Sanilac, and Huron; 24th—Tuscola and Bay; 25th—Saginaw; 16th—Iosco, Alcona, Roscommon, Alpena, Gratiot, Midland, Isabella, Clare, and the unorganized counties of Ogemaw, Oscoda, Montmorency, Gladwin, and Presque Isle; 27th—Ionia and Montcalm; 28th—Kent; 29th—Ottawa and Muskegon; 30th—Newaygo, Oceana, Mecosta, Mason, Lake, Osceola, and Manistee; 31st—Wexford, Benzie, Grand Traverse, Leelanau, Manitou, Antrim, Charlevoix, Emmet, Cheboygan, Mackinaw, Missaukee, and Kalkaska, and the unorganized counties of Crawford and Otsego and the islands in the straits of Mackinaw; 32d—Chippewa, Delta, Menominee, Marquette, Houghton, Keweenaw, Ontonagon, and Schoolcraft (with its islands and attached territory), the islands of Lake Superior, Green Bay, and River Sault Ste. Marie.

MISCELLANEOUS ENACTMENTS.

It would take too much time and space to note specially all the important items of legislation enacted by the legislature of 1871; but among those meriting at least a passing notice are the following: An appropriation of $75,000 for erecting a new hall for the State university, to be used chiefly for recitation and lecture rooms for the academical department. An act for the uniform inspection of lumber. This act made each county an inspection district, except that Saginaw and Bay were united into one district known as the Saginaw district, and graded and classified all lumber into "First clear lumber," "Second clear lumber," "Third clear lumber," "First clear strips," "Second clear strips," "Third clear strips," "Common lumber," "Shipping culls," and "Mill culls." An appropriation of $10,000 for the purpose of building a chemical laboratory for the State Agricultural college. An act subjecting all persons holding office under the State to removal for drunkenness. An act providing for the appointment of commissioners for the enlargement of the St. Mary's Falls ship canal, the growing needs of commerce requiring such enlargement and the United States having appropriated $250,000 for that purpose. An act providing for the election of township drain commissioners and the establishment and construction of township drains. An act for the more effectual prevention of cruelty to animals, which laid the foundation of our present effective regulations on that subject, the only law up to this time having been one short section in the compiled laws. An act to establish a State public school for dependent and neglected children, which was the beginning of the legislation for the foundation of the magnificent institution at Coldwater. An act to provide for the appointment of a State reporter of the decisions of the supreme court, which, with some amendments, is still in force. An act to provide for the appointment of a commissioner to prepare bills for the incorporation of cities and villages under general laws. Under this act Judge Andrew Howell was appointed and prepared two bills, which were enacted in 1873 and 1875. These general acts did away with much special charter legislation. Although they have been superseded, they laid the foundation for the general legislation of the State in the matter of municipal incorporation.

THE TWIN PENINSULAS.

(BY MRS. HANNAH F. TAYLOR.)*

There stood, among the heavenly hosts, in ages long, long past,
One Chaos. Discontent had gained him enemies. At last
In labored conclave did his angry brothers thus devise
His banishment to earth; and, lest there might some time arise
A retinue of friends, to follow in his lonely track,
They hurled him down with mighty force beneath the cloudy rack;
To share his exile, Nature, fairest maid of heaven, sought,
And thus to all the heavenly hosts her sweet forbearance taught.
The angry God was moved in pity at her lovely face,
And swift he sent good Nature down in all her tempered grace.
Wherever Chaos roved she went, and laid her softening hand
To smooth the rugged rifted lines upon the broken land.
He builded gleaming fires that blazed and leapt, with danger fraught,
While smelted ore in streamlets ran from scablings as he wrought;
He carved in love the rocks and hills around our gracious State,
Yet broke the peaceful land in twain, a carnival of fate.
Deep, deep, the mighty chasms yawned, the emblems of his skill,
Where in her graceful loveliness good Nature roamed at will;
Loud thunders broke o'er all the sky, the mass of moving screed
Plunged in the open Chasms and dissolved for Nature's need.
From Heaven's windows, open wide, there poured the melting rain
That drained in flood the icy heights from all the rivers' plain.
The waters wimbled through the scree, and flecked the waves with foam,
Where even yet in majesty, the Huron's billows roam.
Perchance the sign of Heaven's love was hid from Nature's eye.
The darkened, cloudy mist obscured the rainbow in the sky.
Bold fragments stared in silent awe, across the great divide
A league apart, which, once cemented, all the storms defied.
But Nature laid her kindly hand, and soil grew overhead,
Where Chaos in his fiery wrath had made a treasure bed.
The rivulets and widening rivers swiftly drained the plain;
(What Chaos loses ever is Dame Nature's lucksome gain;)
The waters filled the empty, yawning chasms, deftly curved,
For whom, that matchless nectar of Superior conserved;
The swimming fish, fowl, birds of song as ages wandered by,
Dear Nature brought to fill the lonely groves with melody.
Now mighty beasts went roaming o'er an unknown continent
Where reptiles crept among the grass and trees which o'er them bent.
As Nature, smiling, traced the footsteps of some fondling pair,
Some dreaming creatures instinct with the life upspringing there,

*Hannah C. Fowler was born in Aurelius, Ingham county, Michigan, December 14, 1845. Her father, H. Linus Fowler, was born at Pittsfield, Mass., married Clarena Nancy King of Batavia, N. Y., and settled in Aurelius in 1842. After a few years in the district schools and a few terms at the Eaton Rapids high school she began teaching in Aurelius at the age of sixteen. In 1872 she was married to Thomas C. Taylor, of Almont, a former principal of the Leslie high school, and a graduate of the University. The Taylors occupy the home farm, where Mr. Taylor, who is a lawyer by profession, was born and reared. They have a family of six living children.

The timorous creatures sought to flee from an unequal strife
To keep, by constant watchful hiding, that good treasure, life.
But now there came a Spirit being that, with practiced skill,
Went, Godlike, roaming thro' the wilderness at will;
Man, king of all the earth; she kissed his brow so undefiled,
And knelt beside this stately, prescient, self-trained, forest child.
The ages came and went away, yet leaving little trace
Of all the deeds of this strong man to mark his dwelling place.
Unless, perchance, the portaled pictured rocks, (one dare suggest,)
Were piled by this stone-carver to prepare his place of rest.
Go like the flinty arrow-head and polished skinning stone;
The simple implements with which our continent was strown.
And thus there came, thro' fire and flood, our own race at the last;
Thus had they braved the wars, the wilderness, had safely passed
Thro' all the Indian tribes who roved the far historic East,
To reach this far-famed hunting ground for savage man and beast.
The beech and maple standing guard beside the singing pine;
The oak and waving walnut that must life and growth resign
That man might have his dwelling place, the city and the farm,
To crown his home with happiness and keep his babes from harm.
The wiley Indian baffled, fought, to yield without a groan.
Distraught by rival friends and foes, his heart was turned to stone.
The rocks along the northern cliffs, were his. The skillful oar
Was hidden with his birch canoe beside the rocky shore;
Or oft he floated on the wave, or bent his twanging bow
To fill his need, *or try his skill*, or slay a wily foe.
He loved the lands about the lakes, the wild deer's fountain home;
For there his sons had played and swam amid the water's foam.
The undeveloped northern lands, the wealth of unknown mine
Was naught to him, and yet he loved the woods, so near divine.

Thus did our own race find at last these simple forest folk,
Thus did they dwindle from our vales. No servile, grinding yoke
Could bend the haughty spirit of these kingly, savage braves,
Who, silent, crept along the path of fate, to forest graves.
A few were haply saved by love, and dwelling with us yet,
As peaceful Christian citizens thro' our good St. Marquette.
And still a few, the broader faith that lights the soul of man
To push from darkness on to reach the great Creator's plan;
To mingle with the faith unseen, its superstitious awe,
The tenderness that love has wrought to crown her golden law,
Shall yet imbue the kingly race to rise and mock defeat,
The lessons of the pale face tuned to Nature's fine conceit.
Alas! the horrid bane of rum by which full many fell,
Who that has strength shall keep and guard his own good goings, well.
The stale old scientific law, "The fittest shall survive,"
Will sometime change, and stronger men shall help the weaker thrive,
(Be this a passing tribute to this nation of the free
That Cuba creeps in swaddling robes, the child of liberty.)
Amid these waving classic groves, beneath propitious sky
The merry little Cedar river purling sweetly by
As in the olden warlike days when lofty forest trees
Made silent waving shadows at each wanton, listless breeze,

We meet to gather up some relics of the past, and read
Along the good State's backward track some lofty earnest deed
Of those long gone who wrought to bless our grandly growing State
With wisdom and foreknowledge, thus to turn blind, reckless fate
Into a freer, broader channel as it onward flows
With added strength, a strong, true current, whither, as it goes,
The student children of a bookish race may eager trend,
And with the learning of the dowered schools may wisely fend,
For all the grandly rich achievements modern mortals teach
And careful sift the good from false, as *erring* mortals preach.
"We look about us," and behold where lofty forests stood,
Where waved the moaning wilderness, the orchards promise good,
The dainty bloom and fruitage sweet by wise old Nature blent
With tender, careful pruning, trained to follow her intent.
The stately ships that come and go on wide, sweet water seas,
From Erie to Superior, to catch the wildering breeze,
To crown the State with commerce, as the merchant ships go by,
Where brave old Briton's Lion and the Stars and Stripes let fly.
The war-drum's rolling beat no more calls brother men to fight,
The billows on Lake Michigan that roll like mountain high,
Portend the rocks which line her bed o'er which her proud ships ply.
The flocks and herds on spreading farms graze fearlessly at ease,
While temples in the distance tell man's prescient power to please.
For every child of Michigan, the rich, the poor, the weak,
Shall feel the gift of kindly care, her kiss upon his cheek.
This State, our twin peninsula, with orchards, corn and mine
And all things needful for man's good and pleasure intertwine.
One of a Union grand and true, what wonder if her sons
Shall of her boast, the good she holds, as boastful language runs.

Oh well for us to be acquaint with Nature, and the lore
The Indian drew as innate breath at Nature's open door.
He loved the grand old waving trees and worshiped as he ran—
This proud old student, Nature's own brown forest nobleman.
Gone is his Indian war-whoop, quite forgot his savage skill;
And yet the cultivated college yell is often with us still.
It rolls in wild terrific wails beneath sweet summer skies,
Blent with the winds, an echo of the red man's sacrifice.
He went; the sturdy settler came; the wilderness is gone;
But in its place the son of toil, with honest farmer brawn
That blent with skill of handiwork, the training of the men,
Who turn the wheel of industry o'er field, and hill, and glen;
Who change the woods to cities grand; the valiant chopping done
Which laid the fruitful virgin soil bare to the sweltering sun.
The tulip, linden, tamarack, with health in every limb,
Went down before this conqueror in woodland dank and dim.
The water gateways of the west, Detroit and Mackinaw,
The victors of our battlefields, the deadly strife they saw.
The rich made earthy bed where lies the molten metal ore
Upheaved to light by labor's might. The tapping earth's deep store;
The sawing of the forest trees. The wealth of wood and stone;
The piled up stores of centuries for nations yet unknown.
This, this in peaceful panorama sweeps our glorious State,

The Southern sister clasping hand in hand, her Northern mate.
About the State the railways run, her schools are pushing hard
To fit her sons and daughters well, a valiant Nation's guard,
Trained intellect, trained eye, trained hand, might of unswerving skill,
Blent with the genial brown of sun. The firm, determined will
Shall yet give what they promised who all the future saw.
The mills, the mints, the salt, the sweets that fill a nation's maw:
The cogent storied learning of the simpler, grander schools
That train the prescient thinking hand to give the potent tools
Tenacious grip upon the forces but half understood.
Yet somewhat bend those latent forces to the people's good.
The forces blent of radiant light and heat endowed to meet,
The needs of man. To eager brush the darkness from the street
Where cities congregate and give the light, the glorious light,
That matchless gift which man has hung among the mists of night,
In flood effulgent, harnessed as a champing, eager steed,
On rushing as the multitude has met its gracious meed.
The light of factory, of home, of templed grandeur, reared
To bless mankind by surer route than Babel has appeared
Nigh to the heavens lifting up in deeds belike to God
Where mankind follows on upon the path Omiscience trod.

God bless her Michigan, her industries, her schools, her homes,
Protect the Michigander, please, where'er on earth he roams.
She looks to see him, staunch and true, where'er his duty calls.
She fain would bear him home to sleep, as thus he bravely falls.
But whether in his native soil, or far from home he sleeps,
The Wolverine in history, his gracious memory keeps.

HILLSDALE COLLEGE, HILLSDALE, MICHIGAN.

BY S. W. NORTON.

Hillsdale, the site of Hillsdale College, is a city of 4,000 inhabitants, in southern Michigan, 80 miles southeast of Detroit and 180 east of Chicago. It is situated on the main line of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad, and is the headquarters for the Ypsilanti, Lansing & Fort Wayne and Jackson division of the same road. The college buildings are located on College Hill and command a view of the city and surrounding country.

The college had its beginnings in the Michigan Free Baptist yearly meeting, held at Franklin, Lenawee county, in June, 1844, and has since been under the auspices of that denomination. The history of its establishment and growth will indicate its educational influences within the denomination, and a review of its courses of study as they have been developed, together with the attitude which the college itself and its alumni have assumed in the world of letters, will show its influence in wider educational circles.

The Free Baptist denomination was founded by Benjamin Randall, who organized the first church therein on the 30th day of June, 1780, at New Durham, N. H. Freedom of the will, immersion as the only form of baptism, and open communion were the essential parts of the creed. Its ministry were composed of earnest, zealous, selfsacrificing, but uneducated men. Indeed, a strong prejudice against an educated ministry seemed to exist throughout the denomination. Owing to this reason no institution of learning was established during those days. However, on the 15th day of January, 1840, about 60 years after the founding of the denomination, an educational society was organized at Acton, Me., to provide means for the intellectual and moral improvement of young ministers." The first Free Baptist church in the Territory of Michigan was organized near Ypsilanti, Washtenaw county, March 14, 1831. During the years immediately succeeding other churches were organized, notably in Oakland, Jackson, and Calhoun counties. In these churches the movement began which led to the founding of Michigan Central College, afterwards Hillsdale College.

As early as 1835 Elders Samuel Whitcomb, Eliah Cook, and Henry S. Limbocker, the founders of the denomination within the Territory, took a stand in favor of an educated ministry, and began to agitate the need of an educational institution. Their efforts were ably seconded by Hon. Daniel Dunakin, Eli T. Chase, of Eckford, Thomas Dunton, and Herman Cowles, of Battle Creek; Joseph Blaisdell, of Assyria; Rosevelt Davis, of Blackman; Jonathan Videto, Joseph Bailey, and William Smith, of Spring Arbor.

At the Michigan yearly meeting mentioned above, a resolution, substantially as follows, was passed:

Resolved, That a denominational school be established within the territorial limits of the yearly meeting; that a committee of three be appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws, and that a convention be called at the village of Jackson to consider and adopt such constitution and by-laws and to take such other measures as shall be necessary to establish the school. Lewis J. Thompson, of Oakland county; Henry S. Limbocker, and Rosevelt Davis, of Jackson county, constituted the committee.

The convention provided for in the resolution convened at the village of Jackson in July or August, 1844. The constitution and by-laws reported by the committee

CENTRAL BUILDING.

were adopted. Cyrus Coltrin, of Oberlin, O., was authorized to solicit subscriptions and to collect means to establish the school. The convention determined to locate the institution at the place where the most liberal inducements were offered, having due regard for the healthfulness of the location. Spring Arbor, having raised the largest subscription, secured the location. The churches throughout the State were vigorously canvassed and subscriptions were taken during the summer and fall of 1844. These subscriptions were of small amounts, the largest being that of Elder Chauncey Reynolds, who agreed to convey 80 acres of land to the institution as soon as it could be sold for $600.

The board of trustees met at Spring Arbor in October, 1844. The name of the institution was changed from Spring Arbor Seminary to Michigan Central College and a committee was appointed to secure a charter from the legislature. Daniel M. Graham was elected president, and the 4th day of December following was appointed on which to open the institution. Accordingly, on the day designated, Daniel M. Graham, president and sole member of the faculty, opened college in a small wooden story-and-a-half building, which had formerly been occupied as a store. Five students were enrolled. Other students came in during the term.

Two college buildings were commenced in 1845. These buildings were of wood, two stories in height, and plain in architecture. The plan was to connect them as wings to a main building to be erected subsequently. They were alike, each being about 35 feet wide by 60 feet long. The first floors were used as recitation rooms, the second for dormitories. These buildings were occupied in the fall of 1845.

The trustees were unable to secure a charter from the legislature of 1845 for the granting of degrees. It had been the settled policy of the State government to give the State University the exclusive power of conferring collegiate degrees, and no college charter had as yet been granted. An act was passed, however, which was approved on the 19th of March, 1845, enacting—

That Elijah Cook, Drusus Hodges, Jonathan L. Videto, Justus H. Cole, Joseph C. Bailey, Henry S. Limbocker, Lemuel W. Douglass, Lewis J. Thompson, and Enos W. Packard, and their successors in office, shall be, and they are hereby, constituted and deemed a body corporate, by the name and title of The Michigan Central College at Spring Arbor, and shall be trustees of said college, with the power to hold property to the amount of $30,000, to sue and be sued, to have a seal, with power to appoint and remove teachers, and to admit and dismiss students.

An act of the legislature was approved March 20, 1850, amending the above act, by granting the power "to confer such degrees and grant such diplomas as are usually conferred and granted by other colleges, providing the course of study pursued in said college shall be in all respects as comprehensive as that required, or shall be hereafter required in the University of Michigan." This act also granted authority to hold property to the amount of $100,000. In accordance with the privileges granted by the act the college conferred its first degree, in 1851, upon Elizabeth D. Camp, who was graduated from the scientific course. Classes were graduated also in the years 1852 and 1853. Livonia E. Benedict, afterward wife of Rev. William H. Perrine, D. D., of Albion, received the degree of A. B. in 1852, and was the first lady classical graduate from a Michigan college.

In the meantime the institution had been growing. An able faculty of active, progressive men had been secured whose presence and efforts brought increased numbers of students. Greater and better facilities were needed. To meet these demands the trustees appealed to the local community for a building fund, and to the denomination at large for an endowment fund. To this appeal the community made no response, and it soon became evident that to continue the operation of the

institution at Spring Arbor would effectually check its progress. At the meeting of the trustees in January, 1853, the expediency of a removal was discussed, resulting in the appointment of a committee to confer with the citizens of different towns and ascertain what inducements would be offered the college by way of buildings and grounds. Of the places visited by this commimttee, Hillsdale offered the largest inducements and secured the site of what is now Hillsdale college.

Michigan Central College opened December 4, 1844, and closed July 6, 1853. During this time it graduated 13 students, 9 from the scientific and 4 from the classical course. It received under its instruction about 700 students. Its buildings consisted of the two already mentioned and a smaller one subsequently constructed as a dormitory. It possessed about $500 worth of apparatus, and a library of about 2,000 volumes, which had been collected by individual contributions. About one-half of the latter were given by Amos Lawrence, of Boston, and Edward Everett, of Harvard College. At the time of its removal the faculty consisted of Rev. Edmund B. Fairfield, who had been elected to succeed President Graham in 1848, Professors Ransom Dunn, Henry E. Whipple, and Charles H. Churchill, and Miss Mary E. Williams. Much of the teaching in the lower branches was done by advanced students.

By the conditions under which the college was located at Hillsdale the citizens agreed to raise $15,000 within the township, and the college $15,000 more in the remaing part of the county, the entire sum to be devoted to building purposes. Within three months $37,000 was subscribed within the county. The trustees also determined to raise an endowment fund of $100,000, and $10,000 more for manual labor purposes. During the next year, while the college buildings were being erected, the faculty canvassed the denomination and succeeded in securing pledges to the above-named amount. In the meantime negotiations were on foot which resulted in the sale of Geanga Seminary, located at Chester Cross Roads, and the transfer of its effects to Hillsdale College.

The above steps were taken before the closing of Michigan Central College. When the time for removal came many difficulties arose. The corporation under the charter had no authority to receive the subscription to build a college at Hillsdale and no authority to remove to Hillsdale. By the State constitution of 1850 the granting of special charters to educational institutions was prohibited and no general statute existed whereby a college could be incorporated. Moreover, it had been contrary to the fixed policy of the State to grant college charters, that of Michigan Central College being the only one in the State. It was desided to use all honorable means to procure the passage of a general college law. Dr. Alonzo Cressy was elected to the Senate from Hillsdale, and Daniel Dunakin, of Calhoun county, to the house of representatives in that interest. This was in 1854, the year in which the republicans came into power in the State. The friends of the institution and the denomination had claims upon the new party which they strongly urged. A general college law was agitated throughout the State. Other denominational schools supported the measure, and as a result our present college law, under which the numerous denominational colleges of the State have been incorporated, was approved on the 19th day of February, 1855. This law was introduced and passed to meet the peculiar wants of Hillsdale college. Its history is a chapter in the history of the college. The citizens of Spring Arbor bitterly opposed the removal to Hillsdale. Suits were brought against the trustees, both in their corporate capacity and as individuals. During the pendency of these suits the efforts at Hillsdale seemed almost futile. Parties refused to pay their pledges. Work upon the buildings progressed but slowly, finally ceasing altogether. The enterprise must have failed utterly but for the

determination and energy of the leading spirits and the continued support of many of Hillsdale's leading citizens. The suits were in general decided favorably to the college, and with the passage of the general college law mentioned above prospects became brighter. Ground was broken for the new buildings on the 13th day of June, 1853, and on the 4th day of July following the corner stone was laid. The plans provided for one large building, or rather a group of five connected buildings, 262 feet long by 60 feet deep. The edifice was built of brick, four stories high above the basement, and was completed in the fall of 1855. The central portion contained the chapel, the treasurer's office, two society halls, and five recitation rooms, and was surmounted by a symmetrical dome. The basement of the eastern portion was used for a dining hall, on the first floor were the parlors steward's room, and the halls of the ladies' dormitories. The western portion contained the museum, laboratory, recitation rooms, and gentlemen's dormitories. The building thus constructed was plain in architecture, and standing upon the highest grounds in southern Michigan, presented an imposing appearance.

The college opened in its new home on the 7th day of November, 1855. The following named persons constituted the faculty: Rev. Edmund B. Fairfield, A. M., president; Rev. Ransom Dunn, professor of mental and moral philosophy and natural theology. Rev. Charles H. Churchill, A. M., professor of Latin and French languages and music; Rev. Henry E. Whipple, A. M., professor of English literature and history; Spencer J. Fowler, A. M., professor of mathematics and natural philosophy; James Dascombe, M. D., professor of chemistry and physiology; George S. Bradley, tutor; Miss Delia R. Whipple, principal of female department.

About 100 students were present at the time school began, and 162 were in attendance during the first quarter. The buildings were not yet completed and the rooms were not furnished. The hardy students substituted nail kegs for chairs, boxes for tables, and bunks of straw for beds, until better conveniences could be provided.

Classes were organized in the different courses of study. Four hundred and ninety-three students attended during the first year of school, 580 the second, 669 the third, and 757 the fourth year. The course of study in the college departments was substantially the same as that required at the State University. The instruction was thorough. A spirit of life and enthusiasm pervaded the whole institution. The members of the faculty were all able, energetic, eloquent, and progressive men, thoroughly identified with the work and bound to make it a success.

In 1860 the first class pursuing the full course at Hillsdale, 14 in number, was graduated. The standard of scholarship was steadily raised, a good working library was collected, a valuable herbarium and museum of natural history was established, a large collection of valuable geological specimens was gathered, and chemical and philosophical apparatus was procured.

On the 6th of March, 1874, the central building and west hall were burned to the ground, the museum, the collection of natural history, and a large amount of furniture and other property were destroyed. The loss was heavy, but no time was spent in lamentation. Before night arrangements were made to open school the following day. Churches and private rooms were converted into recitation halls. The trustees immediately determined to rebuild, funds were collected, plans procured, and on the 18th day of August, 1874, the corner stone of the new building was laid. A different plan from the old building was adopted. A group of five buildings was decided upon, consisting of Knowlton hall, Worthing Divinity hall, College hall, Fine Arts hall, and East hall. The first four named have been completed. East hall is the remnant of the old building.

The new buildings contain much more room than the old. Knowlton hall contains the museum, chemical laboratory, two recitation rooms, and three society halls: Worthing Divinity hall is the theological department; College hall, the chapel, library rooms, treasurer's office, Y. M. C. A.hall, and four recitation rooms; East hall, the parlors, dining hall, biological laboratory, and ladies' dormitories; Fine Arts hall contains two ladies' society halls, the music and art rooms, physical laboratory, and two recitation rooms. Besides the preparatory department the college provides for classical, philosophical and scientific, theological and normal courses. It also has music, art, and elocution departments. For entrance into the classical course students are examined in the common English branches; Latin grammar, including prosody; Cæsar, four books; Cicero, six orations; Virgil's Æneid, six books; Latin prose composition; Greek grammar and lessons; Xenophon's Anabasis, three books; Greek prose composition; Algebra to Part III; Olney's University plane and solid geometery; composition and rhetoric; United States, ancient history; natural philosophy; civil government; elementary botany, and elementary physiology. For entrance to the scientific and philosophical course students are examined in the same as above, with the exception of Greek, and one year of French additional.

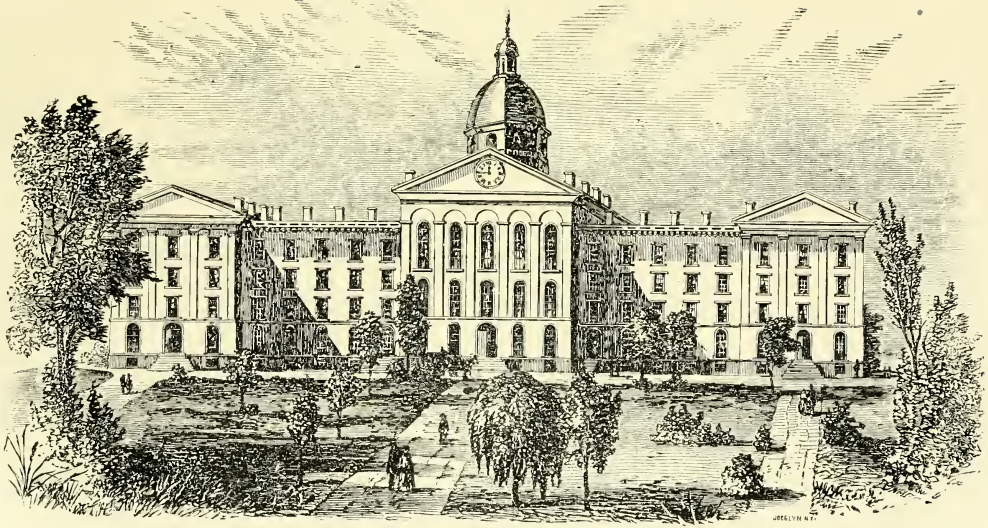
In the college proper the following branches are taught (the year is divided into three terms, and in the following statement a term's work consists of daily recitations throughout the entire term): Latin, four terms; Greek, five terms; mathematics, higher algebra, trigonometry, and surveying, general geometry and calculus, higher physics and astronomy, nine terms; chemistry, two terms; German, six terms; French, three terms; English language and literature, six terms; history, four terms; botany, zoology, physiology, geology, mental philosophy, evidences of Christianity, moral philosophy, international law, political economy, qualitative analysis, each one term. Aside from the above much extra work is required in the labratories.

The department of physics has much valuable apparatus, which is freely used in illustrating the principles of the science. Especial attention is given to the study of electricity and of its recent very interesting and valuable practical applications, as seen in the electric light. Prof. A. E. Haynes, now of the University of Minnesota, completed the raising of a fund of over $900 with which to add to the equipment.

The museum, while not pretentious in size, is fairly well provided with representative specimens in the mineralogical, paleontological and biological departments. The course in organic chemistry requires, aside from the general class work, 10 hours per week for 14 weeks of laboratory work. Organic chemistry follows, in which attention is given to the points of physiological chemistry best adapted to fit the student for the following year's work in biology.

The normal department is under the direction of Charles H. Gurney, A. M. It aims at a thorough preparation of teachers for their work, first, by careful reviews of the common English branches with methods of teaching the same, and frequent development lessons given by the students; second, by thorough training in those branches which a normal school should qualify its graduates to teach; third, by such a course of natural study as will qualify for the work of organizing, instructing and governing in our own common and graded schools. The course comprises four years of study. The music and art departments provide courses of five years in length, and are doing excellent work in their respective lines.

One of the chief objects of the founders of the college was the establishment of a theological seminary. The first year the college opened at Hillsdale Prof. Ransom Dunn, D. D., delivered a course of lectures to the students on natural theology and



HILLSDALE COLLEGE BEFORE THE FIRE IN 1874.

the evidences of christianity, and continued to deliver a course each year on the same subject until the spring of 1862. At this time the Free Baptist printing establishment gave to the institution the sum of $1,000 to begin the endowment of the Burr Professorship of Biblical Theology, and Dr. Dunn was elected to the professorship. At the commencement of the fall term the professor began two courses of lectures which were to extend through the year, one on systematic theology, and one on homiletics and pastoral theology, and, as occasion demanded, he gave instruction in church history.

In 1873 the Rev. J. J. Butler, D. D., author of Butler's Theology, accepted a call to the chair of Hebrew language and literature, and entered at once upon the work.

The same year Rev. John S. Copp, A. M., having just completed his theological course in Andover, Mass., accepted an invitation to occupy the chair of homiletics and church history. Two courses of study, one including and the other omitting the ancient languages, were drawn up, classes were organized, and ten students entered upon the course the first term. At present (1902) there are three professors in this department. The course is similar to that in other theological schools.

In June, 1902, Joseph William Mauck, A. M., LL. D., was elected president, and at once accepted the place. As at present (1902) constituted, the faculty is as follows: J. W. Mauck, LL. D., president and professor of political and social science; Kingsbury Bachelder, A. M., professor of Greek language and literature; Charles H. Gurney, A. M., alumni professor of logic, rhetoric, and English literature, and principal of the normal department; Stephen B. Harvey, A. M., professor of modern languages; Frank B. Meyer, A. B., Waldron professor of Latin language and literature; John M. Grove, A. M., professor of natural science; Clark L. Herron, M. S., Hart professor of mathematics; Miss Susie B. Manning, woman's dean and professor of history; Harry S. Myers, A. M., B. D., principal preparatory department and instructor in English theological department; Rev. D. B. Reed, D. D., dean and Mark's professor of ecclesiastical history; Rev. J. T. Ward, D. D., Burr professor of systematic theology; Rev. Leroy Waterman, A. M., B. D., professor of Hebrew language and literature. Music department—M. W. Chase, Mus. Doc., director, professor of pianoforte, harmony and theory; F. Edmund Edmunds, professor of voice-culture and chorus director. Oratory and expression—M. Myrtilla Davis, M. S., instructor in oratory and expression. Art department—The head of this department, Prof. George B. Gardner, A. M., resigned in 1900, and the board has supplied instruction in free-hand drawing since then. A new principal will be elected in 1902. Physical culture—Miss Susie B. Manning. In 1893 the State legislature enacted a law authorizing colleges to qualify for State certificate work under supervision of the State board of education, and was the first college in the State to receive this recognition. Each year since then several of the graduates have also received the State teachers' certificate.

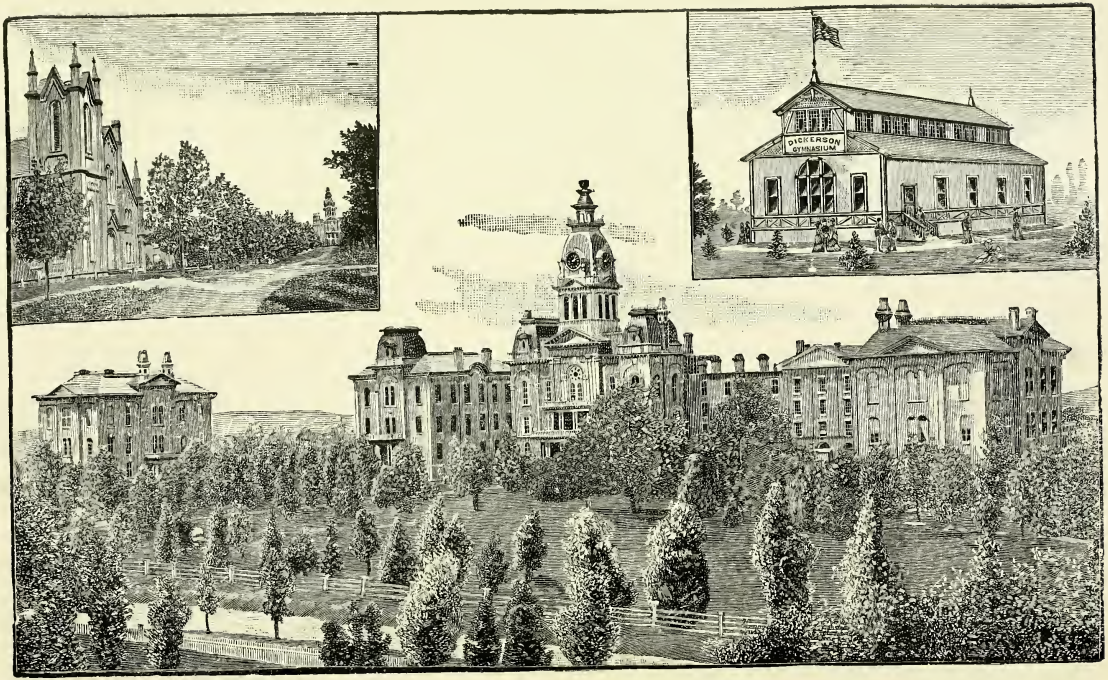
Hillsdale college has been a pioneer in the educational reforms of the age. From the first it has given the same advantages to the colored race as to the white. It was the first college in the State, and one of the first in the country, to admit ladies to rights and privileges equal with gentlemen. It was the first in the State to establish a gymnasium for physical culture. It was also the first and is now the only college of Michigan having a theological department conferring degrees. The work of the college in installing the true scholarly spirit into its students is well shown by the number of those who after graduation take post-graduate courses in the various professions.

The college has graduated 997 students, of whom 583 were gentlemen and 414 ladies.

The buildings and grounds and equipment are estimated at $125,000, and the working endowment fund amounts to $240,000; aside from this about $50,000 exists in maturing pledges.

Presidents of Hillsdale college and terms of service:

1. Rev. Edmund B. Fairfield, D. D., LL. D..... 1855-1869
2. Rev. James Calder, D. D..... 1869-1871
3. Rev. Daniel M. Graham, D. D..... 1871-1874
4. Rev. De Witt C. Durgin, D. D..... 1874-1884
5. Rev. Ransom Dunn, D. D..... 1884-1886
6. Hon. Geo. F. Mosher, LL. D..... 1886-1901
7. Charles H. Gurney, A. M..... 1901-1902
8. Joseph W. Mauck, LL. D..... 1902-



COLLEGE CHAPEL. KNOWLTON HALL. WORTHING DORMITORY. COLLEGE LADIES HALL. FINE ARTS.

SCIENTIFIC USES FOR MICHIGAN FOLK-LORE.

BY HARLAN I. SMITH.*

The Indian tribes of Michigan have a considerable literature, consisting of legends and myths which, since they had not written language, have been preserved by frequent repetition. As literature, these are not of the highest type, although probably better than is generally supposed. The scientific use of this material is not necessarily impaired by its lack of literary merit.

The following tale which is an example of this folk-lore was collected in October, 1894, at Peonagowink, an Ojibwa Indian community, situated on the west side of the Flint river in Saginaw county, Michigan. It was told in broken English by an old Shaman, now an exhorter in the Indian Methodist church:

My ancestors told me that at one time eleven Ojibwas went on the warpath beyond the Rocky mountains. Their leader, when a young man, had been painted with black coal and, with other young men, had fasted from ten to twenty days, until they began to dream of what to do in life when they went to war. If a war party would be successful it should take the exact number of men indicated by the dream. This man had not been in the habit of dreaming. He led his party westward, fulfilling all the directions he had received in his dream until on a mountain they saw a nest surrounded by water, like an island. There they saw two birds as white as snow, which their leader told them not to harm. One of the party, lingering in the rear, foolishly attempted to shoot the birds with his bow and an arrow. Whenever he aimed at one of the birds it winked and the arrow was split by a slight stroke of lightning accompanied by a little thunder. The party went on. They saw black clouds gathering in the east and heard heavy thunder. The leader told his men to separate and stand under the large trees. The thunder approached rapidly and became terrific. The man who had attempted to shoot the birds was struck by lightning which left only his skin. The party was frightened and feared that they would be punished because that member of their party had done wrong in trying to kill the birds. The leader was successful in obtaining some scalps and returning home, at which time they had a dance.

This tale is a curious combination of mythological and legendary characters and also contains unmistakeable references to puberty rites. The narrator, although an old man, could not explain the story, which like all folk-lore preserves ideas and traces of philosophy long forgotten by his people.

The references to the thunder bird, the painting of the face and fasting when young, show that the same influence was present with his people as with people even as far west as British Columbia. There is folk-lore evidence showing a con-

* Harlan I. Smith was born in Saginaw, Michigan, February 17, 1872. He was educated in the schools of that city, and attended the University of Michigan, and was given practical instruction in exploration under Prof. Frederick W. Putman, of Harvard University. Prior to 1890 he investigated the archæology of the Saginaw Valley. In 1891 he was an assistant at the Peabody Museum at Harvard, afterwards assisting Prof. Putnam at the Columbian Exposition. From 1891 to 1893 he explored ancient mounds in Ohio. He continued this work in Wisconsin and Michigan. In 1891 and 1893 he was in charge of the Museum at the University of Michigan. In 1894 he explored the Garden Beds at Kalamazoo, Michigan. He was engaged as special assistant at the American Museum of Natural History at New York in 1895, but since the following year he has been a member of the faculty. He was a elected a member of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society because of his valuable contributions. He belongs to the Association for the Advancement of Science, the Museum's Association of Great Britain, the American Ethnological Society, the Anthropological Association, the Folk-Lore Society, the Michigan Academy of Science, and many similar societies. He is the author of many valuable works, and is very helpful in preserving and developing anthropological history.

tinuous line of influence transferred from tribe to tribe from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the head waters of the Columbia. Michigan folk-lore is one of the links in this chain.

The puberty rites illustrate the fact that religion and philosophy may be reconstructed to a certain extent, from survivals in the tales told by people who have long since failed to understand their import.

To a certain extent the earlier ethnological customs are recorded in these homely tales. In this case we have a clue to the great distance war parties traveled, the method of painting and fasting, a knowledge that the bow and arrow were carried by war parties, the taking of scalps, the social organization under a leader, and the dance.

The narrator of this story did not believe it, although he did when young. His son does not know it, his grandchildren probably have never heard it. The two latter generations talk English. This is practically the case with all of the Indians of Michigan. When these old Indians die this mass of literature and its possibilities become extinct. Bibles and song books have been printed in which Indian words have been substituted for English, but we can hardly say that, of the literature of the several Indian languages of Michigan, any has been recorded in the State for future study.

The development of the State has been so rapid that these matters have been overlooked. There are yet a few old men living who can relate such material. A record of it by phonetic symbols retaining the original Indian is most desirable for the uses above suggested. The imminent danger of the entire loss of the material, however, pleads that it be recorded in any manner, however imperfect or fragmentary. The Indian who keenly feels that his race is doomed to extinction likes to leave such records behind him and may be easily persuaded in the matter.

CERTAIN SHAMANISTIC CEREMONIES AMONG THE OJIBWAS.*

BY HARLAN I. SMITH.

In the vicinity of Saginaw Bay and its tributaries there still exist small, isolated bands of Ojibwa Indians, many living upon their own land, somewhat as do the poorer classes of white farmers. They still retain some of their old customs, and although most of them are nominally Methodists, a surprisingly large number, on close acquaintance, reveal the fact that the influence and many of the old superstitions of the Midé still survive. These are overshadowed by white customs and Methodist teachings, except to him who penetrates into their innermost life as a friend, taking them as they are, and without attempting to change them.

Naturally the younger individuals, mingling more with the whites and being educated at government or public schools, do not acquire the knowledge of the language, or, much less, the ancient ceremonies and folk-lore of their ancestors.

From some of the older people and early settlers have been secured stray instances of shamanistic ceremonies practiced upon the sick. Disconnected as these may be, and premature as a description may seem, I have thought best to make them known, without waiting for further study, in order that they may be available to others.

Mr. Joseph Compau, a French fur trader, who settled in this region when it belonged to the Indians, told me that, about 1841, while living upon the Cass river, about ten miles above Saginaw, he was very sick with a severe pain for three or four days. At that time Mishégashing, an old shaman, whose son now lives in Isabella county, came from near Tuscola. He brought a hollow bone about six inches long, the size of one's finger, and without administering any drug, or going through noticeable movements or singing, he pressed the bone against Mr. Compau's side and sucked through it very hard. He then showed him a piece of black material, resembling charcoal, which he claimed to have sucked out of him through the tube, and persuaded Mr. Compau that it had been the cause of the pain, which would soon cease. Mr. Compau at once felt better and soon recovered. He said he fully believed in the cure.

In August, 1869, from the old shaman, Katimshiwa, now professing to be a devout Methodist, I secured a bone tube, which he claimed was the one used for the removal of disease and pain. He was so sick and infirm as to be unable to talk much, and left me in doubt as to the exact way in which he employed the tube. Although undoubtedly it was used in the well-known way for sucking out the disease spirit, yet from his feeble attempts at explanation, and from what he told me on former visits, I am led to believe that he also had it for other mystic rites. This tube was deposited in the American Museum of Natural History, New York.†

Mr. Lemorandi, who is of Ojibwa and French origin, and who has lived and traded with the Indians for many years, told me the following: Nachchicome, who lived at the Poyganing Settlement between Saginaw and Bay City, was sick, and Saganima, a shaman of the Northern Peninsula, came to see him. After singing all around him, he went to the sick man and said: "I do not wonder you are sick. You have lost your soul and are about to die. A raven took your soul away from you. I can get it back." Saganima then went to the mystic wigwam he had made

* Presented before the Section of Anthropology of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at the 45th meeting, Buffalo, 1893.

† Cat. No. $\frac{1}{4887}$.

for the purpose, and went through his ceremonial formula of words. He then transformed himself into a hawk, and flew up and away after Nachchicome's soul. He soared over the middle of Lake Huron, where he saw the raven, darted upon him, and wrested the stolen soul from him. He put it in a small box so it could not escape, and carried it back to the mystic wigwam. Here he assumed his original form, then went to the now nearly expired Nachchicome saying, "I secured your soul." He then sang, and telling the sick man to open his mouth, blew in the lost soul, and Nachchicome was well again.

Mr. Lemorandi is also authority for the following: When he was buying furs near Mt. Pleasant in the spring while the Indians were making maple sugar, Sinogemaw's squaw was very sick, and was going to die. They sent for Shawanasowa, an old shaman, who came in a canoe with Mr. Lemorandi and began his ceremony with singing and the use of various little charms. He then told them her soul was gone, that another shaman Nagaek had taken it, because he was angry. Shawanasowa was more powerful than Nagaek, and in the night went, by some superhuman power, several hundred miles to visit him. He obtained her soul, placed it in a small box for safety, and brought it back. He had the squaw open her mouth, and blew in the soul. She recovered and lived to be an old woman.

Mrs. Eva Golson, the daughter of an early pioneer, told me that as late as in 1866, when her mother was living at the mouth of the Cass river, and was sick with "chills and fever," she went for an Ojibwa shaman, after failing to get relief from her own people. When he came he refused to perform his ceremonies over her because she was a woman, and said his squaw doctored women, he cured men. He went for his squaw and returned in about two weeks, having waited for the time most favorable for the cure. Two squaws came with him. After bringing them he went away in his canoe, but returned for them when they were through. The old squaw began by covering her patient with many blankets. Then she made her a drink by boiling powdered "herbs, barks and roots." After part of this had been swallowed the remainder was placed under the blankets and left to steam, while the blankets were kept down tight. Then these blankets were removed, one by one, until about the usual bed covering remained. This occupied about four hours of the afternoon. She came next day, found her patient well, and, receiving her compensation, went her way.

From Katimshiwa have also been obtained specimens of his medicines.

FERRY SERVICE BETWEEN DETROIT AND WINDSOR.

BY FRIEND PALMER.*

Before the advent of Capt. John Burtis, with his horse boat, which he brought from Cleveland in 1825 or thereabouts, the traffic between the two points was carried on by small boats and scows, the former for the conveyance of passengers, the latter for teams and passengers as well.

William Baubie, of Windsor, recently deceased, was engaged in this business before Burtis came. He owned a scow and seven row-boats, and has often related to the writer his experience in the ferry marine.

Capt. Burtis' boat was called the Olive Branch, a scow-constructed craft propelled by horses. It resembled a "cheese-box on a raft," and Mr. Bolio, one of the old French residents, whose widow is still living in this city, was also engaged in the same business about that time, and with the same appliances. And now comes Capt. Ben Woodworth, of Woodworth's hotel, who has this advertisement in the Detroit Gazette of April 20, 1820:

OVER! OVER!!

The subscriber has obtained a license to keep a Ferry on the Detroit River, and calls on the public for patronage. He has provided an excellent Flat, and his Boats for passengers are superior to any that can be found on the River. Careful men have been engaged to attend the Ferry, and constant attention will be given, in order that passengers may suffer no delay. Persons wishing to contract for their ferriage by the year, will be accommodated at a low rate, and landed at any point within a reasonable distance of the landing-place on the opposite shore. Freight will be taken over at a low rate.

☞ The Ferry is kept nearly in front of the Steam Boat Hotel.

B. WOODWORTH.

N. B.—Persons wishing to cross are desired to give notice at the Steam Boat Hotel.

Detroit, April 20, 1820.

Capt. Burtis' horse-boat was a side-wheeler. These wheels were made to revolve by two horses, which trod on a circular table, set flush with the deck in the center, and revolved upon rollers, which, being connected with the shaft, set the wheels in motion. The horses remained stationary on the deck, the table on which they trod revolving under them, and being furnished with ridges of wood, radiating like spokes from the center, and which the horses caught with their feet, thus setting the tables in motion.

*Friend Palmer was born in Canandaigua, New York, May 7, 1820, and came to Detroit May 7, 1827. His father was of the firm of F. & T. Palmer, general merchants, Detroit. In the winter of 1842 he went to Buffalo to take service in the book store of W. B. & C. E. Peck of that city. They were also agents for the Pomeroy & Company's express (now American express), which was then just started, and in its swaddling clothes. For about two years he was the only clerk of the express, doing all the office business of the Eastern and Western express that has now grown to be such a Colossus. He resigned in 1845 or 1846, and returned to Detroit, and on the outbreak of the Mexican war entered the office of the United States Quartermaster. After the conclusion of the war he engaged in the stationery and blankbook business in Detroit, and continued this about 10 years. On the breaking out of the civil war he entered the service of the State as Assistant Quartermaster General. He was appointed Quartermaster General by Governor Crapo at the commencement of his second term, and continued in office until September, 1871, when he resigned. He settled the civil war claims of the state against the United States, and collected about $575,000. Since 1871 he has been in the real estate business with his cousin, Hon. T. W. Palmer, ex-United States Senator. November, 1851, he married a daughter of Judge B. F. H. Witherell, who died October 1, 1880.

The following advertisement in relation to the horse-boat ferry appeared in the Detroit Gazette in 1825:

"HORSE-BOAT FERRY."

The subscribers have recently built a large and comodious

HORSE-BOAT,

for the purpose of transporting across the Detroit river passengers, wagons, horses, cattle, etc., etc. The boat is so constructed that wagons and carriages can be driven on it with ease and safety. It will leave McKinstry's wharf (adjoining that of Dow & Jones) for the Canada shore, and will land passengers, etc., at the wharf lately built on that shore by McKinstry & Burtis. The ferry wharves are directly opposite.

Mr. Burtis resides on the Canada shore and will pay every attention to those who may desire to cross the river.

D. C. M'KINSTRY—J. BURTIS.

The writer crossed the river on this boat many times in 1827 and afterward.

The "horse-boat" continued on this route until 1833, when Capt. Burtis superseded her with the steamer Argo, which Capt. Jenkins, of Windsor, built for him in that year. This little steamer I have alluded to slightly in a former article. For the following, in regard to the ferry business, I am indebted to the late Capt. J. W. Hall, marine reporter at this port in 1878:

"In 1834 the Argo had a rival on the ferry route called the Lady of the Lakes. The status of the ferry business did not vary materially until 1836, when the United was brought forth. Mr. Jenkins got up this craft for Louis Davenport. The United was 71 tons burden, and continued on the ferry route until 1853. Subsequently she was converted into a lumber barge, and is still (1878) in commission. During her term of service as a ferry she had several masters. Those we at present call to mind were Capts. Davenport, W. Clinton, and J. B. Baker. In 1842 the Alliance began plying. After a few years her name was changed to the Undine, Capt. John Sloss. Tom Chilvers at different times commanded her. The Argo No. 2 came on the route in 1848. Not long afterward an explosion took place on board, killing Capt. Foster, her master, and others. After reconstruction she was for several years commanded by Capt. W. C. Clinton, father of the present Capt. W. R. Clinton, and afterwards by Capt. James Forbes until 1872, when she was taken from the route. In 1852 Dr. Russell built and placed on the route the Ottawa, commanded by Capt. W. R. Clinton, and subsequently by Capt. A. H. Mills. The steamer Gem, built for W. P. Campbell, came out in 1856, and was first commanded by Capt. J. B. Goodsell, and afterwards by Capt. Tom Chilvers, the latter having had for a short time on the route the Mohawk, formerly a British naval steamer. The Windsor was also built in 1856 by Dr. Russell. She was commanded by Capt. W. R. Clinton. After a short period of service she was chartered to the Detroit & Milwaukee railway, and was burned at their dock in March, 1866, with the loss of several lives. Subsequently she was rebuilt, converted into a barge and is now (1878) in commission on Lake Michigan. The Essex, built by Messrs. Jenkins, came out in 1859, and began ferrying. She was commanded by Capt. George Jenkins. After running for some years she was laid up for a time and again took the route, plying more or less of the past (1878) season. The steamer Olive Branch for a time also served as a ferry during the period of 1859. She was owned by W. P. Campbell. The Detroit, built at Algonac for Mr. Campbell by Zadock Pangburn, came on in 1864, and, with others above referred to, continued plying until 1875, when she was retired. The Hope was built in 1870 for George N. Brady and Capt. W. R. Clinton, the latter taking charge of her. The present (1878) fleet of ferry setamers consists of the Victoria, built in 1872, Capt. W. R. Clinton; the Fortune, built in 1875, Capt. Walter E. Campbell; and the

Excelsior, built in 1876, Capt. W. L. Horn. The last named steamers, in point of superiority in their get-up and accommodations, are unsurpassed anywhere in the world. And what adds to this is that their officers are obliging and gentlemanly in their deportment, and spare no pains in caring for all who travel over this important thoroughfare."

This statement was made 24 years ago, and the great advance the ferry company has made since that time all are quite familiar with.

Another pleasing feature about this ferry business is the liberality of the company in allowing the public to enjoy in season the luxury of riding on their boats from morning until evening for ten cents each person; children in baby carriages and arms free. Just think of it! Nowhere else in the world can this be duplicated, nor the routes either, for that matter. In the early days no such luxury was dreamed of. It was available to a limited extent, but no one ever thought of taking advantage of it.

Although I have copied freely from Mr. Hall's article, I was quite familiar with all the ferry boats, etc., that he mentions. The ferry dock during the time of the Davenports and a little earlier was at the foot of Griswold street. The steamboats Argo, 2nd, and United ran every fifteen minutes or so into a slip on which the Davenports, Lewis and his brother, built a commodious structure for a waiting room, saloon, and restaurant. The saloon and restaurant were run by John Edwards, whom many, no doubt, will remember as an exceedingly jolly and pleasant Englishman. This waiting room, saloon, and restaurant were built over the water on piles.

CAPT. BURTIS AND HIS STEAMBOAT ARGO.

I have barely mentioned this mite of a steamboat and her jovial captain in a former article, but think both boat and captain deserve a more extended notice, as it was this city's first attempt in steamboat building.

The Argo was built in this city at the foot of Wayne street. The captain was a pioneer in the ferry business between Detroit and Windsor, he having, as before mentioned, commanded the horse ferry-boat that plied between the two cities. His ambition in the navigation business was not satisfied, so he essayed the steamer Argo (this was in 1833). She was fashioned out of two immense trees, or logs, hollowed out like canoes, and the two were joined together, fore and aft, but were spread apart and decked over with side wheels. Shadrick Jenkins, father of the Jenkins brothers, Windsor ship builders, was the builder also of several vessels respectively at Detroit, May (this side of Walkerville), and Malden. It seems to me that I was on hand almost daily when the building of this boat was in progress, such an interest I took in it.

The boat was finally completed and launched, sideways, into the slip near by. She was a success in a small way, as far as steam propulsion was concerned; but was very "cranky." The Free Press published in 1879 (the exact date I do not remember) an article I wrote in relation to Capt. Burtis and his steamboat, which I think will bear reproduction here:

INTERESTING RETROSPECT.

"Rambling about the city a few days ago, I found myself in the City cemetery on Russell street, corner of Gratiot avenue, and it occurred to me that as the order had gone forth for the removal of the bodies still remaining buried there, I might idle away an hour or so scanning the few remaining tombstones, and that perhaps I might remember something in relation to them that would be of interest to the living.

"Many of our old residents will remember Capt. Burtis. His grave is so near Russell street that the passerby can or could read his name on the tombstone; doubt-

less many have done so, when it stood erect, and perhaps have wondered who this person was that once owned the high-sounding title of "Captain." Quite recently some miserable vandal broke the stone in twain. The captain had the gift of forcible language to a remarkable degree, and I can imagine him standing beside his own grave, in the flesh, giving vent to his feelings against the perpetrators of the useless act, in some of his choicest English. He died in 1836, at the age of 45, so the stone records, and though comparatively young, he had lived long enough to accomplish some few things to help along the growth of this great city and state. He was the first to establish a decent ferry between this city and Windsor. Many will remember his boat that looked something like 'Erickson's cheese box on a raft,' propelled by horsepower. It was a wonder to all the natives as well as a great convenience to the inhabitants on both sides of the river. He continued this for a while until he superseded it by something new and better, viz.: the steamer Argo, the first steamboat built in Michigan. After serving as a ferry boat for a short time, it became the pioneer of steam river navigation between Detroit, Port Huron, Fort Gratiot, St. Clair, etc.

"I well remember the building of this diminutive steamer and the captain's overseeing the same. It was built almost in front of the hardware house of Buhl, Ducharme & Co., on Woodbridge street. The hull was composed of two immense logs, hollowed out and joined together, making a huge canoe, as it were, and when sufficiently completed to receive her miniature engine, she was helped into the river on rollers. Her trips to Port Huron and other places were trips to be remembered. I ventured on three of them to St. Clair and return and the incidents connected therewith are as fresh in my memory as though they had happened yesetrday. She was awfully 'cranky,' this little Argo, and it required considerable vigilance on the part of her captain to keep his passengers from 'shooting' around and tipping her over. One occasion I remember well. On one of the trips I mention, the late Thomas Palmer was with us, and he, being of goodly proportions, it behooved Burtis, who was at the helm, to keep his eye on him. Every once in awhile he would sing out, 'For God's sake, Uncle Tom, keep in the middle of the boat, or you will have us over,' or 'Trim ship, Uncle Tom,' or 'Look out, Uncle Tom,' until 'Trim ship, Uncle Tom,' came to be a by-word during the excursion. This little Argo soon passed away and was superseded by another and larger steamer of the same name, but not another 'Burtis.' The jovial and genial captain fell a victim to cholera, I think."

RELEASED BY MAN POWER.

Another funny incident occurred on one of these trips that I have hitherto failed to record. My uncle had imported from the then lumbering state of Maine, an experienced hand, or expert, in the lumber business, for service in his water saw mill, located some miles up Pine river, in St. Clair county. Well, this chap was with us on one of these excursions. Everything went along all right until, steaming quietly and serenely close to the shore, between Algonac and Newport (now Marine City), the Argo suddenly ran her nose into a dense bunch of alder bushes on the river bank, and stuck there hard aground. The utmost power of the diminutive engine was unable to extricate the boat. My uncle suggested to Capt. Burtis that perhaps his man from Maine might do the thing, as he was over six feet tall and quite lanky. Well, the chap was quite willing, and, cautiously letting himself into the water, at the bow of the steamer, where the water was about up to his waist, he, without much effort, released the Argo from her plight. Then the question arose, how was the man from Maine to get aboard again without tipping us over. He was bound to do it, if he tried it where he was at the bow, so the captain told him he must try getting aboard over the stern. The water there was up to his arm-pits,

but he managed to crawl aboard over the stern, with the help of those on board, and we proceeded on our way rejoicing.

UNCLE TOM'S MISHAP.

Here is another incident in connection with the Argo and Uncle Thomas Palmer. On one of these trips the latter found it necessary to go aft. To accomplish this it was necessary to climb over the paddle-box, and as he was executing this feat he broke through and caught his foot in a bucket of the paddle-wheel. It was a test of strength between himself and the engine. The engine gave up. Palmer extricated his foot and the Argo proceeded on her way.

It's a long way from the little Argo to the steamers Promise and Tashmoo, and from these to what———?

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF JOHN ASKIN.*

(The original of these papers is in the library of Clarence M. Burton,† of Detroit, who generously furnished copy.)

1812.

Sunday June 14: last night & all this day fair warm & pleasant, went with Mrs. Askin to Church. Dined at Mrs. Pattinsons & returned—Two Vesselles arrived at Detroit, the first this season. the Queen Charlotte also Arrived with the Lt. Governor & Sir John Johnson at Maldin.

* * * *

Tuesday June 16th last night & this morng fair; but overcast & not warm; The wind S. W. The Governor & Mr. Clows (Clews) at Sandwich, went to Sandwich & dined.

Wednesday June 17th last night and this morng: fair warmer & pleasant very little wind at S. W.—The Queen Charlotte to sail with General Brock to day & the Commodore.

* * * *

Militia called out. Tuesday June 23d. last night and this day, warm, fair & pleasant. Went to Sandwich after Dinner. Capt. McKee & Family came & staid all night.

* * * *

Wednesday July 1st * * *

Warr the News of it. being declared reached us nearly at Midnight. Mr. McIntoshes McIntoshes Vessell with a great part of her goods sailed for Maldin in the night and the News didn't reach detroit Untill next day about 9 o'clock. We were up all night. James & Alexdr. went to Sandwich and returned.

Thursday July 2d. last night & this morng. fair but very windy, the whole of the Militia Ordered Out for 10 o'clock.

Friday July 3d. last night & this morng: fair & warm. All the Militia called Out & Embodied yesterday. all except 2 Companies marched to Maldin this morng. Ordered back. Nelly & Children here at night. Ri Thames Militia going past.

Saturday July 4th last night & this morng. fair warm & pleasant, went with Nelly to Sandwich; an Alarm this night. went into the woods with Children.

Sunday July 5th last night & this morng. fair calm & warm. Mrs. F. Baby & children with Mrs. Pattinson & hers, slept at our House last night.

Came to Mr. La Valle's.

Monday July 6th Mrs. F. Baby & Nelly with their Children & Servants so Alarmed, that we went to Mr. Parais & staid all last night on this day went to Mr. La Valles & slept there. fireing from the Sand Hilles at Springwells on Sandwich, struck some houses but no person killed.

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*This copy has been strictly followed, and no attempt has been made to change spelling, punctuation or capitalization, but no modern type permits all the contractions and quaint customs originally used.

†Clarence M. Burton, son of Charles S. and Anna Burton, was born at Whiskey Diggings, California, Nov. 18, 1853. He graduated from the University of Michigan with the degree of B. S. in 1873, and from the law department in 1874. He has been engaged in the abstract business in Detroit for many years, devoting his spare time to the study of the history of Detroit and the Northwest, and the collection of one of the largest libraries in the west, including over 15,000 volumes, 30,000 pamphlets, and 100,000 unpublished documents, copies of archives in France, Canada and the United States. He is the author of Life of Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, founder of Detroit, Cadillac's Village, In the Footsteps of Cadillac, and of many articles pertaining to the history of Detroit and Cleveland. He has been president of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society for several years, and has furnished much original material for these collections, and has the true wisdom and ambition of the antiquarian and historian.

Tuesday July 7th Mrs. Baby & Mrs. Pattinson with their families returned home, I with Mrs. A. staid at Mr. La Valle's.

Wednesday July 8th staid with Mrs. A. at Mr. La Valle's, no firing, James came to see us.

Thursday July 9th. Went to our House & returned last night. little or no firing from the Americans. We did not fire a shott. The Militia was quartered at Sandwich, some Cannon brought up & a small Batteau making at Mrs. Ross, opposite Detroit.

Friday July 10th no firing, went with Mrs. A to River a Pike, Visited the Distillery and Mills, returned at night. some rain to day.

Saturday July 11th last night & this morng. fair & very warm, the wind rose & blue pretty fresh at W. afterward; returned to N. E. Mr. McGregor by boat passed down. Mrs. A. went to our House and returned at night. Mr. McGregor boat returned, being fearfull of being taken with her load.

at Mr. Lavalle's Saturday July 11th most of the Militia of River á tranche returned home. James wrote me the Militia were ordered back to Maldin.

Sunday July 12th * * * Heard that some Americans had crossed.

* * * *

Tuesday July 14th last night. & this morng. fair & warm, came to my House & waited on General Hull, seen Mrs. Brush, Mrs. A. & I returned at night to La Valles.

* * * *

Thursday July 16th slept at home, last night & this morn. fair but overcast, the weather not very warm. went & Visited Col. Finley & called on General Hull.

Friday July 17th last night & this morng. fair, warm & pleasant. The American party that went to River Thames returned with Flour Whiskey &c for which I heard they gave receipts.

Sunday July 19th last night & this morng. fair & pleasant. went with Mrs. W. McGregor Delson & David, to General Hull. Dined at Mr. McIntoshes.

Monday July 20th much rain last night, this morng. fair & warm, heard there had been some Scirmages yesterday, & the two nights before at river Canard Bridge few killed or wounded. The Queen Charlotte anchors of that place—Mrs. Barthe's daughter came here last night—Conrad Coleman & wife passed, on their way from Maldin, said our Children were well, Mrs. Barthe and daughter went home.

* * * *

Saturday July 25: last night fair, this morng. very warm fair & little wind at S. W. a Battle betien Americans and Indians at petite Cote, 2 of the latter and 3 of the former said to be killed & wounded. Capt. Bondy taken in his House.

Monday July 27th last night & this morng. fair & very warm, little wind, at S: W: Mr. Robt. Forsyth passed downward with Mr. McGregors large Boat & About 10 Others, with ship &c taken at Belleriviere Edmund Brush came here & returned immediately—Some Horse & foot passed up before Dinner and returned After, the latter conducted a small drove of Horned Cattle & several droves of Sheep perhaps 6 or 8 Hundred—the Sheep from Belleriviere, the Moravian breed, their appearance very little & Ugly—Miss Barthe came After Dinner with Mrs. Edwards & returned—some rain towards night.

Tuesday July 28 last night & this morng. fair & warm. Mr. McGregor passed down—Had a confirmation of being taken.

Wednesday July 29th last night & this morng. fair, but very sultry. rain—McDougal called, said he had come from Maldin & that all our Children were well, & that Nelly sold goods out of the Vessell—That another Commanding Officer had Arrived with two or 3 officers in a Canoe.

Sunday Aug. 2nd last night a little rain, this morng. fair & tolarable warm—This afternoon a Schooner Sailed down with Several people on Board—she had a

white flagg at her foretop mast & a british flagg at her main mast head; another Vessell in the same way came at night. These are Mercht. Vessells given up after taken.

* * * *

Thursday Aug. 6th last night & this morng. fair, calm & warm; heard that a party of Americans had been defeated near Browns-Town and 5 officers killed or wounded.

Friday Aug. 7th, last night and this morng. fair, warm & calm.—no person allowed to pass the American Camp.

* * * *

Sunday Aug. 9th last night & this morng. fair but threatening rain, the Wind strong at N. E. heard that three Vesselles were Arrived loaded with Soldiers at Maldin. Charles & Geo. Hamilton in Board. Johnny expected there

* * * *

Sunday Aug 16th * * *

Cannonade began Early & continued Until About 8 o'clock when a flagg of truce came from Detroit. About 1 o'clock The Fort & Town of Detroit surrendered to the British.

* * * *

1813.

Tuesday June 22. last night & this morng. fair, not so warm as some days passed. 7 Canoes of Indian Warriors passed up this day & afternoon. Capt. Elliott & 2 Interpretors of the Indian Department, the latter on Horseback.

* * * *

Monday July 5th last cold & stormy, this morg. fair but cold. Thunder & rain towards night. Mr. Dickson with above 40 Boats & Canoes passed this afternoon.

July 5th Mr. Dickson with above 40 Canoes of Indians &cc passed downward from Mich. this afternoon. Alexdr. with them.

* * * *

Wednesday Sept. 29th some rain last night this morg. fair & not cold but overcast. The remainder of our people & Indians past. The Americans on their march to Sandwich—Mrs. Brush gone to Detroit.

* * * *

Saturday Oct. 2d last night fair & also this morng. the wind at W. The American Army or a great part of it passed up by Land & Water. Mr. Richardson called & dined.

2d. A large party of the American Army passed up by Watter on Boats & by Land on Horseback & on foot Also a middling sized Vessell.

3d. More of the American Army & I believe the last went up by Land & watter.

Wednesday Oct. 6th last night & this morn. very fair warm and pleasant. a Battle at River Thames yesterday or to day, great rejoicing at Detroit this night.

6th. * *

Heard that the Americans had fought with our Army at River Thames, killed several Indians and taken Capt. Muir with 300 of the Troops Prisoners. Great rejoicing at Detroit which lasted several hours in the night.*

10th. General Cass, Col. Ewing, Lt. Col. Warburton & almost all our Regular officers, who were taken Prisoners and Many American Ones Dined with me & Col.

* A marginal reference was made on the entry of the 6th saying—almost all our army were taken prisoners.

Ewing, Col. Warburton & Major Chambers went away but returned at night & staid with us untill Tuesday 14th After Breakfast.

12th. Since Sunday last the House full of American Soldiers & who stopt night & day to warm themselves & take apples & killed some fowls.

* * * *

One large & one small American Vessell sailed down.

Oct. 1813.

Oct. 13. Capt. La Bretain with two Cavellery & a flag of truce Passed down at 3 o'clock this day.

Mr. James McIntosh called about 11 o'clock and brought me the melancholy news of Mr. Pattinson being dead.

14. The Corps of Mr. Pattinson Arrived at Our House in a waggon from River Thames At 2 o'clock to day.

15. The Corps were taken from Our House at about 9 o'clock this day for Interment.

The last of the Vessells (two or three) that were on the Expedition sailed down yesterday.

This day the remainder of the Boats a few with sick, Carts with women &cc passed down.

16. Heard that our Officers & men who were Prisoners went away this day.

18th. 7 or 8 Vessells it's said loaded with American troops to the number of about 3000 sailed from Detroit for long point.

(Oct) 19th. two Boats with a great number of children & a few Women belonging to the British Army stops here on their way to Detroit.

A number of Huron Indians who made Peace passed down on horseback, with their wives & Children.

* * * *

Dec. 17. a Party of Americans Ab. 200 march for River Thames my Crop Horse pressed by Capt. Pain.

* * * *

Dec. 23. The Party of Americans who went to the River Thames the 17th are now returning.

* * * *

1814.

Jan. 4th. A party of American Soldiers passed upwards.

* * * *

15th the American Partty returned from R. Thames.

* * * *

29th. Many Families from the Upper part of the River Thames & near long point removing, as they would not take the Oath of Alleigance.

35 Canadian American Horse passed for the River Thames

* * * *

31st. The Party who went to River Thames is reported to have been defeated—*not true.*

* * * *

Feb. 4th. It froze So hard last night that people Cross on the Ice. Mr. Francois Baby, Brigham & Others were taken Prisoners at River Thames & brought here to day.

* * * *

19th. * *

Some Slays that went to river Thames supposed to be stopt by the British as no news from them since 14th.

20th. * * *

Little snow on the ground. roads very muddy. The Slays from this who had been detained at the River Thames by the British, returned.

Heard that the English party at river Thames went away yesterday.

22d. A party of American Horse, perhaps 100 went to the River Thames this day.

Feb. 28th a British officer with a Flagg of truce passed for Detroit.

* * * *

March 6. Heard the party of Americans who went to River Thames and round about 12 days ago had an Engagement with a party of Our people & had killed &cc about*

7th. * * * *

This day the American party returned, they cant say how many they killed, as they were obliged to retreat in the night, a very short time after the Battle, they brought in only one Prisoner an officer.

8th. Lt. Jackson, our flagg of truce, returned to day.

* * * *

22d. Westbrook called with Major Tonsley of the Militia who he took prisoner in his House far up in the river Thames, in the night of the 18th Inst.

* * * *

23d. This Afternoon a small party of Americans passed down & had a Dragoon, a prisoner with them.

* * * *

June 17th. The first American gun Boat sailed up with a number on men on Board.

* * * *

25. Sandwich Evacuated by the American Troops.

July 13th. Towards night this day two American soldiers armed with their Rifles told me that they were sent by Mr. Westbrook to take Away my Puyball Horse. I asked their names & they told me, William King & Alexander Tenant.

* * * *

July 18. Some Americans pressing Horses Heard that the American Vessels got up the rapids into Lake Huron on the 14th Inst. Heard that 12 Americans on a Boat going to Presquile or that quarter were cut off along the new settlement & then only one man got to Maldin.

21st. Wisbrook with his party who went some time ago to river Thames, now returned, he brought La Grave Prisoner with him.

Aug. 10th. * * *

This afternoon there passed for the River Thames About 120 Indians I think, some say 105. Arrived with Interpreters & Westbrook.

* * * *

15th. Heard of the Defeat of the Americans at Mich: a small Vessell now retur: of those gone to Mich:

* * * *

17th. * * * 2 small Vesselles & 2 large Boats passed down with Soldiers & Canadians from Mich. This day the American Officers killed at Mich. on the 4th were Buried viz. Major Holmes, Lieut. Jackson & Vanhorn perhaps some others. there were a great many great guns. minute gunns fired.

18th. * * *

About 50 American Indians returned with 2 Scalps said to be Indian Scalps.

19th. 2 Small Vessells that went to lighten one that was on the Barr, returned with wounded men &cc:

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* Note (the words "160 of them" were written and then struck out).

A great many American Indians returned to day with Horses loaded with Plunder taken from The Settlers of the river Thames, but no Prisoners nor Scalps.

A Saluit given at Detroit this afternoon for the Arrival of General McArthur.

Mrs. Park Buried this day.

20th. A Party of American Indians Arrived Early at my House with Lt. Col. Burwell of the Militia Prisoner, taken in Bed at Col. Talbotts. the Col. narrowly Escaped. They had taken young little, one Crawford and an other all three of whom made their Escape last night, However they had a Son of old Simon Gerty's a Prisoner, they killed no body but Plundered a great many Houses & brough off Horses, a Son of Mrs. Walkers of Browns Town and a Indian Capt. Montieur—Lieut. Col. Burwell says he was in the Battle of the 25th near Chippewa, that he afterwards seen Charles, James, Johney, Mr. Francis Baby & Doc. Richardson all well. That we were very successfull killed & took many of the Americans and lost but a few. Our General Rail lost an arm & one or two officers was taken with him. The Americans retreated to Fort Erie & General Drummer followed. Mr. Burwell had only gone Home to Fort to Port Talbot, & was taken in his bed.

20th. A large Armed Vessell with a middling sized one & a small Vessell taken at St. Mary's passed down from Mich.

* * * *

Sept. 11th. A number of American Soldiers who went up in a small Vessell a considerable time passed returned last Evening with all the Watter Craft they could collect at Bell & in that quarter.

* * * *

14th. The remainder of the party of Americans who went toward, the river Thames, the 5th returned to day & say they took several prisoners near fort Talbot to whom they Administered an Oath of Neutrality, but that they burnt Col. Talbott's mill & destroyed the Settlement.

* * * *

21st. * * For several days past there have been great alarms About Indians at Detroit, two or three People were killed by Indians near Detroit, a great press for Horses on this side.

22d. * * * This day counted about 150 Americans on Horse back pass Mr. Meldrums upward, there may have been more, passed before & afterwards, I heard they were going against Indians toward the River aux Hurons of Lake St. Clair.

24th—— The above party returned to day, I believe met with no Indians.

* * * *

Oct. 14th. Yesterday heard that Capt. Drake was Dead & Burried at R. Thames.

23d. This day seen About 150 American Horsemen around riding past Mr. Meldrum's upward on some Expedition.

Nov. 16. Some of the Indians who went to the River Thames long since now returned. I think the 10th Inst. Mr. George McDougall with Jacob Smith & the Detroit Volentiers who had went with General McArthur left him & returned back by this route.

17th. The Remainder of the American Army under General McArthur returned today this way. Most all of them on Horse back with some plunder. they seemed to be between 7 & 8 hundred men. they say they were as far as the Grand River & had some Scrimages in which they talk of having lost four or five killed and wounded & that we lost nearly the same.

25th. Went with the two Mr. McIntoshes to General M'Carters at Detroit by his Orders.

* * * *

1815.

Jan. 22. Fort Maldin Oct 30th 1814.

I, William Richardson an Inhabitant of the Upper Province of Upper Canada do hereby Pledge my word of Honor that I will not give the Enemies of the United States any Information as respects their situation, strength, condition or Instructions, neither will I Aid or abet said Enemies in any Opperation Against the United States Signed William Richardson.

William Richardson Inhabitant of the Province of Upper Canada has permission to pass Unmolested to Burlington be the way of the river de Tranche.

by Order.

Signed Lewis Morgan
Lt. Artillery
A. A. A. Genl.

Fort Maldin Oct. 30, 1814.

* * * *

Feb 20 A few American Horses passed Upwards.

Mr. Robert McDougall called & said That the President of the United States had sent Information to the Governor at Detroit saying that the Peace was signed at London on the 24th Dec. & by the Regint on the 30th. the news reached Washington on the 14th Inst.

March 3d. * * * *

The 21 American Horses that passed up ye 26th Feb. today returned. Dr. Brown called and dined.

Yesterday 5 Slays loaded with Carriage Wheels & other Impliments of Warr (sup. to have been left at River Thames when General Proctor returned) passed for Detroit.

* * * *

March 10th. * * * *

At 2 oClock Capt. Willson of the Indian department with a flagg arrived from Burlington.

11th. * * *

The Flagg of Truce which passed with Mr. Willson, now returned with Mr. Allans Son who, carried it with Mr. Willson yeseterday.

* * * *

13th. The river full of floating Ice.

* * * *

The Treaty of Peace arrived at Detroit this afternoon.

29th. a Public Dinner & Ball given at Detroit on account of a Peace having taken place.

ASKIN PAPERS.

Montreal, 6 September, 1811.

My dear Askin—

I had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 15th July, and happy to find you and Mrs. Askin enjoys the first blessing which can be bestowed on us poor mortals, in the world, which is Health, for my part I have great reason to be thankfull, at my age to have no cause of complaint, however when we look forward, we find the road very short, and must expect a change soon, what that will be is hid from us, but we must hope that that good being who has done so much for us in this world, will not forsake us in the next.

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* Vol 16, p. 144. This and following foot-notes refer to volume and page of article in the Burton Library Detroit.

You wish to know how your old friends in Canada are. I know only McGill,* the rest here are all dead, except Todd † who winters in England but promises to return next Summer. Your friend McGill is reconed the Richest man in Montreal and can command more cash than anyone, and has no person of his family alive to leave it to, but must give it to Strangers—Canadians, his wife's Children, who will not thank him. I think he should allow you advances to speculate, perhaps were you to mention it to him he would—for my part I find it difficult to make both ends meet. The scarcity of cash is such that business is at a stand, bills at 20 p C discount—and if 50 cash cannot be got—Government sent a quality of Bills to the States, a few was sold there at 22 discount, they are as bad for cash as we are. Bankrupts every day there, and I am Fearfull the disorder will reach us. as many articles which sold high is reduced—Ashes pot sells at 20—best shares 25 £ per M —Pine timber 2 a foot, however we have a good crop therefore will not starve for Bread.

Wee talk much of War, but I hope never to see it, as our part of the country must be ruined, however the Americans are doing all they can to provoke Great Britain to commence hostilities, and I am afraid they will not bear their insults much longer.

Pray is Mr. Brush ‡ at Detroit. I have not heard from him sometime, he has some Cash on Hand belonging to Williams § Estate, which he retains, for what reason I cannot say—you mention James Frazer being here. I never heard of him, whether he is in the country or not—

by a Jew who brought your letter I received two silver fullers and spoons—which he said was given him by you, to deliver to me, My dear friend, I received them as a keepsake, or remembrance of an old friend, but I had no occation for anything to put me in mind of you, who are the only friend living, all the rest are dead, or forgot me.

I am a great stranger even in Montreal, the Town all Americans.

My family join in wishing you and yours all happiness the world can give, and Heaven hereafter, where I hope we may meet, where our friendship will never end. Alexander Henry.‖

John Askin
Strabane
Detroit.

¶

York 24th February 1812.

Dear Father

I have been here some days on business part of which is to try and get some money from the Legislature to be laid out on a road passing through the place where I live: and to get exchanged from the Regt. of Militia to which I now belong into one in the district of Niagara, which I believe I will have no difficulty in doing as the President has no objections to it. I had the honor of dining with him the day after my arrival here: and have an invitation to a Ball he gives to night, to which I intend going.——The Legislature have not done much yet a bill has passed the lower House respecting the Militia. In every district there are

*James McGill, founder of McGill University at Montreal.

†Isaac Todd, a wealthy Irish gentleman temporarily living in Montreal, engaged in trade.

‡Edmund A. Brush, son-in-law of John Askin, a Detroit lawyer, left a large landed estate in Detroit, still owned by his descendants.

§Williams Estate, estate of Thomas Williams, who was the father of General John R. Williams, Detroit's first elected mayor.

‖Alexander Henry, the noted traveler.

¶ Vol. 16, p. 179.

to be two light companies to consist of one hundred men each who are to be called out six days in every month untill they are perfect in their exercise. The law gives the power to the President or persons administering the Government to suspend such Officers of Militia as he thinks proper. A Law respecting carriages meeting on the road has also passed the House, all carriages meeting are to turn to the right* and give half the road whether going or coming from Market.—A few days before I left home I had the pleasure of receiving a letter from you and one from Johny.—I cannot answer yours till I return home but hope I shall soon have an opportunity of doing it after I get there—I expected James all winter but begin to fear now I shall not see him till next Summer.——

Please give my love to my Dear Mother, my brothers and sisters & believe me

Dear Father
Your dutiful & affectionate
Son
Charles Askin.

Feb. 25th, I saw Capt. Elliot last night at the Dance, who told me he had a letter from Archange to Theresa

Your affectionate
Son
Chas Askin

(to) John Askin Esq're
Strabane
Sandwich

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† 40 Mile Creek—Feby. 28th. 1812.

Dear Father

I am now on my way home from York where I have been some time and from which place I wrote to you a few days ago. A person who I have met here on his way to Detroit gives me a favorable opportunity of writing to you which I embrace; tho' I have little to say—The Legislature have done little this Session as yet and as the house is soon to be dissolved there will not be much done. A new Militia Act has passed. In every Regt. there are to be two flank companies, to consist of one hundred men each which are to be out six days in every month for the purpose of training until they are perfect in their exercise. regular soldiers will be employed to drill them I believe the house has voted £8000 to the President to be laid out in such manner as he thinks best; for having the Militia trained—

A law respecting travellers on the road meeting has also passed the house, all persons meeting in carriages or sleighs are to give half the road and after December next no one is to drive a sleigh without Bells.— — — —

M. Nichol was committed to Goal in York by a warrant from The Speaker of the house Common the day before I left it. this was for writing something to Major Hatton offensive to them in justification of his conduct when wrongfully accused by that House of not having accounted for Public money in his hands.—it's so lengthy a business that I shall not enter more fully into it, as I should then not be able to give you all the particulars of it—and you will have the whole of it, from the members when they return home, which will be soon.

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*At present carriages in Canada pass to the left.

†From the Burton Library, Detroit, Vol. 16, Page 180.

Orders have been received lately from Below to fortefy York. I met the Engineer here this evening from Niagara on his way there (probably for that purpose)

Please give my love to my Dear
Mother and to my Brothers & Sisters
Your Dutiful & Affectionate
Son
Charles Askin

John Askin Esqr.
Strabane
Sandwich

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Strabane April the 14th 1812

My Dear Friend,

The only letter I received from you since you got home, was on the 24th November last, and was dated at London the 15th June; by it I was happy to find that you did not complain of bad health, and you gave hopes of returning to Canada this Spring; but I'm very sorry to learn by a Letter of Mr. McGills dated the 14th February last, that he has no such hopes, which seems to effect his spirits much; he says you are the only one of his first acquaintances left, & now he dispairs of Miss Porteus living long; All his & Mrs. McGills pleasure in this life seems to be at an end; how seemingly hard is this good mans Lot; yet as infinite wisdom directs all for the best, it must be so, and so he thinks it; for the more friends we lose by death or absence, the less our attachment is to this World, & the better we prepare for the next. Nothing could be a greater loss to Mr. McGill, than your Society; he loves you as a brother & you always brought him home dayly news, interesting and amusing which he otherwise could not have; his natural turn being, not to mix, but with a few chosen friends.—He wrote me once his intentions respecting Madelain's children; but their father marrying again, *rather soon*, he never since has said anything on the subject; being pinched for about 600 dollars, I wrote him to know if he could accomodate me with that Sum, & take Land to eaqual value in payment; his money seems so placed that he could not, but desired me to Sell half his land in Michigan Territory and apply this money where I wanted it; his friendship to me & family has no bounds, however there is no money in or about Detroit, for purchasing Lands, or payment of Debts, all in confusion with preparation for war, I fear you & Mr. McGill will not receive next month, your payment from Mr. Brush, not that I think he would take advantage, of the misunderstandings between the two Governments, but until the appearance of war blows over, (if it should) I don't think he can Sell his Land, or raise the money by other means. I wrote Mr. McGill on the 30th December last, that 3 patents were arrived for you, & I fear they are all you will ever get, from your large and fair claims, there could not in my opinion be done more injustice, ever pointed at some of your claims, than what was shewn by the Commissioners; one instance in a large field near River Rouge, they confirmed Mr. McGills claim & rejected yours, though the Surveyor offered to make oath, that they were under the same inclosure: They rejected the claims from the Windmill Seat to the River Rouge (Mr. McGills Lot excepted) Lands I have had possession of, for *perhaps* 20 years, before I sold them to you; I *memoriated* the Secretary for redress, but get none; what the Commissioners did, (though many of them glaringly partial & unjust) & even remonstrated against (was confirmed or approved by Congress; The Commissioners were Mr. Atwater the Secretary, Mr. Audrian Recorder & Mr. James Abbott, the latter seemed to do all the business & rule the others perhaps you had some misunder-

*Vol. 16, p. 194.

standing with him, & he took this opportunity to injure your interest, while I live, this subject when I think of it will disturb my mind, had you been in Canada, I believe I should have been tempted, to have desired you to have bought up an obligation due by one of these Gentlemen Commissioners & thrown him in prison *for payment*; as paymt for his injustice to you. The three Deeds come for you are, one for the Prairie Ronde 356 acres, another at River Au Raisin for 409 & the third for the house & Lot at the Grand Marrais. These, with 3 Town Lots (for which I have got the Deeds) I fear my Good friend is all you get, a very poor payment indeed, for all you advanced me, and remained undischarged.—— — I have wrote Mrs. Meredith by this opportunity & advised her to come here, as living in England is so very expensive, I heard indirectly that you had advanced Mrs. Meredith * some money; please let me know how much that I may convey its value in Land. My Family must not deprive your Dear Daughter of her rights; Had yr worthy friend Mr. McGill Children & relations, I could not think of taking what he offers, nor have I said I would; I have still Lands worth more than what I owe, If they could be sold for their value, & why take his, for which there is not a readier Sale than my own. He has made no Secret of his intentions, respecting my family, in his will, as well as some others, he more than once, in Letters to me said, that as he had no blood relations alive, he would do something for his friends, & even to, some, said, I must be served first. I have nothing but "poor gratitude" to offer in paymt of such great obligations, however unless quite reduced, which thank God is not yet the case, I can not think of being burthensome to my friends.—Your property in my hands is certainly growing more valuable & though the farm got of Mr. Smith is not yet sold, I expect it soon will be for £300—there was £200 in cash offered, but money has been very scarce, but now there are contracts for Wood &c at Malden, with men employed at the works, which will its thought cost about £2000 money must get into the hands of farmers & workmen who *will lay it out, mostly for Lands.*

My family in general, beg me to return their most sincere thanks, *for ye kind remembrance of them. And*

I remain
My Dear Friend
Your ever obliged
Signed John Askin.

(to)
Isaac Todd Esq
London

Copy.

Strabane April the 28th 1812.

My *Dear Charles*—

I'm now two letters in your debt, the last of which dated the 16th Instant came to hand two days ago. It makes your mother and I happy that you do not complain of bad health, God be praised, the *Family* here enjoy *the like great blessing.*

The Militia-Law has arrived, but I have not yet seen it, indeed, unless on my children's account I have little to do with it. Except my wishes for the success of the British arms, which can only end with my last breath, I can not comprehend how a man of honour & honesty can ever change his allegiance. There are some preparations making at Detroit, and great one at Malden for War, I hope it may not take place, yet I dread it much The contracts at Malden for wood &c for furnishing say to repair the garrison & make a Vessel it's thought will exceed

*Mrs. Meredith, a daughter of John Askin. Her husband, an officer in the British army in England, had recently died. Isaac Todd did not devise his property to his daughter, but gave nearly all of it to his nephew, Andrew Thornton Todd, making small provision for his only daughter.

†Vol. 16, p. 199.

£6,000, this will throw a Good deal of ready money into this part of the Country. I'm sorry yr. brothers are so little calculated for business, otherwise I should have endeavored to have got them; at Montreal, or Queenston, such a cargo, as I'm sure in *proper hands could be turned into cash.*

I was also tempted yesterday to have purchased 50 barrells of flour at 6 dollars & draw on the Messrs. Hamiltons for *payment.* The *quality I suppose* must be nearly the same as with you, for its manufactured at Mr. McGregors famous Mill at the River Thames, and as the freight down is only 4s the profit would be something in theirs or your pockets. You may Speak to them on the subject & if they will answer my Drafts, when I see an opportunity of purchasing & sending them down such articles as will immediately sell with them; they Shall have half the profits; but they must keep me regularly advised of the cash price of provisions or liquors with them, so as to enable me to know when I should buy. They may depend on my directions, not involve them or myself, in purchases to too large an amount for their purses & credit, or in buying articles, the Sale of which may be doubtful. The inhabitants give their flour for 24s a hundred & do not yet know that the merchants get seven & a half dollars per barrell from government, & these latter kept the secret by not offering the farmer more than the 24s—

I received a letter from Archange dated the 22nd of August last, she and her only remaining Daughter were at Plymouth & in good health, though not in spirits you may suppose: General England has a Command there & made her many friendly offers, she keeps out of Debt, but has hard work to do so, being obliged to keep up a certain rank: I have urged her to come out to this Country, on account of the difference of *living, & have said when* at *Montreal* to *write you,* and *you will* go *for her.*

I saw Theresa two days ago, and told her what you wrote respecting her Son Alexander. She agrees in opinion with you but fears *Captain McKee* will not let him go out of his sight; he keeps him *more than half his time from School*—

I dare say you had no difficulty in getting your Company in the Militia changed, I hope you also succeeded in getting money for the road. I have a very high opinion of your President; and I believe its' the general opinion of people that he possesses great abilities, and that its fortunate he has so much authority in Upper Canada in *such critical times.*

The indians have done a good deal of mischief in different quarters of the United States, the people of Detroit, not in the Garrison, are much alarmed; Alice was here a few days ago, poor woman. She Suffers amazingly from fear; for I understand none of the Townspeople will be received into the Garrison. Alexr. was over yesterday & says they are now taking precautions agnst Indian surprise, & therefore she is not so much alarmed——. The Guns, blunderbusses &c here are all loaded & in Good order; I hate to be taken prisoner & he who attempts it, if openly may lose his life; having only my children & self we can not do much, but I will try not to be surprised I advised Capt. McKee to move to Malden, there is too great risk here, I believe he moved yesterday. Most of Robt. McDougalls property is on this Side. poor Meldrum I think much embarrassed; I think him in his heart true british Subject, the conduct of his boys bears hard on him:— You may well say I should be happy in the friendship of two such men as Messrs. Todd & McGill, the intentions of both relative to me and my family I believe eaqual, the Latter I believe has means, the former not, he in a letter from Montreal dated 14the February last (thinks me in distress) desired me to take half of all his Lands in Michigan Territory, Sell them & apply the money to my own use. This uncommon mark of friendship I cannot think of accepting, I've lands of my own in that quarter, therefore could not think of doing

it; poor good man amid all his wealth he suffers much from dread of losing Miss Portius soon & absence of Mr. Todd who he writes, he fears will never see more, his own health & Mrs. McGills, he says is good; but melancholy seems to grow over him.

He has no blood relations alive & those he esteems as friends are absent, he never could mix with all Sorts of characters like Mr. Todd. The value of the property he offered me here exceed $2,000 dollars I'm sure he will bequeath to the family—I received a letter from Mr. Todd who says he wrote before, one I got was dated in June last, at which time he mentioned his intentions of coming to Canada this Spring, but he must have wrote Mr. McGill the contrary before—Inclosed is a small account Mr. Willm Jones sent me against you £5..11—if right let me know & I'll pay it.—Mr. Mills & Distillery & River Pike have not turned out well. Lapage as usual did not repair the Dam in Summer, so that it's frequently broke down this winter & repair took all the toll. Good Judges say the Saw Mills wont go without alteration—I hope this Summer to have all right—Distillery is Good—but I fear the man who rented it will not be able to pay from want of knowledge in *Distilling*. I have a good blacksmith whose put my forge in order & this turns considerable profit & convenient. I'm glad yr Saw Mill is so profitable had mine been fit to work, I could have Sold Government for good pay all She could have done, I must drop Lepage & when the Season is dry have a Good dam made, so as to work, you can't think how little waters force at the River Pike Dam broke frequently, water run off, 3 days after repaired with 3 or four men & the Dam full agn James talks of spending Summer & next winter at River Pike, if he does Distillery & Mills will be under his care, & he can get *Dam made at small expence.*

Since I began this I saw the

Land J. Companies Should be called independents neither officers or men have anything to do with Field Militia officer or person but their Captn nor he with anyone but the person the President thinks fit to nominate to order—I'm glad I've nothing to do with it,—for it would be disagreeable to remain as a Cypher or be commanded by a Junr officer—& yet I think more Service may be drawn from the Militia in this Quarter by means of the present Law, than by any former ones. —Its time to finish this long Letter therefore Shall only add that all wish you happiness this & life hereafter affords

Yr tender Father

Mr. Ch's Askin
Mercht
Canbury

Signed—John Askin
Copy

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* Strabane July 17th 1812

My dear Sir—

A few days ago I was favored with a letter from you dated the 29th of April last, covering one from Mr. Todd bearing date the 10th of March. Everything I tho't necessary to Acquaint you or him with, or what I thought either of you wished to know, was contained in letters wrote you both, on the 14th of April last: with one at same time from Mrs. Meredith, to your care.

About a week Ago, Our Militia and other—— left Sandwich, and same day the Americans came over to this side. Governor now General Hull, keeps up the strictest good order, the soldiers darenot take a cherry, without the Owners consent. I waited on him two days After his arrival, and he rece'd me not only with Politeness,

*Vol. 16, p. 211.

but Friendship, and Exacted no oath, or promise other than my word, that I would not whilst he had Possession here, meddle in the present troubles. Indeed I didn't mean to do it, otherwise than giving my Advice to my Sons how they should Act, in doing their duty to their King & Country. Now in 1809 Lieut. Governor Gore wrote me a letter, saying, that from my Advanced time of life & tender constitution he gave the Command of my Regt. of Militia to Col. Caldwell, who didn't Accept of it; he having put Col. Elliott (a Junior officer to both of us) first Col. I dayly see how providence Orders all for the best, I had no duty but that of a Magistrate to perform, since that time; and not having been consulted by the president, nor he who now Commands at Maldin, in any Public manner, I havenot thought it my Duty to my King & Country. That I sould be offitious in giving Information, in particular as the same could be obtained, from those in office, who from Duty & reward should do so. Therefore I have kept myself quiet, and were it not for our Anxiety respecting our Children & Friends, Mrs. Askin & I have no cause of uneasiness. That of the fate of a government I have always lived under, and that my wife & children have much Excepted. However should it be our lot, to fall under any other authority, I would not prefer any man, to the present General Hull, who I'm pretty sure will not only respect my property, but that of my friends, so far as he can consistantly do so, in which he will be aided & assisted by the Talents & Interest of Mr. Brush (who now commands at Detroit) and who I believe as Kind & Friendly a man, as ever was. All our Canadian Militia to a Man, being called to Maldin. Mr. Brush says he will send men to cut down my harvest. On the subject of the Canadians on Our Side, let me Assure you I never have seen men show more fidelity, they Volunteerd to a man, and left their Houses without a single person except women & children, however our Enemies have taken no Advantage of their distressed situation, and up to the present time, there has not been a single life lost in this Quarter, in consequence of the War, how long this may continue, God only knows, I'm neither informed nor do I make any Enquiry into the Views of our Govern't. here, they appear very extraordinary to many others as well as me, however all may have been done in consequence of Orders, I'm unaquainted with. I can't write Mr. Todd at this time, or rather could have nothing to say, but what I now say to you, and which I'm sure you will make him Acquainted with should this Letter reach you, & yours him, some few Canadians, but many more English of the Riviere Tranche are come off from Maldin without leave. I really think the distressed state of their Families and the harvest being so very near, is the general cause. General Hull has taken no notice of their having taken up arms agnst him. he desires them to go home & keep quiet, he wants no service from them, unless such as choose to offer themselves Volunteers. He has no Indians with him on this side, and I hear would not Employ them.

The Crops in this place are the finest that have been seen for many years.

No prospect of receiving any paymt. of any Debts for the present—Mrs. A & I enjoy good health which I'm surprised at. May God of his infinite goodness & mercy preserve you & yours in this time of Danger are the prayers of Mrs. A as well as those of your &c

Since writing the Inclosed, General Hull has taken possession of present property & goods & Prov. belonging to Mr. McGregor, Mr. Baby & Mr. David, which he said in my hearing yesterday (ye 19th) he would return with some private property taken in a Vessell near Maldin, was given up. Our Canadians now desert

in numbers. Our officers will have no men. My son James is Capt & Alexr. Lt in the Militia at Maldin

Jms McGill Esquire
Montreal.

from John Askin.
not signed but in his
hand writing.

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* Michilimackinac 19th, July 1812.

My Dear Father

Your favor of the 21st Ulto reached me the 16th Inst, about an hour before I left St. Josephs with my Detachment of Indians composed of Ottawas & Chippiwas consisting of 280 men for the purpose of taking the place we left St. Josephs on the 16th at 10 o'Clock A. M. with a fleet of 50 Canoes 10 Warriors in each, 12 Barges with 200 Canadians two Iron six pounders & 40 men of the 10th R. V. Battallion, scaling ladders, ammunition &c.

The elements was propitious to our undertakings—having the Command of the left Wing I landed an hour before daybreak in the rear of the Islanded & formed, at day break the Center composed of the Canadians & Veterans landed & formed, so did the right Wing our ordnance was landed and dragg'd with Velosity thro woods swamps, hills & at 10 o'Clock our six pounder was erected & placed on a rising ground which had the entire Command of the Fort, the right wing composed of 103 Sioux, Foolavoines & Waynebegoes commanded by Mr. Dixon was formed in order, mine composed of Ottawas & Chippiwas & about 50 men, more who joined me at my taking possession as ordered by our worthy Captn Roberts, the Indians were like devils to Storm the place the even advance in spite of all my exertions & six or seven interpretors & volunters, near the Fort Pickets & would have kill'd Captn. Hanks (I'm told) had they not been prevented for he was within gun shot, at 10 o'clock a flag of truce was sent for the besieged to Capitulate which they did & at 11 o'Clock The Fort was put in possession previous to the Capitulation Mr. Abbot Howard, Stone Jones & all the Citizens of the U. S. gave themselves up prisoners of war. two vessels in Port were likewise given up. The Commanding officer has since the Capitulation given up all private property—the officers and men to be sent down on parole until exchanged. The Fort is a Beautiful place, and what does honor to those who had the command is that not a single person has been injured nor even kill'd a single fowl belonging to any person whatever. A happy thing for the Americans that they did not fire a shot for had they fired & wounded any person not a soul would have been saved from the Hatchet—I assure you—I never saw so determined a set of people they would not have spared man, woman or child. Johnny was my right hand man & deserves Credit for his exertions in preventing the Indians from committing improper acts.

I expect every moment to receive orders to embark with the Force under my command for your relief & should it not happen, I may get leave to go for Madelaine & my adopted daughters—I trust in God that the force about Amherstburg etc & may they be as Successful as we have been, I have reason to believe that Johnny will be appointed for my good Commandant has at several times told me to point out to him in what manner he can be serviceable to me or my family. The House I bought lately at St. Josephs for 300$ is so much money lost.

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*Vol. 16, p. 212.

I this morning received a letter from Madelaine. She was in good health. She has not as yet heard of our fortunate prize.

Wishing you and all the family every happiness this life can afford—

I remain

My dear Father
Your most dutiful
Son
Jno Askin Jr.

John Askin Esq.
Strabane

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* General Orders

Head Quarters
At Detroit the 16th Aug't 1812.

Its with pain & Anxiety that Brigadier General Hull Announces to the N Western Army that he has been compeled from a Source of Duty to agree to the following Articles of Capitulation.

1st. Fort Detroit, with all the Troops Regular as well as Militia will be imediately surended to the British Forces under the Command of Major General Brock, and will be considered Prisoners of war, with the Exception of such of the Militia of the Michigan Territory who have not joined the Army.

2nd All Public stores, Arms & all Public Documents, including everything else of a public nature, will be immediately given up.

3d Private property & persons of Every discription will be respected.

4th His Excellency General Hull, having expressed a desire, that a Detachment from the state of Ohio on its way to join his Army, as well as one from Fort Detroit under the Command of Col McArthur should be included in the above stipulation it is accordingly Agreed to—I'ts however to be understood that such part of the Ohio Militia as have not joined the Army will be permitted to return home, on condition of their not serving during the war. Their Arms however will be delivered up, If belonging to the Public.

5th The Governor will march out at the hour of 12 o'clock this day, and the British Forces will take Possession of the Fort—

Signed &c

Order
General Hull
to his Army 16th Aug't 1812.

Copied in Mr. Askin's hand.

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† Strabane, Sept. 4th, 1812.

My Dear Friend—

My silence has been so long, that I rather take up the pen to Account for it, than to relate all I have to say at present, to you or our Worthy Friend Mr. Todd.

About the time Hostilities commenced in this Quarter, and even so late as when the Americans came to the British side of Detroit River, I wrote you twice, and directed my letter to the care of Mr. John McGregor, then at River Thames, who had opportunities of forwarding them, which I had not. Your last favor is dated the 15th of June, accompanied by a letter from Our Worthy Friend Mr. Todd, and another from my Dear Daughter Mrs. Meredith, both of these, as well as a fuller letter to you, I propose answering in a few days. My right hand being hurt in such a manner as to prevent me from writing for near five weeks past, is the reason why, what I now communicate was not made known to you sooner.

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*Vol. 16, p. 214.
†Vol. 16, p, 215.

You must before this have heard, that on the 16th of last month, Detroit was taken without the loss of a single life, a grateful circumstance to me, who had my three Sons & other Relatives, Among the first ranks that marched up. Charles as a Volunteer with the 41st Regt. who came up with General Brock; and James & Alexdr as Militia officers. The trial was great to Mrs. Askin and I, who were in sight of where the Action must have taken place, and must have been a Bloody one, had not Providence directed otherwise.—Mr. Brush as Commanding the Detroit Military, Acquited himself as a brave man for his government, he did his Duty, though no man more Averse, to the present warr, He seems determined to leave this country, and has left all his property, with a power of Attorney with me, so that the only loss you or Mr. Todd can suffer, is delay in payment; Mrs. Brush and Family are to winter with us—The remainder of your & Mr. Todd's, Deeds coming from Washington, in a Boat of McGraylor the Surveyors, was taken by Our people near Maldin, with other Patents & property, the Surveyor Escaped Narrowly. As among these Patents taken, I have no doubt there are some for Land, belonging to you or Mr. Todd unjustly given to others. I have applied for such Patents not to be given up, Until the Validity of your claims are examined into If you have any interest with General Brock at Niagara, or Col Proctor or Col. St George here, pray make use of it to assist my Demands, in your and Mr. Todd's behalf—Except anxiety of Mind, Mrs. Askin & I have not suffered in our Healths lately: we hope the Almighty has been equally favorable to Mrs. McGill, you and your Amable Affectionate Ward.—Our success at Chicago, Michilimackmac, and Detroit, has exceeded our Expectations; belief in the future happiness of the people, & prosperity in Trade, of this part of the world, will depend on never giving up these Ports, and with the Assistance of Indians, we are able to keep them. Detroit and the Navigation of the Upper Lakes, is too near a situation for any other than a British Nation to Possess without causing frequent misunderstandings & warr in the End.

God prosper you and yours are the frequent prayers of Mrs. Askin & your unchangable & ever obliged

Friend
J. A.

James McGill Esq're
at
Montreal

Montreal 8th October 1812.

*

My dear Old Friend—

It is so long a time since I have heard from you, that my anxiety is increased so that I must risk writing, altho it may never reach you, where are you, or where was you when the Great Hull crossed the River. I have frequently inquired about you but could not get any inteligence of you untill a young man came down who used to live with you, I forgot his name, is now at Quebec, who reported that you escaped safe without damage, which gave me much pleasure, we are hourly expecting Gen'l Dearborn with about Ten Thousand of his troops to attack us. but we are not afraid of them, as our Canadians are in High Spirits, we have one Regiment of Voyageurs—and McGillavray is their Colo'e the fall is come & expect Cold weather will send the Americans Home for the Winter—their Head Quarters are at Platsburg—our old Friend Todd is here and intends staying for the Winter we are all soldiers here—I expect preferment the

* Vol. 16, p. 217.

Battle being the oldest Captn in the British Militia, the Americans on the opposite side of the River are continually attacking our Boats going up to Kingston, I think it is their intention (if they can) to stop the communication, which they will find a difficult matter to perform—we have near ten thousand men in arms here, and can with care raise Twenty thousand men more in ten days in case they come over our lines—but we do not intend attacking them on their side—I hope the Cold weather will disperse them for the winter, and before the Spring they will have a change in their Government, which will produce peace—what has become of your son in Law my Lawyer, I never hear from him, times are getting very bad, Trade allmost at an end—what changes in the World since you and I first met—it is hard we cannot supose to live to see the end of it. If that evil spirit Bonepart was to take his departure to the other World before I go—would be a great satisfaction. let me hear from you, I hope you will not be disturbed this Winter, as Hull's business has deter'd them—but the Americans to raise the spirits of their people have published in their Gazets that General Brock is taken with Detroit, Niagara & all the country to Kingston. There is a report this day of the British fleet being on the American Coast, but I am fearful there is no foundation for it—the English are allways slow in their operations. my pen is so bad I am afeard you will not be able to read what I write, therefore, I have only to say I and my family are well—and wish and pray that you and yours may be allway happy

Your old friend
Alexander Henry

(to)
John Askin Esquire
Amherstburg
Detroit

Niagara 16th Oct'b. 1812
Friday 3 o'Clock P. M.

*

Dear Father

I wrote to you two days since giving you an account of an action which was fought at Queenston on Tuesday last, in which engagement we were Victorious, but when I wrote you I did not know the great advantage we had gained over the Enemy, we have took on that day nearly eight hundred prisoners sixty five of whom are officers and we killed and drowned I think about two hundred more. we took one of their standards also and a six pounder, It would have been a great Victory had we not lost our Gallant General Brock, who was killed when animating the 49th Regt. and desiring them to charge the Enemy who had just then taken our Battery on the Mountain, soon after the General was killed his Aid de Camp Col McDonnell received a wound of which he died two days after, he was a very promising young man—both him and the poor General were just now interred, the procession was grand. The Indians formed a part of it—

We have had a Cessation of Hostilities for three days by Agreement. it terminates in about an hour—but I hardly think we will be attacked for some days. though they have a very large force, on the other side. I am told that many of those who came over were drove into the boats at the Point of the Bayanet, I think that their comrades will be more unwilling to come over now.

My love to my Dear Mother Brothers & Sisters if you please.

Your dutiful and Affectionate Son
Chas. Askin.

John Askin Esq
Sandwich

* Vol. 16, p. 219.

Required for the use of Lieutent Askin of the 2nd Essex Militias feul and candles from the up to the both days inclusive

November the 16th 1812

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* Chippewa 18th Nov. 1812

Dear Father—

Three days ago I wrote to you but did not find an opportunity until to day that I saw Capt. Hall of sending the letter, the Lady Prevost now laying at Fort Erie will sail from that with the first wind. I will endeavor to send up 10 lbs Tea, which a man has gone to Queenston for to day, that it may be up in time for the Vessell the snuff and Keg of butter if in my power shall go at the same time—:but as I have been disappointed in geting the butter which I long since spoke for, I may perhaps not be able to send up the Keg, for being stationed here with my company of Militia I cannot leave this to go where I could get it. I am also prevented from sending something to my Uncle Barthe for I cannot get such things as I would wish to send him here, for being in daily expectation of an attack. the Merchants have packed up most of their goods.—

On Friday last an attempt was made by the Americans to take the Royal George then laying at the Ducks near Kingston alone, the Oneida a Vessel of equal force and four others were employed for this purpose, but fortunately for us they failed in the attempt, we lost one man killed and three wounded, the Royal George cut her Cable and made for Kingston.—The Senicoe was there on her way down and was chased; but luckily got safe into Kingston. The Earl Moria (?) was also on her way down but not in Company with the Senicoe, nothing has been heard of her, but as she left York the day after the Senicoe she had not time to have got to Kingston when the express left that. The American Vesels are better manned I believe than ours on Lake Ontario, and I am afraid unless some British Tars are sent for; the enemy will make themselves masters of it. I was told that Capt. Hall had made applications to go for to Quebec, but was refused.—One of the Inhabitants of this District, who has been ever since the War on the other side. made his escape a few days ago and came over near Queenston in a Boat, he says the Militia have left the lines. but that the Enemy have about seven thousand regulars between Niagara & Buffaloe, I do not think they have so many and if they have we have six thousand to oppose them, and their regulars are not near so well disciplined as our Flankers.—Clothing has lately come for the Militia, the Flank Companies get 1 pr. pantaloons each, pr shoes or two pr. Shoe packets & 1 Jacket, Shirt and Stockings are provided for them, For 3 yds flannel and thread to make it if they have to pay 5%N Y C. and the stockings which are very good, cost them 4-4 apc Y K every Militia man is to have a blanket but they are to be return'd.

James Hamilton who is stationed with Robert about one mile from this, sent down to Queenston today for Elizabeth Meredith's miniature picture which he brought out with him and left in his trunk there. I shall try and send it up to you by Ensign Kerr who appears to be a very careful young man—and who has promised to take charge of it—

I have lately seen General Hull's official Dispatch to his Government respecting the surrender of Detroit, it is well wrote: and more correct than I should have expected it; although I dare say Mr. Brush will swear there is not a word of truth in it when he sees it. I see in the same paper that Col. Miller who was taken at Detroit is exchanged for Capt Dacre's of the Gulnier (?).—I am very sorry I have not been able to get the paper to send it to you. I have wrote to Alex. Hamilton to send me from Niagara any papers he can get, and expect some from

* Vol. 16, p. 221.

him tomorrow which you shall have if they come. I will beg some from Mr. Clark for you also I gave you all the news in the letter I wrote you three days ago, as I mean that this shall go by land and may perhaps come to hand first, I shall just mention the most interesting things. Lord Wellington in several engagements with the French had allways been victorious and had destroyed the whole of Marmont's Army. Marmont himself had lost his Arms and afterwards died, the French lost immense numbers, Lord Wellington in one of the battles had got a slight wound with a Sabre.—he entered Madrid I think some time in August, Joseph Bonaparte had made his escape; but had not got out of Spain, we have had reports of his being since taken with the last of his followers about 7000 men but this I hardly believe, yet know that as we were masters of the North of Spain, he stands a poor chance of geting clear. The French have been beat also in some encounters with the Russians and have lost three or four thousand men, this is all I now recollect, except that its said that Sir Jno Borlase —Warren is sent out as Ambassador and is now at Washington, we shall soon know if he is or not.

Nov. 20th Yesterday we had information here that the Armistice would terminate at 9 o'clock to night, but we are not certain of it,—I send now to Fort Erie 7½ yds Bambayet done up in a small bundle covered with Sheeting and addressed to you. this I will thank you to give to my Aunt Barthe with my love.

Please give my love to my Dear Mother my Brothers & Sisters & respects to my Uncle Barth

Your Affectionate Son
Chs. Askin

John Askin Esq
Strabane
Sandwich.

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* Michilimackinac 25 Nov. 1812

My Dear Brother

Having wrote you per the Chippiwa affords me little or no subject to write on but as your favour of the 30th Ult stares me in the face I will make an effort to collect my scattered brains & answer it with as much exactness as my thick head will admit of. I donot find it necessary that a man is bound to apoligize for want of punctuallity when sickness or Love is in the way, therefore your indisposition accounts for your having let the quill rest some time. If you regret of not having been able to Visit me this last summer I regret your visit more for when I learnt your disappointment I often rubbed my hand over my foretop & the roughness of my paws always brought away some of the few scattered hairs that remained & had I guessed much longer I should have left more remaining to afford delight to some of my Detroit Yanky friends the pleasure they will have of taking my scalp when I give it to them. but as I anticipate their wish I propose geting my head shaved & wear a wig so that should it be my lot to fall into their hands they shall be tricked for instead of a scalp they will get a Wig which will be of greater Value than the former & if the Wig isnt made in time I have a Buffaloe head dress which I intend to substitute in lieu thereof, so much for nonsense, No my Dear Brother I donot believe that any have said that they would be glad to have my Napper (as Its been reported to me) I'm sure if it was my lot to be taken they would rather keep me for a puppet show—I note what you say respecting a Horse & am glad you didnot conclude a Bargain for I am in possession of 5 Horses of which 4 are lame & maimed but good enough in hard times to live upon for 4 weeks at least & their hides well tanned will make tolerable good sandals. It was fortunate that you hadnot paid the $15 for the

*Vol. 16. p. 322.

two waggon horses you bought. that turned out to be public ones. it plainly shows that Jonathan would play a trick was at the last grasp—I am happy to find that John has some prospects of getting in the Commiseriat Department and if he can retain the Interpretership it will be a handsome income and economical at first he will be able to lay a little money By to assist him at a future day when the Sun may not shine as well as it does at present—The defeat of our Enemies at Queenston is glorious News Yet our loss has been great in the fall of so Gallant a General aBrock you must know that Mr. Bailley is a great Friend of mine, We were shipmates on Board the Little Belt during the time I had the honor Commanding her. We had a Cruising Trip & at laying her up for her winter Quarters, he again joined me & Capt. Roberts in a hunting party we were out 6 days & had 13 soldiers, Canadians and Copper Col. boys along w. us. The party was not as pleasant as was anticipated at our departure, the elements werenot propitious to our undertaking & half of our time was Keeping our fingers to our Mouths to keep them from freezing & the rest of the time in handling our knives & forks however occassionally we took care to put them down in order to go thro the Cup exercise we had some good O. L. P. Madeira & Port which prevented us in some measure from feeling the Affects of the drill exercise so termed amongst you Military gentlemen. Madelin, Julia, & Theresa join in presenting their love to you

My dear Alexander
Your affectionate Brother
Jno Askin Jr.

P. S. Mr. Bailley being under the Necessity of Sending some return down & vouchers for Recewell, precludes him from having the pleasure of writing you, but promises most faithfully to do himself that honor the first opportunity that offers.

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* Mountain Near Queenston Dec 11th, 1812

Dear Father—

Your affectionate favour of the 26th Ulto came to hand the night before last, I am surprised to find by it that very few of the letters I have wrote you since I have been down here have reached you, the one giving an account of the Battle of Queenston went up in the Lady Prevost with some others and some newspapers, and I fancy you must have got them before this. John & William Robertson were both in the Battle and distinguished themselves. William particularly who behaved as galantly as any one engaged that day. Robt. Hamilton & Alexr. were in it also but only in the afternoon, and Alex. could not take an active part in it, for he could not ride nor hardly walk on account of boils therefore remained or went with Capt. Holcroft who was cannonading the enemy when crossing the River, I had been laying confined to my bed three days before the Action with boils and so ill with them that part of the time I could not even Sit up in bed to eat my Victuals, I was at George Hamilton's when the attack was made and had to get off as well as I could I remained a short time in Queenston; but finding the enemy were geting the better of us I went to avoid being taken prisoner: an account of the battle is in one of the News-papers I sent you, therefore shall defer saying anything more about it at present. Soon after it, an armistice was concluded. which did not terminate until the 19th Ult. Our Batteries at Fort George the day after its termination opened on Fort Niagara and a cannonade was kept up all day, some houses were burnt on the other side & about as many at Navy Hall. we lost two men Capt. Fry a half pay Officer, and a Soldier of the 49th

*Vol. 16, p. 223.

Regt. and I believe the enemy lost but few. Some shots were fired from Queenston over to Lewiston but not returned. from that day we were quiet enough, except now and then a false alarm, until the 28 Ult. when 500 of the Enemy, came over from Black Rock and landed near the Ferry below Fort Erie about 1 o'Clock in the morning most of them unobserved they fired on our men at the Batteries who had only time to spike the Cannon and make their escape after defending themselves but resistance was useless against such a force: some of the Regular Artillery were killed and some wounded. Dr. King was severely wounded and taken prisoner and is since dead, about 40 of the 49th Regt. and some Militia attacked the Enemy and drove them once or twice; but at last met with a party from Fort Erie who were coming to our support but not knowing in the dark friends from foes they fired on each other, Mr. Langout of the 49th Regt. was badly wounded with three balls he commanded a small party of his Regt. but the Americans were among them and were supposed to be Indians for they all wore blanket coats, and looked so much like them in the day time that I am not surprised our men were deceived by them at night. The light company of the 41st. Regt. who were stationed on the river below the place of attack, met the enemy when marching up to aid the 49th, they did not know they were the Americans until the word of command was given make ready, take aim, the Officer commanding the 41st then attacked them (they were the advanced guard of the Enemy) and he drove them back on their main body. The 41st then Retired until day light, for it was almost impossible to know your friends from your foes—At day break the Enemy had all retreated and crossed the River, except Capt. King Aid de Camp to General Smith & 35 men who were taken prisoners. A party of Sailors composed part of the force, who came over these Scoundrels set fire to some houses of Mr. Douglas's & Mr. Hardison's which were burnt to the ground, these fellows had to make a precipitate retreat, some were killed and others taken prisoners—we lost nearly eighty men in killed wounded & those taken prisoners, the prisoners have since been exchanged, the 49th & the long Point Militia suffered most. After day light the Enemy made an attempt with seventeen boats to come over, we had then about eight hundred men ready to receive them, and when the boats came within musket shot, we poured in such a brisk fire among them that the foremost boats cried out for Quarter; but as it was impossible to stop the Militia from firing on them, they all turned back. A three pounder was playing on them all the time and giving them plenty Grape or Cannister shot. What number the Americans lost in this attempt to cross is not known; but the boats were full when they were coming to this side and only five, six, or seven, were seen to get out of most of them, when they reached the other shore in this and the Affair during the night, the Enemy may have lost about two hundred men—after their failure a large force was seen to collect and upwards of fifty boats scows &c were filled with men, horses and artillery, all ready to come over, (the enemy it has since been ascertained were then 7000 strong) General Smith then summoned the Garrison at Fort Erie to surrender: but an answer was sent him to say that we would not think of surrendering the place as we could repel any force he could bring against it and we only had then about fifteen hundred men at the place and hardly Cannon to fire at them which the Enemy knew, and they had at least 16 field pieces and those very fine ones.—immediately after he got the Answer instead of coming over, he disembarked all his troops. its said that part of his Army were so disgusted with him that they endeavored to kill him and three shots were fired at him, one thing seems certain that he had to fly from his Army, this we have from our prisoners who have returned, from Inhabitant of the Head of the Lake who made his escape. that side from Capt. Fitzgerald who was over

flag of truce. two thousand of his Army for him and hundreds were returning home, all the Militia Volunteers are gone and the Army of the Center as General Smith is pleased to call it, was reduced by desertion & death from seven thousand to three thous'd. I Saw one of this cowardly General's Proclamations lately, he has the Impudence to call Upper Canada—part of the United States its a good deal like Hull's: but not quite so barbarous this General Smith was to do so much when he came that he had allmost alarmed us; but he proves to be even worse than Hull—We have been quite on the alert since the business at Fort Erie and as the disertions and sickness has been very common of late among the Militia our force is much reduced and the duty is become very hard both on the officers and men who remain we have lost a number of Militia Men by the Pleurisy, they are taken very suddenly and very violently ill, and often die in eight or nine days—numbers of women in the Country have died also lately and what is strange you hardly hear of a Regular soldier being sick—but they are used to fatigue and are well clad which is not the case with all the Militia, but clothing is now given to the flank Companies, some articles for nothing & some at a very low rate—We have a most Gallant Young Officer here. Col. Bishopp who commanded at Fort Erie the day General Smith pretended to come over—he does everything he can to make the Militia comfortable, and does not mind a little expense, he has allready ingratiated himself in their favour and he is as much liked by them I believe as General Brock was—We are in great hopes of soon having a peace everything seems nearly settled between Sir John B. Warren & Mr. Monroe. I think the Oxen had better be sold to Mr. Brush at the price you mention, for I should not know what to do with them here.

Please give my love to my Dear Mother my Brothers & Sisters

I am your dutiful & Affectionate son
Charles Askin

John Askin Esq
near
Sandwich

Please thank Alex. for me for the sword he was so kind as to send me,—I sent up a few things this fall which I hope you will receive by the Lady Prevost.

Your affectionate son
Chas Askin

P. S I am say have been stationed with my Company at & near Chippawa, I am now on leave of absence for a few days & am spending them here with John Robertson & tomorrow I must return to my duty John Robertson desires his best regards to you

Your affectionate Son
Chs Askin.

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* Near Queenston December 14th, 1812

Dear Father

Your affectionate favour of the 26th Ulto I had the pleasure of receiving a few days ago, and partly answered, but could not go to Niagara therefore missed the opportunity of sending you an answer by the return of the Mail. I luckily met with one of Lord Selkirk's men from Beldown who is kind enough to take charge of this and says he will leave it at Dolson's for you as also of another letter I gave him today which I wrote you two days ago, in which I have given you an account of an affair which took place on the 28th Ulto at Fort Erie in which we suffered severely; but our Enemy much more, and the business terminated much to our honour and in such a manner as to convince the American Nation that Canada

* Vol. 16, p. 224.

is not to be conquered in such an easy manner. as they imagined—General Smith sent a Summons to the Com.g. Officer at Fort Erie on that day to surrender that Garrison and its Dependencies, he then had seven thousand men under his Command at Black Rock and Buffaloe, and we had but fifteen hundred at Fort Erie to oppose him; part of them Indians and part Militia but an answer was sent him by Col. Bishopp (a very Gallant Young Officer just from Spain) that he could not think of doing it as he had sufficient force to repel any force he could bring over Gen—Smith then had a part of his Army embarked in sixty, boats, scows, &c, ready to come over, and we were ill prepared to receive him, which he knew very well for most of our Cannon had been spiked by a party of his men or our own that morning, when the party from the other side came and surprised our men, in the Batteries, but Gen. Smith had not courage enough notwithstanding all these advantages to attempt to come over, and immediately on receiving the Answer to his Summons disembarked his troops. Some of his men Yanky like wanted to know from him what he meant by his Maneuver, but he would not condescend to tell them & this gave them Such Offence that three or four shot it's said were fired at him, and he made his escape, one thing is certain that he is gone, but (as great a Coward as I think him I hardly think he has left his Army in the shameful manner he is said to have done,—he is one of the most Violent General's I think that has been opposed to us this War; if poor Hull is hung for Cowardice I think there is not many of their Generals: but should share the same fate, General Van Ranselair I think was a good Officer but he was too liberal and too much of a Gentleman to please his Country, he was obliged to give up the Command and General Smith superseded him—I am sorry to say the Naval Department on Lake Ontario have done nothing to boast of this War, and the Americans, unless other Officers & Crews are got for our Vessels will make themselves masters of that Lake next Spring, some Merchant Vessels have been taken in Sight of the Royal George by small armed American Vessels and no exertion made to save them or rescue them, a Lieut. of the British Navy arrived yesterday at Niagara who I believe will have the Command of One, and some others I believe with a Crew from Halifax are coming—and four Vessels are ordered to be built two at Kingston and two at York, there is no doubt but the Enemy will try every means in their power to make themselves masters of both Lakes Ontario & Erie— —

No troops I believe are yet on their way here, though it has frequently reported there were, except twenty of the Royal Artillery and an Officer—who I believe are now on the road between Kingston & this—they are much wanted here, for though we have 2 Companies of Militia Artillery on the lines, its not enough and men from the 41st & 49th, have sometimes to Assist in Manning the Guns, some troops, I saw in a Montreal paper today are on their march from Halifax to Quebec under the command of Lt. Col. Hamilton of the 100th Regt. what number it is not said— I saw English papers as late as 25th Augt. there is hardly anything said about the War with the Americans, and I only see an account of one Regt. going to Halifax I think its the 97th though there are lists of the reinforcements going to Portugal & Spain, the papers are nearly filled with accounts of Lord Wellington's great Victories in Spain & Portugal a prayer has been ordered to be used throughout this United Kingdom of Eng— & Ireland, thanking the Almighty for our Successes in Spain particularly for the Victory over the French at the Battle of Salamanca. No more titles can be given Lord Wellington than he allready has, for he has Spanish & Portugese ones enough to fill half a sheet of paper nearly. I believe they are now at a loss to know what rewards to make him for his splendid atchievements — — — St. Regis a small Town in Lower Canada which was taken some time ago by the Americans, has lately been retaken by us, & a company of Americans were lately taken at a place called River Sable by a party of Militia—General

Dearborn the Commander in Chief of the American Army, its said is going against Montreal with 16000 Men, they have not many troops in Lower Canada, yet I fancy General Dearborn will meet with a warm reception if he goes there—there are two Regt. raised in Lower Canada since the War one called the Vollageurs & the other Voyageurs they are fine active Canadians in each.— — — We are flattered notwithstanding the preparations which we are making for War with hopes of a speedy and honorable peace, Sir John B. Warren is said to at Washington and all differences between the two countries is settled except the Naturalization of British born subjects who come to America, respecting this our Ambassador and Mr. Monroe cannot agree. I am sorry it has not been in my power to pay the Auction Acct. but intend to pay it before I get the prize money, for I do not know when if ever I get any of it. I am anxious to pay Mr. Pattinson the money I borrowed of him last Summer, I have been disappointed in geting money here otherwise I would have done it before this. I wish Alex. to pay what he owed me to Mr. Pattinson. & hope he has done it, if not beg that he will now, and send me a receipt of it, Mr. Brush gave a draft on me favour Doctr. Day or Mr. Eastman & cannot recollect which for the hundred dollars he lent Major Chambers, this draft he begged of me to accept which to oblige him I did at Detroit, the draft was lost in the Caledonian or Detroit so Doct Day & Mr. Eastman have both wrote me, and both of them have requested me to pay it but I have never received the money yet from Chambers tho,' it has been ready for me a long time indeed I could have had it any time when I pleased to call for it, but seeing no one authorized to receive it I have never got it of him, the Money I think I will get now & send it to Mr. Brush, on his giving me a proper receipt for it mentioning every circumstance respecting the transaction that I may not hereafter be liable to pay the money & have to suffer for wishing to oblige him & his friends that Day— I would like to let Mr. Brush have his grey mare at the price he sold her to me. for I have more horses than I know, what to do with—A receipt from Mr. Pattinson will be all I want for that amount—& I will then sende her to him, but he must pay the charges of her bringing up if any. I could sell her for more here but wish him to have her again as he appeared partial to her.

Elizabeth Meredith's Miniature picture I have got, but do not like to send it now—

Please give my love to my Dear Mother, my Brothers & Sisters

Your dutiful and Affectionate
Son
Charles Askin

P. S. I wish it was possible to get
the pistol you lent Mr. Pattinson
Your affectionate Son
Charles Askin.

to John Askin Esq'r
Care of Mathew Dolson esq'r
River Thames—Sandwich

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* Strabane December 16th 1812.

My Dear Sir—

Since writing you the 14th of last month, I had the pleasure of your Letter dated the 10th October last and one from our worthy friend Mr. McGill, to whom please present my best wishes and let him know I will answer his letter soon.

*Vol. 16, p. 226.

My last letter, even should all the others be lost, will nearly give you all the information you require, and your intentions respecting your claims has always been executed by me as far in my power lay, I never consented to giving them to others as to having people on each lot to keep possession that was out of my power, however I donot know that Patents have been issued for many of your claims to others, no person has taken possession of those from the Spring Well to the River Rouge, some persons (but without Authority from the American Government have settled on the River Sinclair, from which they can easily be routed if we keep possession of the country. The Tracts belonging to you, Mr. McGill & Major Ancrum at Moravian Town have most unjustly been given to people by the American Government, who never paid one penny for them, how far such Patents may be considered good, by our Government I cannot say, but I think both Mr. McGill and you should do your utmost to have them set aside, by representations both in this country and at home, by my last letter you will find, that no Deeds (contrary to what I learnt or expected) were taken by us, belong to Mr. McGill or you & I fear a stop was put to any being sent forward, Mr. McGill or myself, so that 3 for you 2 for him and none for myself, are the present state of the matters. I'm truly sorry, that our worthy friend, and justly lamented General Brock was in all probability killed before your letter reached him, which on his account & the publics, I'm sorry for, but as for the Deeds no matter, unless there were some for us, or that you could get the commandant at this Post, to retain such Patents as I should point out, being for Lands belonging to you or Mr. McGill given to others, haveing no acquaintance, whatever with Colo. Proctor at Detroit, nor Lieut. Col. St George at Amherstburg. I did not make application to either, but did to Mr. Nichol as I before mentioned.

In late Letters I mentioned Mr. Brush having changed his mind, & is now at Detroit laid up with the Gout, I think the property he bought of Mr. McGill & you, from much improvement, more valuable than when sold, however for it he got regular Deeds. I have mortgages and Bonds to secure the payment made out separately to Mr. McGill and you for the sums you Sold for and interest everything has been done in the affair, perfectly agreeable to your or his instructions, as to Mr. Brush having ready money I believe not, otherwise I think and am pretty sure he would have paid you off, for his intentions I believe honest, and he seems gratefull for your lenities. I believe its nearly twelve years even at compound interest, before money doubles, therefore if you could borrow, its hardly possible that before so long a time, your Lands will—not sell for even Treble, what they would fetch today. I have not even the most distant idea the Americans will ever attempt Lower Canada, if they cannot suceed at these small Posts, it would be worse than madness to try where you are, I have now four Sons, Ten Grand Sons & three Sons in Law in, actual Service, as officers in the Militia or other employments, & I have still the Vanity to think, had not my Regt been given to another I would have drawn more service out of them, than has been yet, yet I find no fault with him who has got them; but Twenty odd years service, must have given more experience than Col. Baby can possess, but our Late Lieut. Governor Gore was made to believe that I was too infirm to serve, and since he did not think worth while to judge of the fact by seeing me himself, I gave myself no trouble to convince him of the contrary. In this trouble I live as in times of peace. Anxiety for my Country, Children, & Friends excepted, and of this I have my full share.

I Untill I received Mr. McGill's last Letter I could not have thought him so young, by his account (which I'm sure is true) I'm five years older than him, yet I have no settled disorder in the World and write this without spectacles, and indeed I'm more active than I was Six years ago, Mrs Askin though not laid up,

and stirs much about, eats and sleeps well, yet she falls away very much and is poor.

Mrs. Askin & children joins me in every wish that may tend to your prosperity in this life & happiness hereafter

And I remain
My Dear Friend
Your ever obliged

Your old acquaintance Charles commands about one hundred men at Chippawa and must have been in the last engagement

Not signed but from John Askin Sen'r. to Isaac Todd Esq.
Montreal

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†

Dear Father

I yesterday saw Capt. Caldwell of whom I had, the pleasure of hearing that the family were all well,—I also heard that an expedition to the Rapids was intended, I sincerely hope that if there is one that Col—Proctor may Command it, and then it may perhaps be successful. I am much afraid that we will not be able to spare any troops from this—we will want more here than I think are coming. Your affectionate letter of the 18th Ulto. I got last night. I should have been well pleased to let Mr. Brush have the Mare at the same price I got her of him, tho' I can sell her for more here, I have been offered sixty for her; but would not take it, I believe I can get seventy and that I shall sell her in three or four days, but I will make the bargain if I can in such a manner that I can get her back again by giving ten dollars more than I sell her for, the reason of selling her on these conditions are, that I may let Mr. Brush have her again as I promised him, I want money very much or I would not part with her Now—I do not think from your letter that you want the Mare yourself or I would send her to you. My Mother was kind enough to give me two yards of Scarlet Cloth, I should be happy to have it now if a favorable opportunity of sending it down offered, Your Dutiful & Affectionate Son Charles Askin.

I send you some newspapers by Mr. Caldwell,

Your affectionate
Son
C. A.

John Askin Esq.
Strabane
Sandwich

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*Vol. 18.

†Undated, but I think it must belong early in the war—Mr. Brush writes concerning the horse on the 22 of December 1812. C. M. B.

*REPORT OF CAPT. PIERRE LABUTES COMPANY.

	Captain.	Lieut.	Ens.	Sergeant	Privates	Present	Absent	Guns & Ammunition.	Absent wth Leave.	Absent without Leave.	Not in the Country.	Sick.
Pierre Labute	1					1						
Bapt. Labadier		1				1						
Dun. McIntosh			1			1						
Andrew Labalain				1		1		1				
Antoine Goyeau				1		1		1				
Jacques Goyeau					1	1		1				
Joseph Mayeau					1	1		1				
Antoine Déhétré					1	1		1				
Nicholas Janise					1	1		1				
Albert Degarlaix					1	1		1				
Bapt. Bourassau					1	1		1				
Jacques Chamberlain					1	1		1				
Polite Janise, fils					1	1		1				
Bapt. Labalain					1	1		1				
Bazile Tourneau					1	1		1				
Francois Janise					1	1		1				
Bapt. Lesperence					1				1			
L'Amble Amel					1	1		1				
Bapt. Teboudoux					1	1		1				
Andrew Peltier					1	1		1				
Joseph Eberts					1				1			
Joseph Mayeau, fils					1	1		1				
Bapt. Tourneau					1							1
Lewis Normandin					1	1		1				
Joseph Ouilette					1	1		1				
Baptiste Ouilette, fils					1	1		1				
Nicholas Laballane					1	1		1				
Louis Goyen					1	1		1				
Charles Ouilette					1	1		1				
Joseph Janise					1	1		1				
Robert Gouie					1					1		
Bapt. Goyen					1	1		1				
Bapt. Larshe					1	1		1				
Polite Janise, Père					1	1		1				
Charles Jeanette					1	1		1				
Bapt. Ouillitte, Père					1	1		1				
Piere Lafarier					1	1		1				
Alexis Langlois					1	1		1				
John Watson					1	1		1				
Victour Fourneau					1	1		1				
St Denis					1	1		1				
Marshall					1	1		1				
Total	1	1	1	2	37	38		35	2	1		1
Capt'n P. Labutes' Roll No. 6												

*Vol. 18.

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A list of the Militia Enrolled on that part of the River Thames which is in the County of Essex————

1. Danl. Field
2. Richd. Erp
3. Willm. Chambers
4 Ezekia Wilcox
5. Thomas Williams
6. John Dolsen
7. Danl. Dolsen
8. Nathan Field
9. Nathan Lewis
10. Martin Butler
11. John Flin
12. Abiah Park
13. George Small
14. Danl. Estile
15. Isaac Dolsen Junr.
16. James Forsith
17. Isaac Quant.
18. Robert Empson
19. Timothy Disman
20. John Goose
21 David McCarrigan
22 John Carpenter
23 Abraham Freize
24. John Pike
25. Thomas Parson
26. Richard Mury
27 Jas Jackson Negro
28 Bango Smith Negro
29 Joseph Springfield
30 John Venice
31 David Hennison
32 Robert Pike
33 George Jacob
34. Jean Bapt. La Croix
35 Louis Trudel
36 George Pach
37 Henry Regis
38 Redmond Coudon
39. Charles Gascoine

Signed Wm Caldwell
Depy Lieut. County Essex

A Copy
Selby.

Rolle De La Campagnie Du Capt'ne Droullard.
Capt. Francois Droulliard
Lieut'ne Alexis Parent
En'sn Jos. Parent
Sergt. Alexis Laderonte
Sergt. Theaudore Durosau

Toussaint Reaume	N 1.
Alexis Arquoite	2
Wm Andros	3 A
J. Bte. Langlois	4 A
Michel Reaume	5
Augustin Langlois	6 A
Joseph Lavarnier	7
Joseph Gina	8
Pierre Melloche	9
Jacques Parent	10
Joseph Bertiaume	11
Francois Maisonville	12
George Maisonville	13
Pierre Delisle	14
Noel Lapalme	15
J. Bte. Lapalme	16 A. P.
J. Bte. Pillette	17 A
Joseph Germain	18
Pierre Lachapelle	19

* From Burton Library Vol. 18.

J. Bapt'e Nantai	20
Joseph Maillet	21
Augustin Lagrave	22 M.
J. Bap'te St Louis	23
Joseph Basinais	24
Joseph Sanquartiers	25
Pierre Quasavant	26
Lanber Parent	27
Pierre Gilliotte	28 A. P.
Joseph Bonvoulloir	29 A
Pierre Badichon	30—10 Absent
Joseph Vilneuve	31
Thomas Drouilliard	32

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Dear Father,

‡ I have the happiness of informing you that the American Army was defeated so effectually that every man was either Killed or taken prisoners, with the exception of two only who make their escape. the prisoners 450 in number will arrive to day. the only person related to us who has suffered is poor Robert Richardson who received a wound in his Knee, Our Regular Officers have suffered much in proportion to their numbers. Gouin wounded in the Shoulder, & Pierre Badichen killed.

I remain
Your Affectionate Son
James Askin

General Winchester is taken prisoner.

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§ Queenston Jan. 27, 1813.

Dear Father

I lately had the pleasure of receiving two affectionate letters from you, but I have left them at home and cannot now recollect their dates. I have been very unlucky in not being down here at any time this Winter when anyone from Sandwich or Detroit were here, this has deprived me of an opportunity of answering your letters. and of writing to Theresa which I wish to do. I paid Mr. Dickson ninety dollars for Mr. Pattinson, which he or Nelly was so kind as to lend me last Summer, and for which I beg you will return them many thanks. I am sorry I had not specie therefore had to pay it in paper money, which I think should answer Mr. Dickson just as well; but if he should when writing Mr. Pattinson complain that he is not satisfied with what he has received, I shall be very happy to know it, that I may be able to get back the paper money, and send Mr. Pattinson the specie if it can possibly be got. Mr. D———is so fond of making difficulties, that I would not give myself much trouble to please him, otherwise I might have paid him in gold or silver, which he demanded (but not without some trouble) for those who have it are very tenacious of it, and is hard to get from them. I am really surprised that Mr. Brush should give you to understand that I owe him anything for he knows very well I do not owe him a six pence but rather think he is something in my debt.

*I think this must belong to 1812 or 1813. C. M. B.

†Vol. 18.

‡According to "Tupper's Life of Sir I. Brock" this battle took place on the 22nd Jan., 1813 and Winchester is called Brigadier (page 358, Tupper's Life of Brock).

§Vol. 17, p. 1.

The money he lent Capt. Chambers, he gave a draft for in favour of Doctor Day and Mr. Eastman and requested me to accept of which to oblige him I did when at Detroit—the bill was to have been presented to me here or at Niagara for payment, and I was to get the money from Chambers immediately on my arrival to have it ready for those Gentlemen when they came down. I was ill the day I came here, and the next day so very unwell that I was confined to my bed where I remained till the day of the battle here, but before this I understood that Doctr. Day & Mr. Eastman were in the Detroit or Caledonian when taken and as I did not expect to see them soon, though it was as well to leave the money in Capt. Chambers hands as to have it in my own until the draft was presented, when I could easily get it of him, therefore did not call for it.

About the beginning of November I received a few lines from Mr. Eastman saying that the draft was lost, and begging me to pay the amount of it Capt. Rolette, about the same time I had a letter from Doctr. Day mentioning also that the draft has been lost, and requesting me to pay the amount of it I think to Mr. Denham—had I seen Rolette I should have complied with Mr. Eastman's request and paid the money, but instead of handing me the letter himself, he left it for me at Chippawa, when I got it some days after he went from there, I was anxious when I found Rolette was gone, to have paid the money to Denham agreeable to Doctr. Days request, but Mr. Denham I could not find, Day's letter came over here with a flag of truce, or at Niagara, and was sent to me at Chippawa where I was then stationed. I immediately obtained leave of absence to go to Niagara and went there, and from that went over with a flag of truce to see Mr. Denham or Dr Day, but found that the officers who received me knew nothing of them or did not wish to give himself any trouble about the business. I wished to have wrote Doct. Day, but the Gentleman did not seem willing to grant my request. I delivered a message to him for the Doctr. and came away, much dissatisfied with the manner I had been treated when going over to oblige an American Officer—and determined to give myself very little trouble about the money or the Doctr.'s horse which he desired also to be delivered to Mr. Denham. No person having since demanded the money whom I could with any propriety pay it I shall now send it to Mr. Brush on his giving a receipt for it, and that he will refund it if ever I am called upon to pay it, by either Doctr. Day or Mr. Eastman to which of these it ought to be paid I do not know; but they both seem anxious to get it and one of them can certainly not have any right to it: and must know it I think—

I hope James has paid Mr. Jones acct against me. I shall be happy to hear if he has or not that I may be able to settle the acct if it is not.

What Alex. owes me, I must beg of him to pay to Mr. Smith toward my Auction acct. which I am anxious should be paid. I have little hopes of getting any prize money, but if I did, I conceive myself bound to settle that acct. as soon as possible as the debt is now due. I owe something to Doctr Brown, I must request James to get his acct. and pay it for me and let me know the amount. The before mentioned acct. and perhaps something I may owe Theresa is all debts I know of which I owe in your quarter. I shall feel happy when they all paid: and I hope I will have them paid before Spring—

There is nothing new here, we expect reinforcements of troops every day from Lower Canada, a Company of the 49th and a few Artillery have arrived the 49th from Kingston, the Glengary Fencibles, the remainder of the New Foundland Corps and the 49th are expected up before Spring. We have accounts from England not long since, its said the Prince Regent is determined to carry on the War against the Americans with the greatest vigour. An expedition against some part of the Southern States from Halifax or Bermuda is talked of. this will be a diversion in our

favour. An attack was apprehended this Winter, sometime ago, but now seems hardly thought of—

Mr. Clark has given me some news papers which I shall send you by the first safe opportunity. they contain very interesting news, but may possibly be old news before it reaches you, you will see General Smith's Official Letter about this great doing at Fort Erie, which does him little credit. Old Hull is certainly far his Superior as a General—General Tupper's excuse for not pursuing the Indians on the Miami does not say much for him either—

Please give my love to my Dear Mother, Brothers & Sisters & believe me your dutiful & Affectionate Son

Chas. Askin

You will please let my Uncle Barthe have a perusal of the Quebec Mercury for they are half in French—he is a great politician & it will be a treat to him. The Columbian Gazette gives some reasons for the failure of the expedition intended by the Enemy to retake Detroit, but cowardice, by their own acct. was the principal cause of its failure Brush's Cousin seems to have behaved bravely in this business.

C. A.

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* Head of the Lake Feb. 3d, 1813.

Dear Father

I wrote to you three or four days ago, and enclosed some newspapers to you which I left at Queenston to be forwarded from that. I have still one left which I shall now inclose. in which you will see the fameous General Smith's Official Despatch respecting the battle at Fort Erie, which is one of the most rediculous things I have read for a long time past.—I was much rejoiced to hear of the great Victory obtained over the Enemy at River Raisin. from what I have learnt General Harrison is supposed here to be on his way to Detroit, Some troops have left Buffaloe some time since to reinforce his Army. Its a great pity we have so few regular troops here that we can spare but a Very small number to assist you above, one hundred and forty of the 41st Regt. passed this on their way to Amherstburg to day, I am afraid no more are going up for some time.—

I am now settling all my business, so as to have my affairs in such a state as to be able to leave home (if necessary) for some months without suffering much by it.—I find I have an acct. in my books against James and another against Alex. both of which I now inclose, I think I owe Theresa something I shall make her acct. soon and send it to her, probably James may not owe me although I have nothing in my books to his credit, I cannot recollect now how I paid him the difference between the value of Eclipse & the Colt I gave him, but he may remember, I should like to know if any of the Cider sent down belonged to him and if he has any acct. against me.—Mr. Robert Dickson arrived from Lower Canada three days ago, its thought that he is to have the Command of a large body of Indians—the latest news we have from below is that the French were obliged to leave Moscow.

I inclose Poudrie's note and Thomas Collins's which I have found among my papers.

Please give my love to my Dear Mother, my Brothers and Sisters and believe me to be Dear Father.

Your dutiful & Affectionate
Son
Charles Askin.

John Askin Esquire
Strabane
Sandwich

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* Vol. 17, p. 3.

* Queenston Feby. 23d, 1813.

Dear Father

I wrote to you on Sunday last by Mr. Gain in answer to three letters I lately had the pleasure of receiving from you Mr. Brush is still here the other Citizens of Detroit are in Niagara and are hardly allowed the liberty of walking the Streets. I am happy to say the behaviour to Mr. B. has been different and he has had the privilege of coming up and going down from this to Niagara when he pleased. I have staid here several days on his account tho I was anxious to get home. I believe I shall go to day. Alex. Hamilton will do any thing he wishes, therefore he will be at no loss, when I am gone.—I have paid Mr. Brush sixty one dollars for you, which he says was the amount of the 4 Doubloons you got of him.—and I have paid John Meldrum twenty dollars for Alex. which I must beg he will return me as soon as possible as I am very much in want of money. the remaining thirty dollars which Alex. owes Mr. Meldrum he should pay to some of his friends at Detroit I suppose to his Wife, or his Father, the detention at Niagara of these people from Detroit will be attended with a great deal of expense to them; but it will learn them to behave themselves. a little punishment will do them no hurt.——We were for some time in great hopes of seeing General Harrison and His Army here; but from what I can learn I do not think he will be ready to come forward for some time to Detroit, and its probable he will not dare to advance at all.—Wee see no troops opposite this. and I believe the enemy have not many in Fort Niagara—Col. Proctor & Col. Vincent are promoted and are both Generals now.—

I am sorry to say Lt. King of the Royal Artillery died yesterday Morning at Black Rock. or Buffaloe of the Wounds he received in the action on the 28th. Novr. last, he was an active & galant officer.

Please give my love to my Dear Mother, my Brothers and Sisters

I am Dear Father

Your dutiful & Affectionate

Son

Charles Askin.

P. S. Salt is now fifteen dollars a barrel and probably will by twenty if not more in the Spring—

Your Affectionate

Son

Ch's Askin.

John Askin Sen'r. Esq'r.

Strabane

Sandwich

Mountain 3 miles from Queenston

† April 23d, 1813.

Dear Father—

I have long anxiously wished for an opportunity of writing you, to return thanks for the loan of the seventy five dollars you were so kind as to send me by Mr. Pattison, the receipt of which relieved me from small embarassments which the loss of the hundred dollars last winter would have thrown me into: but I sincerely hope you have suffered no inconvenience by sending me that sum or I shall regret having got it.

I had the pleasure of receiving a few lines from you some days ago desiring me to send up Eclipse, which I will do as soon as he is in condition to perform the

*From Burton Library vol. 17, p. 8.
†Vol. 17, p. 13.

Journey and that I have a good chance of sending him. Forage for horses is hardly to be got, there has been so much consumed by the Field Officers horses, Dragoons Do—and the horses of the Carr Brigade,—and not so much hay cut last Summer as there used to be other years; for many were doing duty as Militia men, and lost most every thing they had; but this has been the case at Sandwich as well as here. Flour is 10 Dollars per barrel which I think low considering the times. I see in a newspaper, an extract from a Boston Paper, which says that every barrel of flour sent to supply Harrisons Army Cost one hundred and twenty dollars when delivered to the Government U. S. I believe it must be very expensive getting flour to where his Army are stationed, but still I do not think it can cost so much.

The American Government have accepted the Meditation of Russia and the Ambassador from that Country on his arrival in the United States was well received. An American Officer who came over to Niagara two days ago with a flag of Truce says that an Express had gone to Sir John Borlase Warren who has power to treat with them; but when the Express arrived at Sir John's Station, he had put out to Sea, the dispatches were opened which were for him by the officer next in Command, who immediately sent a cutter out after him; and in three days Sir John returned and sent a dispatch immediately to Washington the officer says than an Armistice for six months was requested which was the occasion of the communication between his Government and Admiral Warren. this will probably be the forerunner of a Peace.—If they wish for peace so much the better; if not I think we will soon be prepared for them here; so as not to dread any force they can bring against us, part of the 8th Regt. have arrived at Niagara and the remainder of them are on their way here, the 104th Regt. were at Kingston some days ago on their way up, part of the Glengary Light Infantry Regt. are here and the rest of them coming, and three Companies of the Voltageurs, when all these get here we shall have a very respectable force. The 41st are at Fort Erie under Orders for Amherstburg.

They are recruiting here for a Troop of Dragoons, a Corps of Drivers, 2 Companies of Artillery and a Corps of Artificers which to complete will take four hundred men, who are to serve during the War with the United States, these corps interfere very much with the Regiments of Incorporated Militia which we are attempting to raise here and to one of which I belong. I have been as successful in getting men as almost any one yet have not got my compliment. I think if I had Alex. Askin with me I should get them in two or three days for I think he would make an excellent recruiting Officer.

The whole of the Immense Army taken by Bunaparte into Russia have either been taken or destroyed, except a few Officers who made their escape with him. Genl. Yorke who commanded 30,000 of the Prussians in Bunaparte's service was forced to enter into a convention to save himself and men, one of the Articles of which was that his army are to occupy a District in Prussia which was to be perfectly neutral and that if the King of Prussia did not ratify the convention they were not to fight against the Russians for 2 months from the date of the Convention. Mr. Barlow the American Minister at the Court of France died on the Road between Dresden and Paris of the Fatigues of his Journey to and from Wilna, he had gone to congratulate Bonaparte on the taking of Moscow, one of Barlow's attendants who did not wish to perform the Journey made his escape to Heligoland, where he was taking up as a spy and in his possession some papers were found of consequence, among which was a proposal from Bunoparte to Madison to guarantee the Presidency of the United States to him for life on condition of his declaring War against Great Britain, Bunoparte also complains of the want of energy in the American Government and wishes it subverted, he offers to send over 3000 French Officers which he directs how to be introduced into the American Army without creating any suspissian, offers also to lend him money and a few frigates—that Mr. Barlow is dead I believe but whether the rest of the story is true I have some doubts

so many stories of this kind are now made and the people have been so often deceived, that should all this be a fact they will give no credit to it in the States.

By a letter an extract from which I have seen in a Newspaper, from an officer in Harrison's Army dated 28th Jany. it appears that only 27 of Winchester Army made their escape from the River Raisin on the 22d Jan.

Please remember me kindly to my Uncle and Aunt Barthe, to Doct. Richardson and Capt. McKee—when you see them and my Nephews & Nieces and give my Love to my Dear Mother, Brothers and Sisters.

I am
Your dutiful
and Affectionate
Son
Charles Askin.

John Askin Esq.
Sandwich.

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* Sandwich 26th May 1813.

Orders for the Kent Militia—

The Captains will assemble their companies within their respective limits on the 4th of June next in commemoration of His Majesty's Birthday—

The Captains will make known the place of meeting, and will give strict injunctions that all arms & accoutrements belonging to the Government, now in the possession of the Kent Militia, be lodged with them in good order, so that they may be delivered to the Ordinance Store Keeper as soon as practicable.

It is expected that every man capable of attending will not fail to be present, and that an exact return will be made out and sent to the Colonel as soon as possible. The Captains will ascertain as well as in their power will lie the Validity of the Excuses given by such men, who after having been duly balloted, did not come forward at the last call of the Militia, as well as of those who will not have attended the Review intended for the 4th June ending; and for want of satisfactory reasons, they are hereby directed to lodge information, before Magistrates against such delinquents so as to bring them to a sense of their duty which cannot be better effected than by enforcing the Law against them.

I. Baley
Col. K. M—

On Service
Capt. George Jacob
Raleigh

Captain George Jacob—
Sir,

I shall be obliged to you to have the within General Order for the Kent Militia transmitted to the Captains on the River Thames.

I have the honor to be with high esteem & regard,

Sir,
Your very Hble Servt
I. Baley

Sandwich 27th May 1813.

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† Dundass Mills Head of the Lake June 2nd 1813

Dear Father

Your affectionate letter of the 2d ult. was handed me at the 40 Mile Creek without a Cover, by a Gentleman from Fort Erie who picked it up somewhere there, by mere

*Vol. 17, p. 14.
†Vol. 17, p. 15.

accident, just before he retreated from that. You must no doubt before this have heard of our misfortunes in this quarter, the loss of Fort George after an action which lasted only fifteen or twenty minutes, and our being obliged in consequence to evacuate the whole of our Fortifications, from that place to Fort Erie, and to destroy an immense quantity of Provisions and other kinds of stores on our Retreat. On the night of the 24th ult. we commenced cannonading from the five mile Meadow on some boats going down the River to Niagara, which was kept up on both sides for two or three hours, we recommenced again early the next Morning at some more boats going down; but the Enemy had a much superior Force in Artillery and set fire to Fort George which was consumed and our troops were obliged to leave it. a great deal was burnt in it while I am told could have been saved; but very little exertion was made to save anything—On Wednesday everything remained quiet On Thursday 27th: The morning was very foggy; and the enemy began to move their fleet and one hundred and fifty boats which they had concealed behind Fort Niagara two or three thousand of their men landed at the same moment at 2 Mile Run—where they were met by 350 of the Glengary Regt. who suffered very much—the Enemie's Vessels were anchored along our shores from 2 Mile Run on the Lake to nearly where the Ferry was kept in Niagara River; and were pouring such an immense quantity of grape on our poor Fellows, that they were not allowed to advance to charge them; which they wished to do, until such an immense force had landed that it was thought necessary by General Vincent to order them to retire toward Queenston, from that they retreated to Beaver Dams about 12 Mile back in the Country where they were joined by about two hundred of the 41st Regt. under Colonel Bishopp from Fort Erie and by two hundred of the 8th Regt. who just arrived from Lower Canada. the Army remained at this place all night; and the next day retired to the forty Mile Creek where they halted and staid two days, after which they went to the Head of the Lake, where we are now. I was stationed at Fort Erie with part of my company, the day of the Action, and the next day I left that with them and retreated along Lake Erie with a small party of the 41st Regt. and some of the Women of the Regt. and came to Grand River, but left the 41st behind for they came on too slow. After a great deal of Fatigue I arrived at the Forty Mile Creek on the 30th ulto. alone; for all my men had stop'd at their homes and I knew if I waited to bring them with me I should probably not be able to join the Army myself, which I was very anxious to do. On my arrival at the Forty I was unfortunately taken with a fit of ague, which detained me there for a day. The next day I came to this place where part of the Army lies—I am now staying at Mr. McKay's who is extremely kind and attentive to me. June 3d. I yesterday had another fit of the ague, but sores are breaking out on my lips to day and I am in hopes that I shall soon get rid of it. Since writing the above I heard further particulars of the Engagement at Fort George. The Enemy landed about eight thousand troops, and we had not more than two thousand five hundred to oppose them altogether, and of these there were but very small proportion of Indians (not one hundred) the Glengary's Newfoundland and 8th Regt. with a few of the Militia were the only Regt. engaged with the Enemy. and they suffered much. Two hundred of the 8th were killed & wounded, nearly one half of the Glengary Regt. were cut off. Capt. Liddle & Mr. McLean were killed and several of the Officers wounded among which were two of Doct. Kerr's sons—the Grenadiers of the Newfoundland Regt. went in the action thirty or forty strong but only 10 or 12 came out of it. The Militia behaved as well as the Regular troops & many say better. we have lost in killed wounded & missing about four hundred and fifty men—the Enemy I believe have not lost so many. Notwithstanding they were so superior to us in numbers, they did not give our troops a chance of charging them, for the Moment we advanced they would run down the bank and leave our men ex-

posed to the Grape shot from their shipping which swept them off so fast that they were forced to fall back. A Capt. McLean of the Militia and Mr. Chew of the Indian Department were killed also. The 49th & 41st were hardly engaged at all, and our Artillery did very little, we were fortunate in saving all our Field Pieces, all the wounded officers, and men fell in the hands of the Enemy among them was Colonel Myers a most Galant Officer and indeed the Principal Officers in the Field and the 2nd in Command. The enemy did not pursue us at all; but when the Army got to the twenty Mile Creek, there was a false alarm which was the occasion of our destroying a good deal of ammunition & provision there. I must conclude this, by saying that the Enemy have nothing to boast of in taking Fort George; for they had an immense superiority of force.

June 4th. I am now just going down to the Camp to celebrate the day, which perhaps may be the last time, for an action I think we shall have in a very short time. two thousand Americans are said to be at the forty. we have a fine field to meet them on where our Army now lays and should they advance we will probably beat them; but there will be little use in it if we should unless we get the Superiority on Lake Ontario, where the chances are much against us for we have but five vessels and the Americans fourteen. We have just had accts. from Kingston by one of Sir George Prevost's Aide Camp's that an attempt had been made by Sir George with 800 men to take Sacket's harbour aided by Sir Lucas* Yeo. our troops landed but the Vessels were becalmed and could not get into the harbour, our troops were met by three thousand Americans which were drove into their Intrenchments, we took 150 prisoners and 3 pieces of Cannon, we lost three hundred men in the Affair. Col. Grey is said to have been killed and Major Evans severely wounded—two companies of the 8th suffered severely.

Our fate is decided now for firing was heard on the Lake yesterday and it could be nothing but a fight between our fleet and that of the Enemy. we hope for the best but dread to hear the result of the business as the chances were so much against us. June 5th. Our Army I think must soon retreat from this whether they will go to Detroit or towards Kingston we do not know. I mean to follow it if possible—Your affectionate letter of the 24th & 31st ulto, I had the pleasure of receiving the day before yesterday. I never had an opportunity of sending up Eclipse or I should have done it. I am afraid the Americans have got him. Should Mr. Brush return to Detroit and the Americans get possession of this I hope he will try and save as much of my property as possible. A great number of our Gentlemen have taken protections from the Enemy since they have come in the Country. I shall keep out of their hands as long as I can. I wish we had Tecumseh here to help us out of our difficulties—I received a letter from Theresa a few days ago which I am sorry I have not time now to answer, I delivered the one to Mr. Sutherland which was with it; and he has promised to send her the things she wants you will please tell her. The Americans behaved very well to the Inhabitants of York, except those anyway connected with the Indian Department. Poor Mr. Selby died about the time the Enemy landed at York—Poor old Mr. Warren is also dead, I was in the Room when he expired—two or three days before the Action at Fort George. I am sorry to hear of the Death of my Uncle Grant.

The Family in this Quarter are well. Please give my love to my Dear Mother, to James, Alex & my sisters & remember me kindly to my Relatives & Friends. Believe me

your dutiful & affectionate
Son Charles Askin.

John Askin Esq.

I beg you will excuse this Scrawl, which I have had to write in haste and not al-

*Life of Sir I. Brock by Tupper gives name Sir James Yeo.

low anyone but the Family to peruse it, the contents I have no objection to have communicated.

Your affectionate Son
Charles Askin.

June 5th P. S. Should you wish to have any information respecting my possessions in this Quarter will please write to Mr. Wm. Lyons at the twenty mile Creek, and address to the care of Mr. Thomas Dickson — —

Your affectionate Son
Charles Askin.

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* Dundass June 5th 1813

Dear Father—

I have just now met with Mr. Chisholm who is going express to Detroit. I have requested him to stop and see you, to say that I was well. I have wrote you a long letter, which I left about four miles from this, he has promised to call for it and take it up. The Pistol Mr. Lewis brought down I fancy has fallen in the hands of the Enemy with his things—Yesterday two American Dragoons were killed a few miles from this, they have three thousand men at the Forty about eighteen miles from our Army—part of which are four mile from here.

Please give my love to my Dear Mother my Brothers & Sisters and Remember me to my Friends.

Believe me
Your dutiful &
Affectionate
Son
Charles Askin.

John Askin Esq'r.
Sandwich

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† Dundass Mill June 8th 1813

Dear Father

I wrote you on the 5th Inst. at which time We were in a melancholy state, and thought that we should be forced to surrender to a very large force which were in pursuit of us, or make a precipitate Retreat. An action which took place on the sixth Inst. which terminated much in our favour has quite altered the face of Affairs and the appearance of our Vessels which hove in sight last night has put us all in high spirits again. the Enemy were advancing three thousand five hundred strong and were within Six miles of us on the evening of the 5th they took a strong position and encamped, determined to attack us next morning. General Vincent after geting correct information of their situation, determined on attacking them that night, and marched down the whole of the 8th & 49th Regt. with us and one field piece, our force was one thousand strong. we got up to them undiscovered and bayoneted the Centinels, then pushed on with the Bayonet and took the enemy by Surprise laying in their Tents, our troops in order to alarm them yelled as much like Indians as they could, this had a bad effect: for it woke the Enemy who would have been otherwise. they kept up a warm fire on our troops for a short time, with musketts and a howitzer and killed a good many of our men. our brave fellows pushed on took the howitzer and three field pieces—after which the Americans fled. both their Generals fell in our hands. Generals Winder & Candler and a number more officers and about one hundred men—several officers who were taken, after giving their word of honour they would not run away, made their Escape, they lost about two hundred in killed wounded & prisoners. Our loss has been severe also, we had twenty two killed on the field, about seventy wounded and thirty prisoners taken—Col. Clark of the 49th Regt. and Mr. Drury of the same Regt. both mortally wounded. Mr. Taylor of the 41st severely wounded (not the Mr. Taylor who

*Vol. 17, p. 15.
†Vol. 17, p. 17.

was at Amherstburg). Major Manners of the 49th is also wounded but slightly. Mr. Barnard was much hurt by a Fall from his horse who was shot under him. Some officers of the 8th Regt. were wounded but their names I do not know. the night was dark and occasioned great confusion. General Vincent was missing six or eight hours after the action and was supposed to be taken; but found his way to us again. for want of horses two of the field pieces which were taken were left but a little way from the field of battle. While we were gone for horses the enemy came and took them off. The Enemy retreated to the Forty. they are said to have left that and are retreating toward Niagara. I dare say the sight of our Fleet does not please them much. There were no Militia in the Engagement, and only four or five Indians. the Indians have behaved shamefully lately, and do us no service whatever. I hope they will do better. I would not give ten Hurons for two hundred of such as we have here.—I fancy a stand will be made here now, some works are going to be thrown up, our fleet has brought us a small reinforcement, and some ammunition, the last of which was wanted very much.—

I am sorry to say that many of our great men below—I mean about Niagara, went and took protection from the Enemy as soon as they came over.

Please give my love to my Dear Mother & to my Brothers & Sisters and

Believe me

John Askin Esq. Your dutiful &

Sandwich. Affectionate Son

Charles Askin.

P. S. The Action was fought half a Mile this side of Stony Creek. Messrs Robert Grant, Wm. Kerby and five or six more Gentlemen from this Quarter leave this morning to buy cattle & take them to Amherstburg, they are sent by Government. I send you by them a few old English papers, which are the only ones I could get.

Your dutiful and affectionate

Son

Charles Askin.

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* Yies Burford June 15, 1813.

Dear James—

I am very sorry I cannot prevail on you to write me, I should be extremely happy to hear from you. thing's were in a melancholy way with us here for some Days; but have taken a favorable change, our army must have been destroyed but for the cowardice of the Enemy, a shot from our fleet was the occasion of their making a percipitate Retreat to Fort George where they are now fortifying, our advanced guard are at the 20 mile Creek, and the main body of our Army are at the Forty, six hundred of our Troops had arrived the day before yesterday at York from Kingston and fourteen hundred more are on their way. The Royals 103d Regt, Canadian Regt. Newfoundland Regt. and a troop of 19th Dragoons with some of the Glengary's are the troops who are said to be on their way to reinforce us. there are 300 Indians coming also from Lower Canada and we look for 800 from your Quarter. I hope we may not be disappointed in getting them, for the Indians of the Grand River are not worth a farthing. The Staff of the 41st Regt. and about an hundred and twenty men are this far on their way to Amherstburg. I send you Eclipse by Mr. Lenn who I hope will take good care of him. I shall not ask you more than thirty five dollars for him, this sum you will please pay Mr. Smith in part of the Auction Acct. he has against me & send me a Receipt for it from him as soon as you can, get Receipts in duplicate for fear the one you send me may be lost. The money Alex. owes me I should be happy he would pay him also as soon as possible and send me the Receipt for it: for I am extremely anxious that debt should be paid.

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*Vol. 17. p. 16.

The American fleet on Lake Ontario have not dared to meet ours yet, tho' they have sixteen vessels and we only six.

Should you be able to get me a pr. of neat pistols cheap I wish you would buy them for me, and also a pair of spurrs. there are no spurrs to be got here and the pistols my Father was so kind as to send me I am afraid is lost, as it was in Niagara when the Enemy came over. If you hear anything from Robt. Hamilton let me know as soon as possible as Hamilton is very anxious where and quite uneasy about him.

Give my love to my Dear Father & Mother and to Alex and my sisters.

Your affectionate
Brother
Charles Askin

Mr. James Askin
Sandwich.

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* Mich'a 23 June 1813

My dear Father—

On my Brothers arrival I entertained hopes of being able to spend a few leisure days in showing him all Country but the Arrival of Mr. Dickson & his suite frustrated all my plans & to my astonishment has remained from the 10th Inst to this day without budging a foot, so that I have not been able to gi any place with Alex'n and instead of having made a pleasant Jaunt (as he no doubt expected) will be heartily tired of this solitary part of the World. Mr. Dickson retinue of interpreters etc etc, are great and amongst the number he has a Son of the Late Lavoine Barthe who is Interpreter to the Folliavoine—Waynebaygo. I rather believe for the latter nation. The force that goes down are between 5 or 600 hundred men exclusive of 60 whites & its to be hoped they will behave well. I proposed to Alex to recruit for a company of incorporated Militia whilst he was here, which Capt Roberts would have given him a letter of Service & I would have raised the men in about a Weeks time but he declined the offer, on having hopes of getg as he said a Lieut. in the Rangers under Caldwell—As Alex is very intelligent he will give you any information respect. g this place & prospects etc etc. I will write again in a few days & in the mean time have to conclude by presenting Made & young Ladies joint wishes for you & my D'r Mothers Health & Love to all My Brothers & Sisters I am

My Dear Father
Your dutiful Son
Jno Askin Jr.

John Askin Esq.
Strabane

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† 10 Mile Creek July 8th, 1813.

Dear Father—

Your affectionate letter of the 15th Ult was handed me by Mr. Wm. Kerby on the field of Battle when six hundred of the Americans under the Command of Col. Bustler were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of Warr to us, This was on the 24th Ult, the Enemy had marched out of Fort George to surprise and take a party we had at the Beaver Dams under Lt. Fitzgibbon of the 49th Regt. and probably also to attack an advance party we had at 10 Mile Creek commanded by Col. De Heron of the 104 Regt the Enemy were observed in the Morning on their march by some Indian Scouts, who gave the alarm and about four hundred and fifty Indians who lay at 20 mile Creek marched off immediately to meet them I saw them & joined them with three more young men of the Country and in about three quarters of an hour after, we came up to their rear guard which were horsemen and attacked them after killing several of them, we were then pressed to

*Vol. 17, p. 18.
†Vol. 17, p. 21.

retreat into a woods which was a little distance from us, some Infantry followed us across one or two fields, but we forced them to retreat, they then came along the end of the woods sheltered by a fence but we also drove them from this, they after this came some distance in the Woods; but we forced them to retire to a wheat field where the Enemy remained nearly two hours firing at us from two field pieces with Canister shot, which kept the Indians from advancing on them, after a short cessation from firing the Americans began to retreat but in very good order, the Indians followed them and the Enemy soon took up a good position for their guns while they were doing this Lt. Fitzgibbon joined us with about 48 of the 49th Regt. These were the first troops who came to our aid, the Americans gave them two or three shots from their field pieces but neither killed nor wounded a man—Fitzgibbon's party did not fire in return for they were at too great a distance for Musketry to do much execution. The Indians kept firing a few shots, then Fitzgibbon advanced with a flag of Truce and demanded them to Surrender. which after a long parley they agreed to do, while they were settling the terms on which they would lay down their Arms, a party of our Dragoons under Capt Hall and two hundred Infantry, under Col. De Heron also joined us. Fitzgibbon who is a most active and deserving officer gets the whole credit of the business, as he was the person who demanded them to surrender; (but the Battle was gained by the Indians for his party as I before said did not fire a shot. He is one of the most active and pleasing officers we have and has always been employed in any arduous duty. he was most always on the rear Guard when we were retreating, and commanded the advance Guard since we have been moving toward Fort George while the main body of our Troops were at the Forty Mile Creek, he has been with a small party of the 49th in Queenston, and then would be at Chippawa, Fort Erie, and flying about in such a manner that the Enemy did not know where to find him he has had some very narrow escapes. his life was saved by Mrs. Kerby and another Woman a short time since. he had by accident met with two of the Enemy's Riflemen when he was alone, they were going to fire on him but he was in disguise and told them he belonged to their Army, at the same time got near them and seized hold of their Rifles one in each hand and was struggling to get them from them, when one of his antagonists drew his sword from him, and would have run him through had not a Mrs. Duffield kicked it out of the fellows hand, the Women then threathened to kill him if he did not surrender, and they both allowed themselves to be taken prisoners—he had hardly got a quarter of a mile from the place with his prisoners when a large party of Americans came there, but he got off safe with them.

I find by one of your letters that you have understood we have had an engagement soon after the 6th June, but there has been none since that except the one on the 24th which I have given the best account of I could but I ommitted to mention the loss on both sides that of the Enemy was about 20 killed and nearly 46 wounded and of the Indians six killed and ten or twelve wounded.

— — — — — — — — — — —

The enemy were Panick struck by a few shots which Sir Lucas Yeo gave them at the Forty and a few shot accompanied with a little yelling from about 20 Indians at the same time they imagined that Genl. Proctor and all the wild Indians had reinforced us, and that it was a General attack we were going to make on them; they hurried off left their tents, camp kettles & a number of other things behind them and hardly halted a minute until they got into Fort George. some troops they had at Fort Erie, Chippawa, Queenston &c were marched down immediately to Fort George so much alarmed that they hardly dared look behind them at the same time there was not an Indian nor any of our Soldiers within ten miles of them. had we followed them, we could have taken one half of them or got some of our troops and Indians ahead of them, which could have been done easily by some *bye*

roads its the oppinion of those who saw them on their retreat that the whole of this Army which was 2000 strong would have surrendered, but we missed this fine opportunity of getting rid of them, and we have lost many others.— We have been very fortunate in driving them. to Fort George where they are confined and hardly dare venture more than two or three miles. indeed their Picket Guard have been driven into the Town, and a number of their men at different times taken prisoner. their Army are said to be very unhealthy. They have eight hundred sick and wounded; but their sick, their Cannon, baggage and most everything else they have removed to the other side of the River for they are in constant dread of an attack and are continually alarmed.—10 Mile Creek, 19 July. We have about one thousand men within a mile of Niagara and our Head Quarters are now at St. Davids about 7 Miles from Fort George, we have good news from our fleet which we expect in a few days, an attack will be made on the Enemy as supposed, the moment our Shipping arrives.—I am sorry to say that we have lost one of the most galant Officers in the Country. Colonel Bishopp who died of the wounds he received on Sunday the 11th instant at the Battle of Black Rock where we took 3 brass field pieces and some other guns. The 41st suffered much in this. Engagement. Capt Saunders was supposed to have been killed, but was only wounded he is now a prisoner, Mr. M———— was also wounded. Col. Thomas Clark rec'd a wound in the hand but is doing well, we lost about forty men in killed wounded and missing, the Enemie's loss I believe was very trifling.—Our people brought over an immense deal of stores etc before the Engagement commenced, and could have returned without losing a man; but Col. Bishopp was too Galant a Soldier and would not retire till he had given them Battle. he was one of the last to retire from the Field & was carried in the Boat after receiving a wound in the thigh.—His loss is universally regretted, he was one of the most gentlemanly men I ever was acquainted with, and the best soldier.— We have good news from Europe. Beauharnais was marching with an Army of 24000 men to Burn Berlin but was met by the Russian General Wittgenshein and defeated, he lost two thousand men and a Field Piece. Bernadotte was on his march at the head of 25000 Sweds to join the Russian Army. The French were withdrawing their troops from Spain.

We have upwards of three thousand regular Troops here. I think, we have the Royals, the Kings, part 41st and 49, 104th Newfoundland, Glengary Light Infantry and Dragoons from Lower Canada the 19th Dragoons have not yet arrived. It was not my intention to have sent this scrawl, which I am really ashamed of, but an Indian is going to Amherstburg and would not wait until I could write another, you will please not show this to anyone, but my Mother & Brothers. — —

I sent Eclipse by Mr. Lenn of the 41st Regt. more than a month since what he done with him I know not, but I am told the horse is now at Forty—Should you write to me I beg you will send the letter by some one of my acquaintance, and request the Bearer to deliver the letter to myself or to one of the Hamiltons or Mr. Dickson for some letters you wrote me have been lost. There is a report that the Sackett Harbour is taken: but I do not believe it.

Give my love to my Dear Mother, my Brothers & Sisters and Believe me your

Dutiful & Affectionate
Son
Charles Askin

John Askin Esq
Sandwich

P. S. Mr. Willson of the Field Indian Dept died on Friday or Saturday last.

The remainder of the 41st Regt in this quarter are now on their March to Amherstburgh, and I believe the Light Company of the Newfoundland Regt are or-

dered up also. I find by a letter from Theresa that you supposed me to have been in the action at Stony Creek; but I was not. the only action I have been in, was on the 24th June, which was Near Beaver Dams where we took six hundred, the battle lasted three hours and a half, I saw the whole of it.

Your affectionate Son
Charles Askin

12 Mile Creek July 19th 1813.

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* St Davids Aug. 17th 1813.

Dear Father

I arrived here this evening before last & found things much as I left them, only that we have had a reinforcement lately from Kingston of nearly a thousand men, it was what is called the Ligt Brigade, composed of part of the 89th Voliageurs, & part of the Glengary Regt—part of our Army are now engaged at the Cross Roads with the Enemy who attacked them this morning, what has been done is not known, but I am in great hopes it will terminate in our favour,—Two of the American Vessels were taken and two upset some days ago; but this you will have heard long before this reaches you, our Fleet are now laying near Niagara, part of that of the Enemy are said to have gone to Sackets Harbour and the others are in the Niagara River.

I passed Pisinack on the road without seeing him he takes up a number of pieces of Callicoe & hkfs. for Mr. Davids. I shall endeavour to get some one to go after him with Eclipse as I have not been able to meet with him & I cannot go after him myself, for a boil which I got on the road down has made me lame.—I have been told that an Officer of our Dragoons in the affair this morning met with one of the Officers of the Enemy's Cavalry, the American Officer wounded ours; but ours killed him. We have had a report that fourteen of the Enemy were also killed & twenty taken.—I am sorry to say that the information respecting this business this morning was not correct, it appears that the Americans had Indians with them and not only surprised our men but even our Indians who they shook hands with & took ten of them prisoners, seven of them were Delawares & three Nepisings, they also took Mr. Livingston of Mackina & Capt. Lounier of the Indian Department & killed five Chippawas, one of our Dragoons & a Soldier of the Glengary Regt. this business has alarmed the Indians very much—(Aug 18th.)

The Americans advanced this morning but sent their Indians before them, Ours with a few regulars met them, killed fifteen of the Enemy's Indians, & took one prisoner, we had one of our Indians killed and eight of the regular troops wounded, its thought several of the American Troops were killed—19th Nothing was done of any consequence to-day—three of the men wounded Yesterday have since died, an officer of the Royals was put under arrest for Misbehaviour on the 17th he commanded a guard of 30 men at the Cross Roads and would not allow his men to fire on ten American Indians who attacked him, but run off he was immediately confined for it. Aug. 20th—A Deserter from the Americans came in last night to us, says that we are to be attacked to day or to-morrow they have seven thousand men, we have four thousand, Our fleet are at Kingston, but are expected up with Sir George Prevost and twelve hundred men—I hope they will be here in good time—Never were Indians more wanted than at present, I wish Capt. McKee would come down with a few hundred, he would be doing something for himself and rendering his Country a great Service — — I looked for Pisinack and he for me but could not find one and other, he foolishly gave the letter for Mr. Dickson to

*Vol. 17, p. 23.

Mr. McCon—then went to Mr. D— for the horse Eclipse; but as Mr. D. had no order he would not deliver him to him. I shall endeavor to send him to Mr. Yies's. Intended to have gone there with him myself; but the alarm we have here will prevent me. I have been allowed very handsomely for taking up the Dispatches, I have got seventy dollars, out of which I have to deduct thirty I got in advance when I left this. The twelve dollars I rec'd from Mr. Pattinson I will pay him myself tell him if you please not to charge them to Mr. Gilmore. Mr. Gilmore can allow James forage for his horse for several Militia Officers here employed in the same way get it—I have seen some officers of the (?) since my Return who have come from England. they have come here since I left this, I see they rank with other Officers and wear very Rich and handsome uniforms, much like that of the Dragoons.

Remember me kindly to my Friends if you please. and give my love to my Dear Mother, my Brothers and Sisters.

I am your dutiful & affectionate
son
Charles Askin.

John Askin Esq.
Sandwich

Excuse this scrawl, I was obliged to write in great haste.

Your affectionate &
dutiful Son
Charles Askin.

Montreal 27 Aug. 1813

*

My dear old friend

It is a long time since I had the pleasure of reading your late letter—but I know you have nothing to communicate but misfortunes, and dangers, attending this unfortunate War. we are informed the Indians have left Col. Procter in disgust which may induce Harrison to pay you a Vissit. we are very anxious about our fleet on Lake Ontario as much depends upon who will be master. Your old friend Todd is still here, but says he must go to England, as all his property is in his Nephews Hands in Ireland. and he has not heard from him since he has been here, he thinks he can't live long, having a pain in his head, which he says, killed his mother, and his legs fails him, so that he cannot get out, he lives in a boarding house where he setts for a week without going out reading—McGill is very well—it is hard I can never expect to see you in the World, and I am afraid I will not know you in the next, however we must hope—that the next will be better than this. Mr. McGillavray is arrived from Grand Portage and brings me the unfortunate account of one of my sons being killed on McKinzey's River by the Indians, with all his men—this is a wound at my time of life that affects me and his poor Mother very much. but we must be resigned to what that Good being inflicts, and hope that it is all for the Best—

Mr. McIntoch is so good as to say he will take a small keg to you with what I know you must want, a little Tea Coffee & 1 lb of Sugar. I intend to send by him, if I do not forget when I see him, two Razors, as the one you got from me 20 years past must be wore out—They are new and must be set, I am happy to hear by him you are well & in spirits, let me hear from you when a good opportunity offers—

*Vol. 17, p. 25.

Mrs. H & Julia Joins in our Love & best regard to Mrs. Askin and remember us to all your children and remain as ever your

Affectionate friend
Alexander Henry

P. S. I have one son at Sea a midshipman which I have not heard of for upwards of two years. I think he must be dead—the only one remaining in the N. West—gone to the South Sea. you will see I have been unfortunate in my sons.

A. H.

John Askin Esq
Amherstburgh

*

Territory of Michigan—

Head Quarters at Detroit
15th Oct. 1813.

To all to whom these presents may come, be it known—

John Askin Esquire of Sandwich in the Province of Upper Canada having applied to me for protection, the same is hereby granted unto him during his good behaviour, and all officers and privates of my army are hereby required to observe the same, and to abstain from any acts of violence or outrage toward the said John Askin and his household.

Given under my hand at Detroit the day and year above written

Willm Henry Harrison

Sandwich, Sept. 1813

Marie Louise Robert.

Claims a Remuneration for the undermentioned damages done and depredations committed by the Indians on the retreat of General Procter in 1813

	Dr.		Estimate		
for 4 Horses taken away.....	50	or	£50.	0	0
5 sheep killed & carried away.....	25s		6		
5 hogs "	25s		6	5	
100 Bushels of Apples & upwards taken from 2 orchards	2s6		12	10	0
1 doz fowls killed & carried away	1s3			15	
1 ox 3 years old killed & " "			7	10	
	Hlfc C.		£83	5	0

Amounting to Eighty three pounds, five Shillings Halifax Currency.

Witness
James Allan

her
Marie Louise + Robert
mark

Claim
Marie Louise Robert
for Damage done & Losses
sustained by the Indians
in 1813
£ 83.5 0. Hfx Cy.
No

*Vol. 17, p. 32.

* Sandwich Octr: 1813

Marie Louise Robert

Claims a Remuneration for the Depredations committed by the Enemy in 1813. On the Return of Genl. Harrison from the River Thames.—

		Estimates
3 doz fowls carried away & eat	1s3	£2.5
6 Turkey do do do	5s	1.10
2 Geese do do do	5s	10
2 Acres of fence in pickets burnt Say 400 and putting up		5. 0.0
50 Bundles of Hay taken		12.6

Hfx.Cy £9.17.6

Amounting to nine pounds seventeen Shillings and Six pence Halifax Currency.

her
Witness Marie Louise + Robert
James Allen mark

Claim
Marie Louise Roberts
For depredations
Committed by the Enemy
in 1813
£9. 17. 6. Hfx Cy.
No
2 copies of this "original" †

‡

Pages from a Diary written in the hand of Charles Askin.

Monday Dec.7, 1813. Rode k's in Glandford & return'd again, that night to Hamels some rain fell & the roads very bad.
Tuesday 8th Joined the Commissariat left Mr. Hamels and rode to Stoney Creek where I staid all night. Wednesday 9. Went to the 40 Mile Creek where to our Army had advanced. Snowed and was very Stormy.
Thursday 10. Part of the forces under Col. Murray moved down to Ball's Mills. the sleighing began to be tolerably good. Capt Hamilton Merrit with some Dragoons was down this night to the 12 Mile Creek and brought off some flour from there. Went in the Evening up to Jno. Petits. Friday 11th Rode down in company with Mr. Coffin and A. Hamilton to Runchy's where the 100th Regt. and some Indians under Col Elliott had advanced, sleighing good. met sleigh taking flags to the Party Allans. Went in evening to the 15 Mile Creek. Staid over night at Mr. Clark's. Saturday 12. Rode up to Lyon's Mills in Mr. Clark's sleigh. passed a number of Teams to take flour from Balls to the forty, engaged some hay & oats also cattle for Govt. retur'd to Mr. Clark's & from that to Ball's Mill's where I learned the troops had moved toward Fort George I mounted & Followed them to the Bassy's ten Mile Creek where I staid till daybreak. Was told by several people that a great light was seen last night and was supposed to be Town of Niagara on Fire and that it was consumed and the Enemy had left Fort George.
Sunday 12th Left Bassy's before day. staid at Reeds a short time, then rode to

*Vol. 17, p 30.
† Duplicate.
‡Vol. 17. p. 35.

Queenston where I found Col. Elliott who had come up from Fort George which the Enemy had evacuated. Col. Murray with the 100th Regt. some Militia, Indians & Dragoons, marched in at midnight last night. Breakfasted at Mr. Dickson's where I saw poor Commodore Berkly of the Royal Navy—after Breakfast went to Fort George which has undergone such an alteration that I hardly knew any part; it's now very strong; but there are no barracks in it—a large quantity of shot was left in it. dined at Mr. Dicksons in company with Col. Murray & Commodore Berkly—rode up to Emmits after Dinner—Monday 13th Went to 12 Mile Creek for a flag to hoist in Fort George then to Beaver Dams where I did not get until night as I stopped at a number of places to buy cattle & forage—Tuesday 14th Staid last night at Mr. Hill's Went and took an Inventory of Asa Baker's Cattle, who fled to the Enemy. from that returned to Queenston where they were preparing to Cross the River, but were disappointed in geting troops and much against Col. Munsey's wish had to be given up—heard that seven pieces of Cannon had been found buried near Fort George & some few prisoners were taken—on Sunday morning at Niagara & Fort Erie—Wednesday 15th Rode to Ball's Mills to send down flour from there where I staid all night. Thursday 16th Went up 20 Mile Creek pressed a number of sleighs to take flour & some whiskey down from Ball's Mills to St. Davids. Rode down to Queenston on Saturday the 18th about 10 o'clock at night our troops began to cross the River from near Count De Puysay's to the five mile Meadow, the 100th Crossed first then part 41st Regt. after which the Royals and the remainder of the 41st and last the Indians & militia some few Militia went over in the first boats. among whom was Capt. Kerby who was the first person who landed on the other side. the Grenadiers of the 100th Regt. pushed on toward Fort Niagara. surprised the Enemy's picket at Youngstown where they killed several men. Capt. Fawcette advanced with the Grenadiers to the Gate of the Fort and fortunately got there just while the guard were relieving the Sentinels by which they got in at the Wicket as they had got the Countersign from two Sentinels whom they had taken. Mr. Dawson of the 100th Regt. led the forlorn hope, but Capt. Kerby of the Incorporated Militia was in the fort before any other officer, while the Grenadiers got in, in front the Light Company, of the 100th under Capt. Martin scaled the Works in the rear and got in nearly at the same time with the others. Capt. Elliott Qr. Ms. General was with Capt. Martin. Fortunately most of the Garrison were sleeping and were so completely surprised that we lost but six men killed in taking it. Among whom was Dr. Nowlan of the 100th Regt. the Enemy made as good a defence as could be expected considering the situation they were caught in and lost sixty five men most of whom were bayoneted. Col. Murray who commanded the storming party was unfortunately wounded. Capt. Leonard the Commanding official of the Fort with his Family, he came very early to the Garrison in the Morning but was much surprised to be challenged by a British Sentinel who made a prisoner of him, upward of three hundred men were made prisoners, a number of whom were of the 24th Regt. just as the first boat load of Indians had reached the other shore, the news of the Fort being taken reached them, they immediately pushed off for Lewiston and General Reall with the Royals and the 41st marched to the same place, there were but about sixty, artillery at that place who take to their heels as soon as they heard the yells of the Indians. about 12 or 13 of the Enemy were killed, at Lewiston, several of them Inhabitants of the place unfortunately there was liquor in most of the houses & not withstanding the exertions of the Officers of the Indian Dept. the Indians soon got intoxicated and were outrageous several men of the Regular troops got drunk also, the Indians plundered the houses, then set fire to them, the poor Inhabitants men women and children we were obliged to keep a strong guard over to prevent them from being killed by the Indians, one of whom killed a young boy. Indeed the Indians got so

drunk that they did not know what they were about. two of their own Indians were killed by them and one of the 41st Regt. Mr. Caldwell was shot through the thigh by one of them and young McDougall had his arm broke by another who struck him with a Tomyhawk. Indians, Regulars, Militia were plundering everything they could get hold of, immense quantities of things were brought over from that place to Queenston. At Youngstown there were one or two stores from which everything was taken by the Plunderers, I have never witnessed such a scene before & hope I shall not again.

fragments of Diary in handwriting
of Charles Askin.

* WAR 1812—WILLIAMS PAPERS.

Part of a Letter to Messrs. I. and T. Shieffelin—from J. R. Williams, Detroit, 22 July 1808

I have hardly any thing interesting or worth communicating to you from this quarter, The old or long reiterated Sound of War Still dins in our ears—Governor Gore of upper Canada has lately Visited Amherstburgh & Sandwich he came through by Land from York by the way of the river Thames accompanied by a considerable retinue principally of Indians, it is really astonishing to Witness the great influence which he as british Governor has on the Indians, he has scarcely arrived that at least 1000 Indians Comprising a great many Chiefs had assembled at Amherstburgh to Salute him report says that it is not denied by the British themselves that he has invited them to war against the U States, stating to them that now was the proper time to reclaim their lands making the Ohio the boundary that the U. S. were constantly infringing on their possessions & driving them still further back into the Woods, that although the British had not conquered the Americans last War it was not through inability to but from Motive of Lenity—besides that the french had aided us much in opposing them, but now that altho the Whole of the Continent of europe was united against them & had been for Some time their Strength remained yet unimpaired & their Arm so well strung that they could spare their Children Some Sinews (meaning men) to assist them in the recovery of their Lands & Territory which had been arbitrarily & wrongfully taken from them—Many other plausible arguments & pretexts were urged to persuade them to unfriendly acts toward us—The truth is you have lived long enough in this Country to know—what is an incontestable fact viz that the Indians are entirely under british influence, for my own part I am convinced that in case of a War with Great Britain we shall have our hands & hearts full in this quarter provided we are left to Survive the first onset.—which I am persuaded will be much to our disadvantage as the Government have not taken precautionary Steps to guard against Such an event—Our whole military force consists of two Companies the one of Artillery. & the other of Infantry lately arrived, perhaps 1000 Militia scattered over an extent of 100 Miles from R. Raisin to R. St. Clair—judge therefore of our State of Defence—

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† Detroit, 28th April 1812

Dear Sir—

A considerable degree of alarm has been excited in this place Since my last to you by the occurence of a shocking circumstance which took place at Fort Defiance in the State of Ohio about one Hundred miles from here Three Men named Fortier St Bernard & Griffard trading for Mr. Conrad Teneyck who you very well know were found murdered in their beds the perpetrators of this horrid deed are unknown. Suspicion I believe well founded attributes this deed to some of the followers of the Prophet as it is stated a strange Indian was at St Bernard's the day preceding this occurrence and asked for Some goods on trust which St Bernard refused them stating as his reason he was a stranger and that he did not choose to trust him—the indian then replied that he was a man and that he would remember him and then disappeared. Mr. Fortier had just returned from the Rapids to his own house when at bed time finding his own bedding Wet he went to his friends,

* Papers from the Williams Collection in the Burton Library, Detroit, Vol. 19. p. 160.
† Vol. 19, p. 111.

Mr. St. Bernards to sleep and the whole three had made a camp bed before the fire it seems on which they fell asleep to wake no more they were all killed with an ax or tomohawk Some by one and two Strokes near the butt of the ear, and in the morning were found by a neighbor laying in the same position it was supposed they went to sleep—from what I have seen in this place of the few Indians that have been here since my arrival I have noticed a very hostile disposition & threatening temper toward us we have I sincerly believe something serious to apprehend especially in the event of War with England every disposition is making to insure the capture of this place by the United forces of the English & savages it is said the British Government have sent a Special Messenger named Rehaume as far as Chicago—who is there, by appointment to meet one from Mackinac and who are to visit all the different tribes in their way the compensation which Rehaume is to receive is stated to be twenty Shillings pr Day during his absence & his family found and in the event of his returning safe he is to be put on the list of interpreters at a Dollar a day & Rations for life—A King's Vessel sailed past here on the 20th inst. laden it is said with Military stores for St. Joseph above, considering the backwardness of the season it is not only considered extremely early to undertake to navigate lake Huron but even dangerous on account of the ice so it is inferred that something uncommonly urgent has directed this undertaking—I think our Government has been extremely remiss if they have ever seriously contemplated a War with Great Britain in not fortifying these posts Detroit Mackinaw, Chicago &c. or kept strong Garrisons at them, We ought to remember what this country has cost us both in blood and treasure, Harmer, St. Clare & several other detachments alike shared the fate of defeat & destruction a last effort conducted by the immortal Wayne retrieved the honor of the American Arms & wiped away the inglorious stain which successive defeats had imprinted on our Fame but Sir can it be that our rulers are not acquainted with the state of things on these frontiers—The English in our front, the indians on our rear extending in fact entirely around us we are separated from the State of Ohio by an immense uninhabited wilderness & the english having the absolute command of these waters from whence are we to expect succours unless they are sent soon should a War begin it would be vain to expect they could reach this without being attacked & inevitably defeated every nerve will be strained by the British & indians they both consider this as their last opportunity of contending against us in these parts it is said they boast that they will take this place immediately on the declaration of hostilities & that it will not be in our power to regain it easily afterwards which I admit and know to be true—It is to be regretted, that the Agents of our Government, the Governors Harrison & Hull have given but too just cause of dissatisfaction to the Indians it is a notorious fact in this country that the indians have been greatly imposed on & in a manner compelled by stratagem to consent to the Treaty of Detroit. The policy which was adopted by Governor Harrison was imitated by Governor Hull that is of creating new chiefs from among the most worthless of the tribes on condition of their acquiescing to & signing the Treaty—which some of the principal chiefs refused to sanction besides which a complete system of Speculation in the indian department has been followed by Governor Hull which was proved to the Satisfaction of the Grand Jury at the last September term—The presentments were to have been forwarded one copy to the President of the U. S. another to the senate. and another to your House they contain many very heavy & criminal charges against the Governor. & Judges though the Jury chiefly consisted of the Governor's friends & men in office I was not unfortunately one of them in regard to the charge of Speculation or rather peculation in the indian department it was proved as I before stated to the satisfaction of every impartial Juror but when the vote was taken on that particular clause of the presentiment it was lost by a small majority though no man doubted the truth of the charge.

Letter in J. R. Williams handwriting.

Batavia 13th October1812.

*Sir,

The morning that I left Buffaloe after having conveyed my family seven miles out of Town I returned with a view of obtaining the two Trunks of effects & two packs Furs &c which I have on board the Caledonia after enquiry I found one of the Trunks inside the breast work—Black rock, the bottom broke open & everything taken out except a few pieces of the nankin China enumerated in the statement which I now do myself the honor of enclosing to you some dressed Deer skin also laid open at the same place but being without mark I was unable to determine whether they were mine. Hearing from Capt.n Samuel T Dyson of the U. S. Artillery that one bar of silver some trinkets & a letter from myself to Mrs. Williams had been taken by Lieut. Watts of the navy to General Porter's which I knew were in the other trunk I at once concluded that both trunks had been opened & the contents in all probability dispersed. I therefore gave up any further enquiry concerning them & returned to Buffaloe in expectation of finding you there. I was however disappointed being informed at your lodgings that you had not returned from Black rock It having become late & being much fatigued & discouraged with the loss of my property, I determined to rejoin my family & proceed to this place and send you from hence this Letter with the enclosed statement which I believe to be just & true Mrs. Williams and her sister are willing to be qualified to its correctness—Many of the articles specified were not marked being entirely new & the whole might indeed be said to be of that description unless a few sheets that were mended—a bundle of Stockings which the feet had been ripped off are not included in the statement as well as Several articles which from the multiplicity of things very probably have escaped the momentary recollection of my wife & Sister in Law—

My present object Sir, is to obtain from you such documents concerning this property as will entitle me to remuneration from the United States resting my claim in its justices & that assistance which your liberality I trust will not withold.

In the Certificate which I presume you will have the Goodness to send me I would consider it of material importance for you to state, that I applied to you previous to the expedition against the vessels & entreated that it might be delayed on account of the property I had on board which no doubt would have been sent over the next Day as private property was secured by the Capitulation of the 10th Augt. with the British Government—you will also remember your impressions at the time & your assurance that it would be perfectly secure & would be restored to me the next day provided the expedition should succeed—were I to conclude this Letter on the Subject, without returning you my sincerest thanks for your kind interference & the anxiety which you expressed concerning our loss I would do injustice to my feelings—please Sir accept of my sincerest acknowledgements for the
which you was pleased to make although they unluckily proved innefectual, as I am about leaving this place for Albany your answer addressed to me at that place will be received with gratitude by

Sir Your Obed. & humb—

Copy to Maj. Genl. Hall
inclosing account of
Articles left on board
the Caledonia
13th October 1812.

Letter in hand of J. R. Williams.

* Vol. 19, p. 118.

* To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled;

The petition of John R. Williams now of the City of Detroit in The Territory of Michigan, respectfully sheweth; That your petition, for several years previous to the late war between the United States and Great Britain, was an inhabitant of This place; That after the enemy obtained possession of Detroit in the Month of August 1813, your petitioner and several other American Citizens, were permitted by the British officers to go with their effects to Buffaloe, in the schooner Caledonia, then being at Detroit, and accordingly your petitioner, with his family and effects, embarked on board of the said Schooner, and upon her arrival opposite Buffaloe, he and his family, and other passengers, were sent on shore with a flag of truce; but the boat being then heavily laden with passengers and baggage, Your petitioner could not get his effects into the boat at that time, and it being late in the evening, the boat could not return to the Schooner and bring your petitioner's effects on shore; That your petitioner understanding, after he was on shore, that an expedition was contemplated against the said Schooner, earnestly entreated General Hall, then commanding at that station, that the said expedition might be postponed, till your petitioner and the other Americans, whose property was on board of the said Schooner, could get it on shore; but it being considered proper immediately to attempt to capture the said Schooner, General Hall assured your petitioner that his property would be returned to him, in case the said Expedition succeeded: that after the Schooner was brought into Black rock, Mr Watts of the United States Navy informed your Petitioner's wife, that her trunks were safe, and that she should have them the next Morning: That your petitioner did everything in his power to obtain his property, and General Hall having given an order to the officer under whose Command the Schooner was put, to deliver up your Petitioner's effects to him, your petitioner applied to the said officer; who refused to deliver them: That notwithstanding all your petitioners efforts to save his property, he lost by the pillage of persons in the American service, and otherwise, the articles, a bill of which is to his petition annexed; the facts and circumstances attending the said loss are more particularly detailed in a letter addressed by your petitioner to General Hall on the subject, a copy of which accompanies this petition—Your petitioner prays that Congress will take his case into their consideration, and grant him such indemnification, and relief, as they in their wisdom shall see fit.

And your petitioner will ever pray &c

Jn. R. Williams

Albany 29th May 1813

The Petition of
John R. Williams
8th June, 1813
Referred to the Committee of Claims
28th Decemr. 1813
Retd—to the Comee. of Claims.
7: Feby. 1814
Report made & ordered to lie on the table
reported against.

Washington 3 Feb 1814.

† My Dear Sir

I have only time to say that your petitions are before the Committee of Claims, and Public Lands—I have urged Messrs. Archer, & McKee the two Chairmen for a speedy report; assuring them that a reiteration of losses had greatly

* Vol. 19, p. 121.
† Vol. 19, p. 130.

impoverished you—They seem disposed to listen to your case as far as principle will bear them out—I will continue to press the business & advise you.

Very Respectfully
Your Obt. Serv.
John Lovett

Mr. J. R. Williams

---

* Washington 7th Feb. 14.

Dear Sir.

The Committee of Claims has this day reported *against* you in the matter of the goods lost at Black Rock—The policy of the government seems to be fixed and determined that they will not, in any shape, remunerate the citizen of any property they may loose by the operation of the war; very little regarding any circumstances attending the loss—Yours is admitted to be a strange case, but not stranger than many others—The House seemed prepared to concur with the committee in their report; but at my request, it is permitted to lay upon the table—But I must say that after the frequent decisions which have been made, I have no hope.

Yours truly
John Lovett.

Mr. J. R. Williams.

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† Quarter Master Dept. Detroit June 26. 1815.

It is agreed upon between James McCloskey A. D. Q. Mr. Genl. and Mr. Jno. R. Williams, That Messrs Solomon Sibley & Jacob Visgar (the Latter in behalf of the United States) Should assess the damages Sustained on the Premises of Mr. Williams near the Spring Wells known by the name of Earnests farm which damages has been sustained by the Troops of the United States since the arrival of the Army under Genl. Harrison. They having accepted the Building at Sundry times since that Period as Quarters—Messers Sibley & Visgar will only take into view the damages actually committed by the Troops of the U. States viz in the Burning of Buildings Rails &c on the Promises. and be guided by Such Evidence as will Enable them to certify heron, the amount of damages actually Sustained as aforesaid, the Specious of Building &c distroyed and to Testify to the Same—

James McCloskey
A. D. Qr. M'r. Genl.

James McCloskey's
Agreement to appoint appraisers
to Appraise damages done to Spring
Wells farm by the Army under Genl.
Harrison during the War—
admitting the same occupation &
damages signed by himself as
A. D. Qr. M'r. Genl.
dated June 26. 1815

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‡

We the undersigned do promise to pay our respective proportion of the expences of the Public Dinner, to be given to Major Genl. Brown & Brigadier Genl.

* Vol. 19, p. 131.
† Vol. 19, p. 150.
‡ Vol. 19, p. 159.

Miller & their respective Suites, As a tribute of our respect, for the Brilliant & important Services rendered to our Country during the late War—Augt. 11. 1815.

Committee of arrangement	pd Christ'r Clemens
Honble. Augustus B. Woodward pd.	pd James Connor paid
Paid George McDougall Esq	pd Oliver Williams paid
Paid Oliver Williams paid	pd Stephen Mack pd
Paid J. R. Williams paid	paid H. B. Brevoort
Albion T. Crow	pd Shub'l Conant pd
Hiram King paid	pd Jno R. Williams pd
Paid Joseph Loveland	Paid J M Donell
Paid Chas Larned	paid G Godfrey
Paid Edward W Miller	pd Wm Heny Puthuff pd
Paid John Kenze	pd A. T. Crow pd
John Ruland Paid	Rich'd. Smyth pd
Jas H. Audrian Paid	paid Duncan Reid paid
Atlas E Lacock paid	Wm Brown paid
paid John Meldrum paid	Thomas Rowland paid
paid Austin T Wing	Jos. Campau Paid
paid James May	Stephen C. Henry paid
paid James Dodemead	Robert Abbott paid
Paid Lewis Cass	Paid James Abbott paid
Paid W. McCoskry Paid.	Henry Connor paid
Paid Gabriel Godfrey Jr.	Wm Macomb paid
A. B. Woodward	Mr. Hawkins pad
paid Conrad Ten Eyck	pd Francis Godfroy pd
paid Geo. McDougall	John Walker paid

Forty two subscribers at Seven Dollars each being the Amount of the expences of the Dinner

Geo. Mc Dougall
Jno R. Williams
Albion T. Crow
A B Woodward
Oliver Williams
Managers

Boisblanc Channel oppositeMalden
Wednesday 24th July 1816

*Dear Sir,

It becomes my painful duty to acquaint you with circumstances and conduct extremely outrageous which we have just experienced from a British sub Naval Officer & Six men which are said to belong to the Tecumseh, The Circumstances are as follows, having been much interrupted in my rest last Night I had laid down some time after breakfast and fallen asleep, I was suddenly waked by some noise on deck, and on enquiring the cause was informed that a British Boat had just chased our Boat toward Fort Grosvenor our men had borrowed a Boat from Mr. David Macomb for the purpose of getting our Vessel afloat which they were in the Act of returning. On going on Deck I found the Vessel at anchor, the British Officer and his

* Vol. 19. p. 208.

men there searching fore and Aft even into the Cabin, I asked him by what authority he did these things he stated by the order of his superior officer I then protested against Such Conduct demanded his name and told him that he and his Government must answer for such conduct he replied his name was Henry Brooks and was not ashamed to own it, he shortly after left the Vessel, and on turning our attention toward Malden we perceived a field piece hawling off Surrounded by Ten or fifteen Men which appeared to be artillerists—I have thus stated to your Excellency plain unvarnished facts, but assure you that I never felt more indignation at anything I ever witnessed before, I was of the opinion while consulting Major Belton that we ought to return to Detroit & claim the protection of the proper authority, but on reflection considering the inevitable delay which such a step would occasion We have concluded to proceed on our Voyage, if not again prevented. In the Mean time the Captain will lose notime on his arrival at Buffalo to enter a Regular protest in due form

With Sentiments of Unfeigned
respect I remain Your
Excellen'y Ob'd Ser't.

Copy to Governor
Cass, 24: July 1816

Not signed, but in the hand of J. R. Williams.

New York Augt. 19, 1816.

*Sir,

Permit me to take the Liberty of soliciting your attention to a demand which I have on the Quarter Master General's Department at this post, founded on a Draft drawn by James McCloskey A. D'y. Q M Genl. at Detroit for 828.68½ approved at the Head Qrs. of the 5 Milit'y Dept. by Major Genl Alex'r. Macomb, Dated Detroit 8th July 1816 and at Ten Dys sight; Colonel Mullaney being absent, Mr. Lent does not conceive himself authorized to take any measure either for the acceptance or payment of said Drft but refers me to the War Department Washington City, I make no doubt after the explanation I can give on the Subject that you will consider it just that it Should be paid here without unneccessary delay. It is now about 8 dys since the Drft was presented for acceptance, It was received in liquidation of an Account Current against the Qr. Masters Dept. at Detroit for advances made principally about a year ago while Genl. Brown was at Detroit consisting of building Materials for the new Quarters erected at that Post during the last fall. Although there is considerable difference of exchange between the Ohio paper which is in general circulation at Detroit & the paper of this City, yet as the imports from the State of Ohio to Detroit are very considerable, that money can almost at any time be exchanged for British Army Bills drafts on New York or Furs, either of which, Answer our purposes to remit to this City You must Sir, be aware that in the present time and the great distance I am from home having come to this place to Settle my business and being extremely anxious to return to my family it is a considerable disappointment not to receive payment for advances made so long since on the lowest Cash terms without interest. I am also entitled to receive about $600 consolidated in a Draft drawn by the Qr. Master in favor of Pierre Desnoyer advances made of Nails, Glass, Shovels, Spades &c &c

* Vol. 19, p. 223.

for the Use of the Troops which left Detroit in June last for Green Bay Chicago & Mackina—

I trust Sir, after these explanations, that you will be pleased to Order the Quarter-Master at this Post to Settle with me as soon as possible,

I have the Honor to remain
Sir
Very respectfully
Your Obed. humb. Servt
J. R. W

Copy to
William H. Crawford
Sect of War
Augt. 19. 1816

WOODBRIDGE PAPERS.

Wm Woodbridge Esq* New York Jany. 12, 1811

My Dear Sir—

Your letter under date of Nov. 10th. long since came to hand, & would have been replied to ere this date if the enclosed papers had been prepared—I feel vastly obliged by your kind & friendly proffer of service, although I did not doubt but my draft would meet due honour upon presentment. Mr. Crosby has given a power of Attors. in yr. name & wishes the land sold as you may Judge expedient either in detached parts or the whole as circumstances shall dictate. He will sell it for Six hundred Doll's. if no more can be obtained—The Taxes are pd up to last Dec. A description or rather a schedule of the various tracts forming the share is also inclosed—you will please remark that the present is a matter of business which entitles you to such compensation as you may deem proper whether you effect a Sale or no—In case of Sale I presume you will prefer having the Deed rather than grant one by virtue of the power of attorney—Yr advice upon this subject will be attended to—

The situation of our public affairs has never looked so portentous & gloomy since I have been acquainted with this government—If among all the mad prospects of democracy. The Non Intercourse with G. Briton should go into operation I shall despair of seeing this Country in prosperity for many years to come—Commerce seems doomed to a premature grave & nothing can avert the blow impending but a change of System & that cannot be effected so long as Men will close their ears to truth & eyes to scenes which are passing before them every day.

Spain & Portugal have slept for ages, but have at length awoke from their slumbers and are performing deeds worthy their best days but I fear their struggle will be in vain—

Although much has been said about *Spanish* Traitors—I firmly believe if Bonapartes Standard could ever be erected in this Country he would find many traitors among us & if I do not much mistake we shall see the experiment made—The present Session——is a very important one & I hope & wish the secrets of the Cabinet will be exposed to the public investigation, when there will be found a tissue of fraud, hypocricy, falsehood & cowardice which astonish the world.

I shall be very happy to hear from you when your convenience Shall grant the permission.

With my best respects to
Mrs. Woodbridge
I remain yr sincere friend
W. S. Tallmadge

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†

Wm Hull Esq. Governor of Michigan

Sir—

Intending to remove from the District of Huron and Detroit, and to reside for a time at River Raisin; I conceive it my duty to resign my position as a Major of the Legionary Corps—Accept my respects, and remain Sir your most obedient humble servant

Detroit 19th Jany. 1811. Wm Scott

* Papers from the Woodbridge collections in the Burton Library, Detroit, vol. 108, p. 7.
† Vol. 108, p. 9.

Detroit, 19th Jany. 1811

To R. Attwater Esq. Secretary of
the Territory of Michigan.

I enclose to you Wm Scotts letter of Resignation of his office of Marshall and Major of the Legionary Corps. They are accepted, and will be placed on the executive files.

I will thank you to make out Commissions for Joseph Watrous Esq. as Marshal of the Territory and Marshal of the districts of Huron & Detroit.

Very respectfully
Wm Hull.

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*To his Excellency Wm Hull—

Sir—

Permit me to express my most grateful acknowledgment for the honor of my appointment as Marshal of the Territory of Michigan. That at present I find it necessary to resign the office, and if it meets your Excellency's approbation, you will consider the office as resigned to day. Any other office, that you should think my abilities adequate to, under your administration, I shall with pleasure perform.

Please accept my best wishes for your health and happiness,

Detroit, 19th Jany. 1811. Wm. Scott.

Miami Rapids Jay 23, 1812

†Sir

The hostile attitude of our Indian neighbors seems to require that the Inhabitants liveing on the frontier shld be put in some posture of defence at least so much as to be aquipt with Arms and Ammunition & as a Volunteer Comp'y. in part has been raisd. at this place for the purpose of Defending themselves in Case of an attack from the Savages—& being Considerable Deficient in fire arms—I am requested to Enquire wheather 25 or 30 stand of Arms. Coud be obtained from the publick store at Detroit & on what terms—pleas to write me by return mail.

I am dear Sir with
Respect your Obd servt.
Amos Spofford

Honl
Reuben Attwater Esq.
actg Governor Detroit

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‡ Return of Officers of the First Regiment of Essex Militia 26th July 1812

Colonel	Remarks
Matthew Elliott	present
Lieut. Colonel	

* Vol. 108, p. 10.
† Vol. 109, p. 9.
‡ Vol. 109, p. 93.

James Allen.....do

Major

Ebenezer Reynolds.....do

Paymaster

James Gordon.....do

Adjutant

William Duff.....do

Quarter Master

Robert Innis.....do

Captains

1. William Caldwell.....do
2. William Elliott.....do
3. Jean Babt. Barthe.....do
4. William Buchanan.....absent with leave
5. Laurent Bondy.....ditto without leave
6. William Mills.....on command

Lieutenants

1. Alexis Lafferte.....absent with leave
2. James Gordon.....on command
3. John Brush.....absent without leave

4th. William McCormick.....absent with leave
5th. Wyndal Wagley.....deserted
6th. John Little.....present

Ensigns

1st. Thomas Caldwell.....on Duty
2d. Peter Scratch.....present
3d. Antoine Boufor.....deserted
4th. James Stockwell.....absent without leave
5th. Thomas Girty.....present
6th. James Little.....do
7th. Nicholas Little.....do
8. John McCormick.....do
9. Francis Caldwell.....on Command

James Allan
Lt. Col.

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*Marietta 28th July 1812

Mr. Woodbridge Sir, by order of Capt. James Flagg I notify you to appear in front of Mr. Roben's Meeting house at eleven O'clock A. M. on the third day of August next—as you are one of those persons drafted according to Law—you will hold yourself, then, & there, in readiness for further instructions from your Officers

David Gilmore, Sargn.

* Vol. 109, p. 94.

Rendezvous.

Zanesville, Ohio, August 3d A 1812.

*

Lieutenant Timothy E. Danielson—

Sir—

On your receipt of this, you will make every necessary arrangement to go on a tour of duty, with a detachment of men from this Rendezvous. You will reach this place, and report yourself to me at my quarters, at farthest by Sun sett on Saturday night: sooner, if convenient. You will march with you, the men, you may have recruited before your departure from Marietta.

Your place of immediate destination will be Chillicothe—

Yours respectfully

George Tod Major

U. States Army.

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† Muster roll of officers and privates, detached, from the different companies in the first Regiment, first Brigade and third Division of Ohio Militia, to hold themselves in momentary readiness for actual service, agreeable to an order to that effect issued July 20th, 1812, which were organized (Agreeable to the Militia Law of the State of Ohio) in Marietta, on Monday, the 3d day of August 1812.

Captain James Flagg
Lieut. Benedic Hutchins
Ensign Isaac Baste

PRIVATES

Detached from Flagg's Company
David Putnam
David Trobridge
Daniel Shepard
Isaac Cloddy
Henry Coverston
William Woodbridge 6

Capt. Thornilys Compy
James Anderson
William Roland
John Riley
Waid Cross 4

Capt Curtis Compy.
John Merrill
Samuel S Whipple
John Barrott
Samuel Dorff. 4

Lieut Comdt A. Spragues Comp.
Joseph Wilson
Joseph Forrest
Salmon F. Cogswell
Allen Devol 4

Capt. Rotheus Howards Compy
John Greenman 2nd Seargent
Daniel Coalman
Asa Emerson
Stanton Foardice
Baley Hagerman

Capt Joseph Stacys Compy.
William Patterson sub.‡ (Gilbert Olds)
Philo Mathews sub.‡ James Adams
William Handley sub.‡ Daniel Dennis
George Dorighty 4

Capt. Stedmans Compy
James Hall Junr.
Robert W. Collins
Bemont Hubbard 3

Capt. Dones Compy
John Penny
Francis R. Stanley
Samuel Fulton sub.‡ James B. Walker
James Ervins
Nathan Britton 5

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* Vol. 109, p. 103.

† Vol. 109, p. 104.

‡The names of Philo Mathews and William Handey, Samuel Fulton, Elisha Mallory and Peregrine Alpher are struck out, and the names Gilbert Olds, James Adams, James B. Walker, John Dean, Daniel Alpher and Daniel Dennis written in pencil. The word "sub" is not in the original.—C. M. B.

Capt Judah Ford Compy
Lory Ford 1st seargent.
Jonah Burchet
John Possêt
Jesse Lawton
Elisha Mallory sub.* John Dean

Numbers brot forward 40

Lieut Comdt Burris Comp
Jeremiah Hoskins
Lair Hoskins
Peregrine Alpher sub.* Daniel Alpher
James Whitton
Peter Whitton
James Knight
Samuel Biddle
James Hutchison 8—48

Capt Edmund B. Dana
3 men.

Endorsed Return of drafted men

† Morning report of a Detachment of militia in the Service of the United States under the Command of Major J. Witherell.
Detroit 15, August 1812

Capt. Smyth's Troop of Cavelry

For Duty	42
On Command	39
On Daily Duty	3
Sick	3
Waiters	2
Confined	1
Total	90—90

Capt. Dequindres Rifle Company

Present for Duty	30
Sick present	13
On Daily Duty	8
On Pass	3
Waiters	3
Total	57—57

Capt. Macks Company

Present for Duty	14
Sick	15
Waiters	2
On Guard	4
Absent without leave	13
Fatigue	14
	62—62

Capt La Croix Company River Raisin

For Duty	43
Sick	10
On Command	25

* The names of Philo Mathews and William Handey, Samuel Fulton, Elisha Mallory and Peregrine Alpher are struck out, and the names Gilbert Olds, James Adams, James B. Walker, John Dean, Daniel Alpher and Daniel Dennis written in pencil. The word "sub" is not in the original.—C.M.B.

† Vol. 109, p. 113.

Waiters 2
Confined 1

Total 81—81

Total Force 290
Josiah Brady Adjutant

*Washing done for the Undersigned Men Being Detachment of the 41st Regiment a Amherstburg from the 2d July to 17th August 1812

	s	d	
Corpl. Wm Young	1	4	one month
Jno Beckett	2	..	
Wm Bodman	2	..	
Cartlege	2	..	
Sam Cartlege	2	..	
Hen'y Cass	2	..	
Jno Collins	2	..	
Wm Dunn	2	..	
George Goulden	2	..	
Jno McCoy	2	..	
Geog. Meech	2	..	
Jam's. Mitchael	2	..	
Josp. Newman	2	..	
Wm Weather	2	..	
Robt. Shekelton	2	..	
Tho'm. Jones	2	..	
Ralph Smith	2	..	
Jno Strictland	2	..	
M. McMurray	1	Three weeks	
Hiscox	2—		
Robt. Mallineax	1—three weeks		
Pit'n. Mansfield	1	do	do
Fletcher	2		

£ 2—2—4 Halfx Cry—
Tho's Colahan
41st Regt

† Proceedings of a Court of Enquiry Held by order of Colonel Proctor Commanding at Detroit‡—August 19th 1812.

Lieut Colonel T. B. St. George President Captain Mockler R. N—Captain Dixon R. E—Members

The Court being assembled proceeded to enquire into the causes of detention of the Following Prisoners

1st—Matthias Bromley being produced. Lieutenant Bullock 41st Regiment informs the Court, that being in search of a Deserter he went to a house in Town he was directed to, and saw the Prisoner, who from his appearance, seemed to be a Deserter and he confined him—

Matthias Bromley the Prisoner says that he is an American Soldier and was taken prisoner at Michilimackina and calls upon Lieutenant Danat who was taken at the same time—

* Vol. 109, p. 114.
† Vol. 109, p 115.
‡ Detroit was surrendered to the British August 16, 1812.

Lieutenant Danat 1st Regiment U. S. Artillery informs the Court that he has known the Prisoner for 5 years in the Regiment, and from the Description Roll of his Company he is an American by Birth of Albany in the State of New York and claims him as a Soldier taken with him at Mackinac.

Mr. Teneyck Merchant of Detroit, informs the Court that he has known the Prisoner for an American Subject for Twenty years.

2nd Patrick McAnnally being produced before the Court. Lieut. Bullock 41st Regiment informs it, that he took up the prisoner on Information of his having deserted from the 100th Regiment & confined him accordingly—

Patrick McAnnally the Prisoner says he deserted from the 100th Regiment at Maldin, about 4 years ago, and since that time has been Farming on the River Raisin—

3d James Montgomery being produced before the Court Lieutenant Bullock 41st Regiment, says he was informed there was a Man of the Prisoners Name in Town, who was a Deserter from the 100th Regiment, that he went in search of Him, and found him, and that the Prisoner acknowledged being a Deserter from that Regiment.

James Montgomery the Prisoner says he deserted from the 100th Regt. about 3 years ago, when at Malden, and that he was in the Militia when the British took Possession of Detroit.

4th Henry Barker being produced before the Court Lieutenant Bullock 41st Regiment. says he was informed that the Prisoner was a Deserter, and that he took him, when he acknowledged being a Deserter from the 100th Regiment, and gave information of another Deserter who was secured in consequence—

Henry Barker he deserted about Six years ago from Quebec, that he inlisted at Boston and is now in the 4th United States Regiment

5th James Ryan being produced before the Court says he has been in this Country 15 Years. that he came from Ireland and enlisted into the American Service

6th James Breadwood being produced before the Court, says he is a native of Scotland, that he has been in 4th (or Kings Own Regiment) that he Deserted from it, and enlisted into the Service of the United States—and was taken in Arms at Detroit—The Prisoner Says he has been often punished for attempting to return to the British Service.

7th Thomas Parker being produced before the Court, says he was in the 24th Regiment in this Country and he remained behind—

8th Francis Foote being produced before the Court says he was drafted into His Majestys Regiment of Queens Rangers that he Deserted from Fort Erie Some Years ago. Enlisted into the American Service and was taken at Mackinac by the British Forces.—

Chilcothe 27c Août 1812

*Mon cher Monsieur!

Enfin il parait que les brave troupes, de l'armée du Nord Ouest, ont eté fait prisonniers sans la moindre resistance. Cette circumstances rend claire la raison de ces operations malarrangées de cette campagne, qui nous etonnaient, & confirme le soupçons que l'armée a eté sacrificée par la trahison la plus noire, du part du General.

C'est un contretems le plus malheureux—on dit que Malden, au tems qu'il passait á Sandwich, n'aurait pû soutenir un seule assaut, & s'aurait rendû a discretion, peu être sans tirer un coup, si faible etaît la garrison. Mais apres la

* Vol. 109, p. 122.

premiere surprise, et le regret naturel qui suit un tel evenement il n'est plus tems pour le government de se plaindre mais d'agir: & profitant de l'experience remedier aux defauts du passés & sans se laisser battre en detail, d'envoyer sous un habile General, une force qui pourra, Suivant le langage du proclamation "look down all opposition"

J'esperais d'avoir entendû De vous nouvelles, avant ce tems ci. Et que nous me rendriez la promise de nous visiter a Cincinnati, le mois prochain: & que vous y attendriez la seance de la cour supreme. Croyez moi mon ami, vous ne pouvez mieux faire, pour votre profession, dans l'Etat de l'Ohio, à ma façon de penser. Il merite, au moins votre attention, et je vous conseillerais de vous y rendre au plutôt, en dix jours même. Je ne doute nullement que vous trouveriez des engagemens considerable sur le champ: et vous auriez alors, un peu de tems pour preparer vous introduire avec eclât. J'ai parlé à quelques amis sur ce sujet, il sont d'accord avec moi, et pourront seconder votre projet.

Mon ami, Mons Symmes vous vendrait des bonnes office, de bon cour. Faites aussi des arrangemens que Madam vous accompagnes, a qui je vous prie de rendre mos souvenirs respectueux, me croyant toujours votre ami & obeissant servr.

Ethan A Brown

Mr. M. Woodbridge.

P. S. Faites moi le plaisir de m'ecrire a West Union, ou je serai la semaine prochaine—s'il serait impossible que vous pressiez venu a C——— il me faut chercher ailleurs un avocat pour mon proces. Encore adieu. Si cette lettre ci arrive trop tard pour W—— Union addressez moi a Cincinnati.

---

* Translation,

Chilicothe 27th. Augt. 1812.

My Dear Sir—

Finally it appears that the brave troops of the army of the North West have been taken prisoners without the least resistance. This circumstance shows clearly the reason of the mismanaged operations of that company which astonished us and confirmed the suspicions that the Army had been sacrificed by the blackest treachery on the part of the General.

It is the most unfortunate occurrence. They say that Malden, at the time when this happened at Sandwich, was not able to sustain a single assault, & would have surrendered at discretion; perhaps without striking a blow, so feeble was the garrison. But after the first surprise, and the natural regret which follows such an event it is no time for the government to complain but to act, & profiting by experience to remedy the faults of the past & without letting itself strike in detail to send under an able General, a force which could, following the language of the proclamation "look down all opposition." I had hoped to hear news of you before this time. And that you would make me the promise of visiting us at Cincinnati, next month; and that you would attend the session of the Supreme Court there. Believe me, my friend, you could not do better, for your profession, in the State of Ohio, according to my way of thinking. It merits, at least, your attention; and I should advise you to go there sooner—even in ten days. I have no doubt in the least but that you would find several engagements about the country, and you would then have little time for preparing your introduction with eclat. I have spoken to several friends on the subject, they are agreed with me, and could promote your project. My friend Mr. Symmes, would render you good service, willingly. Make

* Vol. 109, p. 122.

also, arrangements that Madam may accompany you, to whom I pray you to render my respects. Believing me always your friend and obedient

servt.

Ethan A Brown.

Mr. N. Woodbridge

P. S. Give me the pleasure of writing to me at West—Union where I will be next week—If it would be possible that you could come to C—it would necessitate my finding another lawyer for my case. Again adieu. if this letter arrives here too late for W—Union address me at Cincinnati.

---

*

Henry Procter Esquire, Civil Governor of the Territory of Michigan, for the time being, to all to whom these presents shall come.

Be it known that reposing especial confidence in the Integrity, Abilities and diligence of William Jones of the District of Detroit, I have appointed him a Justice of the Peace, within and for the District of Detroit, and do authorize and empower him to execute and fulfill the Duties of that Office accordingly.

To have and to hold the said Office with its powers and Emoluments during the Pleasure of the Governor.

Given under my hand at Detroit the fourteenth day of September. One thousand. Eight hundred and twelve, and in the fifty Second Year of His Majesty's Reign

Henry Procter
Colonel.

†

List of persons names who recd. private Arms out of the public store at Malden by order of Col. Henry Proctor, Sept. 16th, 1812.

Gab'l Godfroy Senr.	—3
Dominick Reopel	—2
John Dick	—2
Francois Chabert	—1
Henry McGee	—1
Joseph Chavallier	—1
James May	—3
Jean Br. Cout	—3
Hill	—1
total	17

Peorias 24th Sept. 1812

Dear Kinzie

I have to acquaint you that I have arrived here safe from Chicago since which there has been a great foment among the natives the particulars of which I refer you to the bearer Cabina who says that he is going straight to your place as he says that he is sent for by Mr. Burnett. the people of this Village have lost many Cattle, I have lost Eleven, Buisson has lost at least 35 or 40 head and all but a verry few killed by the Miamis and Kicapoos—Indians from the Prophets town says here that the Indians on the Wabash have taken a fort near Vincennes and killed every Soul except one man, that the Indians have attacked F. Wayne twice

* Vol. 109, p. 137.
† Vol. 109, p. 140.
‡ Vol. 109, p. 145.

but to no effect, but the next time (which has taken place before this) it must fall, we have no news from below since my arrival from Chicago all communication is cut off and what we shall do for a little flour &c—this ensuing winter I know not, I am Just recovered from a fit of the Feaver and can assure you that it has pulled me down much both in flesh & spirits. Lt. Helm is here with me and in good health & Spirits. Nelly's Speech had the desired effect on Mittalass, I gave him two mares and a Keg of Stuff when practicable, I hope you are all well and that you have got all the property off from Chicago, as I understand and that the Indians from the Prophets are going to make Village at Chicago I would be glad to hear from you—
God bless us all I Remain as Usual

T. Forsyth.

N. B. Report says here that Detroit is taken. & that Ducharme is dead—

---

*A list of the men's names datched from the company under my command which I send by Sergeant Mills.

Men's Names
John Ingals
Jeremiah Morse
Samuel Peirce since I have ordered him to March has absconded. and is not to be found at present.

Bial Stedman Capt.

Mr. Jonathan Gitteau
Adjt

sir I wish you to write by the bearer what method I shall take with Mr. Peirce If I can find him.

†Belfoe October 19th 1812.

B. S.

‡ Muster roll of officers & privates detached from the different companies in 1st Regt. of the first Brigade and third division of Ohio Militia, marched from their respective companies Oct. 20, 1812, agreable to the militia law of the State of Ohio.

Capt. James Flagg		Substitute Thomas Denis	
Lieut Benedict Huchins		Lieut Comd't John Burros' Company	
Ensign Nathaniel Olney		Pardon Starks substituted for Dave (?) McDale.	
Substitute for		Zain Hoskins	
Ens. Isaac Rasto		Joseph Whitton	Peter Whitton
Privates		Daniel Alpha	
Detached from Capt Jason R. Curtis Com.		James Whitton	
James Goodwin (substitute for John Morel)		James Huchinson	
Samuel Whipple		William Cline	
John Barrot		James Knight	8
George Harris	4	Capt Juda Ford's	
Capt Rotheus Howard's		Lory Ford—1st seargeant	
John Greenman, 2d Seargeant		Elisha Malory	
Stanton Fordice		Jonah Burchet	
Asa Emerson		John Grosset	
Daniel Coleman		§Peletiah White	5
Paddock Cheadle	5		

* Vol. 109, p. 154.

† Vol. 109, p. 157.

‡ Muster Roll of the detachment ordered to March 20th Oct. 1812.

§ Peletiah White, one of the Ohio Pioneers, came to Marietta, Ohio April 7, 1788, married Susan Wells. Served as a ranger in the Indian wars.

Capt. Joseph Stay's
William Patterson substitute Gilbert Olds
Philo Mathews do James Adams
William Handley do Richard D. Priest
George Daugherty 4

*Capt Bial Steeidmans Company
John Ingles
Jeremiah Morse 3
Samuel Pierce
†Capt Edmond B Dana's
Samuel Fox
John Haskel (substitute for Joseph Dill
Curtis Hinman, for Thomas Dilane
Capt John Thornley's
James Anderson
D. Burbank, substitute for Waid Cross
William Rowling
Samuel Bell 4
Capt Sprague's
Joshua Sprague 2d Corporal
Joseph Forrest substitute Jacob Laru

Salmon F Cogswell s. James Hchins
John Adkenson 4
Capt Cryslous Danes
Jonathan Penny
Francis Stanley s. Simeon Chapman
Samuel Fulton s. James B. Walker
James Ewings
Nathan Britton 5
Capt James Flagg's
David Putnam s. George Castle
David Trowbridg
James Sharp
Henery Covinston
‡William Woodbridge s. John Baker
Richard Waterman s. Phillip Coddy

Endorsed.

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§ Franklinton October 25
1812

My dear Sir—

Baker will start for Marietta sometime this week & I take the leisure of sunday to write by him—.As to my note, I leave it with you to do as you think best—I have not heard from Mr. McWheat. & of consequence do not know that I can pay up the note heare very little on what conditions the note is renewed but I would like to have the road open for another renewal if I should want it—this however is not material—My chance is I think good not to stand in need of Bank favours a great while and I look forward to the realizing of this hope with a joy bordering on the religious—for in all my calculations on this subject there collection is present that my father lies unmonumented on the plains of Kaskaskia and my trust that his grave be not defaced, rests only on the fidelity of a manumitted slave—ere I select a sepulchre I want some reasonable assurance that the fortunes of this world will not pass away its peace to some other protector—We have a considerable concourse of soldiers in town. They serve excellently well I think as scarce-crows but too many of them ride mares to make solid warfare.

I think we shall have several thousand quartered in this neighborhood through the winter for provisions cannot it seems to me be transported across the swamps of the north to support an army on the lake—I hope they may not come as it will considerably endanger our frontier—The Indians will muster in front of the army—

*Capt Bial Stedman was an associate Judge of Washington Co., Ohio. He was a son of Alexander Stedman of Vt. who came to Ohio in 1804 and was appointed one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas in Athens County.

†Capt Edmund B. Dana lived in Marietta, Ohio, and was part owner of the Schooner Maria that sailed from that place down the Ohio & Mississippi rivers to the Gulf of Mexico and thence to Boston, Mass, in 1816.

‡ William Woodbridge, United States Senator and Governor of Michigan, too well known to need further mention here.

§ Vol. 109, p. 160.

at any rate murdering parties will hover about it—Genl. Harrison is here —ostentatiously plain—Meigs is becoming quite notable for intemperance—He spoke of fixing his headquarters here for the winter. I hate to tell news—I have my mill secure against the fall floods & shall have it complete before long—I shall have a substantial and excellent one—I am offered the amount it costs me for one year's rent—I very well know that I ought to accept this offer. but my engagements to the proprietors. of our New Jerusalem are such that I cannot with propriety do it—

(incomplete letter from Thos. Backus to William Woodbridge)

*Return of Barrack Bedding in Possession of Segt. Leonard Smith, Acting Barrack Master at Detroit 16th Nov. 1812.

Dates of Receipts	Ruggs	Blanketts	Sheets Pairs	Bed Cases
Sept. 3d 1812 Received from Amherstburg	35	35	35	
Oct. 16th " ..... do	7-	20-	14 -	7
Nov. 15th " ..... do	6-	50	6 -	6
Total at Detroit	48-	70-	55 -	48

Strength of the Garrison

Corps	Colonel.	Capt	Lute	Sergt D R & F
Royal Artillery	"	"	"	3
41st Regt	1	1	3	97
Total	1	1	3	100

100 Rank & File in..... equal to 50 Ruggs 100 Blankets—50 pairs Sheets—and Fifty Bed Cases—Exclusive of Officers and Married Women in No.4—

Leut Smith Segt 41st Ry.
A Bk M'r.

Wanting to Complete the Non Comssd Officers R & F.
2 Ruggs
30 Blankets
2 Bed Cases.

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†

At a meeting of the Principal Inhabitants of the Town of York and its Vicinity held at York on Thursday the 15th Day of December 1812 pursuant to public notice —The Hon'ble. Chief Justice Scott Chairman, it is resolved;

1st That a Select Society be established by annual Subscription throughout the Province to be called, The Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada, for the following specific purposes—1st To afford aid and relief to such families of the Militia in all parts of the Province as shall appear to experience particular distress, in consequence of the death or absence of their Friends and Relatives, employed in the Militia Service in defense of the Province. 2nd To afford like aid and relief to such Militia men as have been or shall be disabled from labor by wounds or otherwise in the course of the service aforesaid, provided it shall appear to the Committee hereafter to be named that over and above the aid afforded by

* Vol. 109, p. 167.
† Vol. 109, p. 183.

the Legislature to some of the cases above mentioned some further relief is nessary. And 3rd—To reward merit, excite emulation and commemorate glorious exploits by bestowing Medals or other honory marks of public approbation and distinction for extraordinary instances of personal courage or fidelity in defence of the Province by individuals either of His Majesty's regular or Militia Forces, together with the Seamen—

2— That the Society shall continue during the present war with the United States of America and shall be under the special protection and patronage of His Honor Major Genl. Sheaffe; or the Person administering his Majesty's Government in this Province for the time being.

3— That every person throughout the Province, whose annual subscription shall amount to one pound or upwards shall be admitted to the honor of being a Member of the Society, and have the privilege of recommending objects of its charitable bounty, and also of voting, at all general meetings and deliberations of the subscribers, and that the Members of his Majesty's Executive and Legislative Councils, the Judges of the Kings Bench, the speaker of the House of Assembly, and the Clergymen of the Established Church, together with every other person whose annual subscription shall amount to £10 or upwards shall be Directors of the Society, for the purposes hereinafter mentioned, and all General and Field Officers of his Majesty's Regular Forces serving in the Province are invited to be honorary Members and Directors of the Society.

4— That the affairs of the society shall be governed and its business conducted by a General Board of Directors to assemble quarterly, that is, on the 1st Day of the Quarter Sessions in the Town of York, which Board shall consist of a President, a vice-President, secretary, Treasurer, and any number not less than five, of other directors. And that the Chief Justice, and the members of his Majesty's Executive Council for the time Being, shall be President, and Vice-President's of the Society without the Presence of one or more of whom, such General Board cannot be held or business transacted

5— The General Board of Directors shall by their Secretary and treasurer make regular Entries of their proceedings, and Statements of their Receipts and Disbursements in Books to be Kept for that purpose, in order that the same may be occasionally published and submitted to the inspection of the subscribers and, to facilitate the objects of the Society, the Said board shall appoint Committees of their Members residing in the Different Districts, who shall apply to the Relief of cases of distress arising therein, the whole amount of the subscriptions obtained in such Districts except three percent on the said amount to be appropriated by the Directors toward effecting the third object of the Society, and the said committees shall from time to time transmit to the Secretary of the General Board at York an account of their proceedings and expenditures, that Unity may be preserved in the Society throughout the Province, and a full statement of its transactions may be prepared for the Satisfaction of all the Subscribers, and the Public at large.

6— That the respective sums at first subscribed shall be considered the sum to be paid annually by each subscriber during the continuance of the Society, unless in cases of leaving the Province or some Material alteration in the circumstances of the subscriber and shall for the present year be paid within one month after subscription, and in the following years at such periods as the General Board of Directors shall appoint in order to enable the board to provide supplies best adapted for relief of distress on the most advantageous terms, and that the money accruing from such subscriptions shall be considered as constituting the funds for the purposes of the Society.

7— That exclusive of the annual subscriptions the society will accept of donations of any extent whatever from those who may not chuse to become annual subscribers

or members of the society, and the names of such Benefactors with the sum they have given shall be published quarterly in the York Gazette.

8— And whereas it is the opinion of this Society that no personal merit whatever in Military Service can compensate for insubordination, and breach of discipline, it is hereby particularly resolved that the Board of directors shall not be at liberty to bestow Medals or other honorary marks of distinction upon any Militia Men. or Soldiers, who shall be convicted of desertion or absenting himself from his duty without leave of his superior officer, or to afford any relief whatever from the Funds of this Society to the family of Such Persons.

Approved R. H. Sheaffe.

*Names of the Killed and Wounded in the Action at Riviere au Raisin 22nd January. 1813.

Royal Artillery

Lt. Troughton ..... wounded slightly
Sergt Mills ..... killed
Corpl Gibbs ..... wounded slightly
Bomb'n Kitson ..... wounded dangerously
Genl Dutson ..... killed
Cooper ..... wounded dangerously
Williams ..... do do
Nichol ..... do do
Rammage ..... do do
Waters ..... do slightly

Royal Veterans 10th Batt'n

Private Conners ..... wounded dangerously
McDougal ..... do do

Forty-First.

Capt Tallon ..... wounded severely
Lieut Clemow ..... wounded severely
Sergt Fornstale ..... do do
Lane ..... do do

Privates Samuel Johnston 1st killed
Yeats ..... do
Walker ..... do
Cogan ..... do
Armstrong ..... do
Barber ..... do
Clarke ..... do
Higgins ..... do
McCoy ..... do
Weston ..... do
Poole ..... do
Horton ..... do
Forsyth ..... do
Blakeman ..... do
Jolly ..... do
Cummins—wounded severely
Webb ..... do ..... do
Vincent ..... do ..... do
Javins (?) do do
Goodyer ..... do do

Samuel Johnston 2nd do dangerously
Colohan ..... do...severely
Pomroy ..... do..... do
Dear ..... do...slightly
Stevenson ..... do....severely
James Mead 2nd...do...dangerously
Bancroft ..... do....dangerously
Brice ..... do....severely
Henry Cass ..... do..... do
Fletcher ..... do..... do
Minty ..... do..... do
Mansfield ..... do do
McMurray .... do..... do
Noonan ..... do..... do
Pearce ..... do..... do
Roberts ..... do..... do
Short ..... do..... do
Ralph Smith ..... do..... do
League ..... do...dangerously
Giles Smith ..... do....severely

* Vol. 109, p. 206.

Rowe .....do...slightly
Rooke .....do....severely
Kirby .....do....severely
Wm Ball .....do...slightly
Robt Ball .....do.....do
Stagnell .....do severely
Wilson .....do severely
Private Webb .....do do
Henry Yates .....do do
Jas. Mead 1st.....do do
Holding .....do do
Byfield .....do do
Lucas .....do do

Private James.....wounded severely
Playne .....do dangerously
Wm Rowe .....do severely
Wm Garrett .....do do
Christ Garrett .....do do
Harris .....do do
Billing .....do do
McCreary .....do do
Thos. Humphries .....do do
Jas. " .....do do
Hudson .....do slightly
John Gana .....do dangerously
Neal .....do severely
Thos Church .....do do
Legg .....do do
Tarrant .....do dangerously
Hallerton .....do severely
Philomen .....do do
Andrews .....do do
McLachlane .....do do
Mognahan .....do do
Bonkett .....do do
Hobbs .....do slightly
Waters .....do slightly
Bartin .....do do
Chadwick .....do.....do
Clarke .....do do
Cokeley .....do slightly
Downes .....do dangerously
Dunn .....do do
Fry .....do do
Jas Higgins .....do severely
Hopkins .....do dangerously
Jackson .....do.....severely
Lockett .....do.....do
Malhot .....do do
McGrah .....do do
Morrison .....do do
Rawlins .....do slightly
Private Shickleton wounded severely
Speikman .....do do
Steward .....do do
Truckle .....do do
Watson .....do dangerously
Watts .....do severely
Whitely .....do do

Young .....do slightly
John Cain.....do severely
Beal .....do.....do
Bromley .....do slightly
Serg't Dukes .....do do
Corpl. Matthews .....do severely
Royal Newfoundland Regt.
Ensign Kerr .....wounded dangerously
Sergt. Shanahan .....do.....do
Corpl. Mahoney .....do severely
" Duryer .....do do
Osdell .....do.....do
Private Bryan .....do do
Butler .....do.....slightly
Hore .....do.....severely

---

*Return of the officers and Semen Belonging to His Majesty's Provincial Marine Department Engaged against the United States Army under the Command of General Winchester at Riviere Raisin on the 22nd Instant (—Jan 22, 1813-)

Mr. Frederick Rolette 1st Lieut .....Wounded
Mr. Robert Irvin Acting .....do
Mr. Robert Richardson Midshipman .....do
Mr. Thomas Barwis .....do.....do
Mr. Ant'y Lumsden Boatswain .....
Mr. William Cooper Gunner .....wounded
Lewis Langlois Seamen .....do
Alexr. Garrand ...do.....do
Pasqual Bourdignion..do.....
Peter Fouchae ....do.....wounded
Lewis Dubey ....do.....
Augustin Pourier do.....wounded
Anthony La Revier do.....
John Piesant .....do.....wounded
Joseph Fournier ..do.....do
Ant'y Jounker ....do.....do
Henry Bourassau..do.....do
Lewis Leblond ...do.....
Charles Jounnette do.....
Bapt Dignion ....do.....
Charles Fouchae ..do.....
Francis Friday ...do.....wounded
Bapt Allard .....do.....
Hen'y Beauchamp do.....
John Gordon .....do.....

* Vol. 109, p. 207.

Alex'r Harrow ....do.....wounded
Mich'l Chamberlain do.....do
Alex Le Grace ....do.....killed

F. W. Barroes Lieut. Comm'd.

Volunteers
Mr. Patterson
Mr. Pastorius.

A return of the whole of the whole of the Officers, non commissioned officers, Privates who were engaged in the action at French Town, on the *Riviere* au Raisin.

RETURN OF THE WHOLE OF THE TROOPS (REGULAR AND MILITIA) WHO WERE ENGAGED IN THE ACTION AT FRENCHTOWN ON THE RIVER RAISIN ON THE 22D JANUARY 1813—WITH THE NUMBER OF KILLED AND WOUNDED.

Regiments.	In Action.												Killed.				Wounded.										
	Colonel	Lieut. Col.	Majors	Captains	Subalterns	Surgeons	Clerk of Stores	Sergeants	Drummers	Rank & File	Seamen		Sergeants	Privates	Seamen	Total	Lieut. Col.	Captains	Subalterns	Sergeants	Corporals	Bombadier	Gunners	Privates	Seamen	Total	
Royal Artillery	....	....	....	....	1	....	1	1	....	....	....		1	1	....	2	....	....	1	....	1	1	5	....	....	8	Lieut. Felix Troughton.
10th Vet. Batt'n	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....		....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	....	2	
41st Reg't	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....		....	15	....	15	....	1	1	3	2	....	....	91	....	98	Captain Tallon Lieut. Clemow.
Roy. Newfoundland	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....		....	1	....	1	....	....	1	1	3	....	....	13	....	18	Ens. Kerr.
Marine Dep't	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....		....	....	1	1	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	....	13	16	Lieut. Rolette, Lieut Irvine, Midship Richardson
1st Essex Militia	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....		....	2	....	2	....	1	2	2	....	....	....	7	....	12	Capt. Mills, Lieut. McCormick & Lieut James Gordon.
2nd " "	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....		....	3	....	3	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	3	....	4	Ensign Garvin
Staff	....	1	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....		....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	Lieut. Col. St George.
	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....		1	22	1	24	1	2	9	6	6	1	5	116	13	159	

* Vol. 109, p. 208.

*

Officers Engaged in the Action.
Royal Artillery. Lieut. Felix Troughton.
41st Regt. Col. Henry Procter, Commanding Officer
" Lieut. Allen H McLean, Aid-de-Camp.
" Capt. **Joseph Tallon**
" Lieut. Jno. Wm Clemow
" " Benoit Bendu
" " Haris Hailes
" " Willm Watson
Royal Newfound—Capt. Robt. Mockler
land
" Lieut. John Gorden
Ensign Kerr.
Marine Department Lieut. Fredk Rolette
Lieut Irvine
Midshipman. Robt. Richardson.
1st Essex Militia Capt. Willm Mills.
Lieut. McCormick
" James Gordon
Staff Lieut. Col. Thos. Bligh St George.

†

A Nominal Return of the whole who were engaged in the Action at French Town on the Riviere au Raisin on the 22nd Jany 1813.

Colonel Procter Commanding

Staff.

Lieut. Colonel T. B. St. George J. T. C. M. wounded severely
Lieut. A. H. McLean. A. D. C. to Colonel Procter.
Lieut. Colonel Francis Baby, Dy 2nd M. General Militia
Robt. Reynolds Esq. Dy Ajt. Commg General.
Richard Richardson Esq. Garrison Private
Samuel Wood. Esq. Field train Department.

Royal Artillery
Lieut. Felix Troughton wounded slightly
Sergt. Wm Mills—Killed
Act. Sergt. John Gibb—wounded Slightly.
Bombadier Kitson—wounded, since dead.
Bombadier David Mitchell.
Gunners William Dutson..Killed
Thomas Cooper..wounded dangerously
Hugh William .....do do
Henry Ramage .....do severely
James Nichol .....do do
Adam Waters .....do **slightly.**
James Lamb
Blakie
Goldsmith
Seath
John Locke
Dawson

* Vol. 109, p. 208.
† Vol. 109, p. 209.

Ew'd. Beckly
Green
Shilletto
Sloane
Clarke
Strainie

10 Royal Veteran Battl.

Privates Patrick O Conners wounded.
John McDougal do severely

41st Regiment.

Capt. Joseph Tallon wounded severely
Lieut. J. W. Clemow do do
Benoit Bender
Harris Hailes
William Watson
Asst Surgeon William Faulkner.

Sergeants Joseph Allen.
Matthew Newman
Richd Tomstal wounded severely
Will'm Lane do do
Will'm Duke
Thomas White
Samuel Welch
Joseph Kirby

Corporals:
John Raphill
Lawrence Chalen
William Matthews wounded severely
John Walters do do
George Brooks
Thomas Haigue
William Demis

Drummers
William Molesworth

Privates
William Armstrong—killed
Joseph Barber —killed
Robt Barrett
Noah Barter wounded severely
James Bartley
Benjamin Batton
John Beckett
Willm Bodman
William Carpmail wounded severely
Henry Cass—died of his wounds 27th Inst.
Nathaniel Carpenter
Joseph Chadwick, wounded severely
Henry Clarke killed
James Clarke wounded severely
John Collins
John Cockly—wounded severely
Nat Cousins
Appollo Davies
Benjamin Dorman
Thos. Downs—wounded severely
Will'm Dunn do do
John Dwyer
William Essary
William Puy wounded severely.
Jacob Ford
Thos. Glass
Isaac Goddard
Rich Griffiths
Ewd. Groves

James Higgins, wounded slightly
David Higgins killed
John Hodges
James Hopkins wounded
William Jackson do
Thomas Jones
William Jones
Ewd. Kelly
James Kemp.
Joseph Kerr
Peter Lefevre
John Lockett wounded severely dangerously
Henry Mabott do do
John McCoy killed
John McCreary wounded severely
John McGrath do do
George Meach
James Mitchell
James Morgan
John Morrison wounded severely
Robt. Nelson
John Nettles
Joseph Newman
George Noakes
John Norris
Stephen Oatly.
George Philips
John Plummer
William Rawlings wounded
John Robinson
John Sanger
Robt. Shekleton, wounded
Ew'd Slater
William Smith
John Spackman, wounded
George Stagg
Thomas Stepps
John Stone
Levi Stuart, wounded.
Ew'd Swain
George Trowbridge
James Truckett wounded
Robt Vennoll
James Watson wounded
John Watts
Richard Watts, wounded
George Weston killed
Benjamin Whitehouse
Robt. Wilcox
Adam Wild
William Wheathers
John Woodroffe
Thos. Young, wounded
William Young
John Richardson volunteer.
Samuel Bencroft wounded
Samuel Brice do
Wm Billington do
George Bromly do
John Cane, wounded severely
Saml. Cartledge
Peter Mansfield wounded severely
John Whitely do do
Thos. Cummins do do
Saml Croke
William Cooper
John Church
John Dickman
Wm Fletcher wounded severely
Wm Gardiner
George Godfrey
Joseph Hardy
James Minty wounded severely
Michael McMurray do do
Robt. Mollineaux
Dennis Moonan wounded severely
James Newton
William Pierie wounded severely
Danl Roberts do do
John Short do do
Ralph Smith do do
John Scarlett do do
John Strickland
Wm Teague, wounded dangerously
John Trusler.
John Tolly, Killed
Wm Taylor
Joseph
Giles Smith, wounded severely
Paul Howe do slightly
William Yeates killed
Rod'k James
Benj. Buckley
Wm Collison
Wm Rooke wounded severely
Brian Grady
Robt. Tyson
James Painter
Patrick Ussell
Patk. Kelly
Thos. Kirby wounded severely
Saml Johnson 1st killed
John Shields
Patk. Power
James Elsby

Felix O Niel
Wm Barrett
Wm Bale wounded slightly
Robt. Ball do do
James Love
James Plane wounded dangerously
Jno Thompson
Job Walter
Isaac White
William White
Joseph Willincroft
John Andrews wounded severely
James Beasly
Ew'd Billing wounded severely
Jno Blacker
Aaron Blakeman killed
Saml Bowket wounded severely
John Chamberlain
Thos. Church, wounded severely
Thos. Colohan do
James Coward
John Dean
John Dear wounded severely
John Dyer
Wm Farmer
Robt Forsyth killed
John Game wounded dangerously
Christ Garrett do severely
Wm Garrett do do
Wm Godden
Ben. Goodger wounded severly
James Haleston wounded severely
Thos. Harris do do
Wm Hawkins
George Hayter
James Hobbs, wounded slightly
Edward Horn
John Horton killed
George Hudson, wounded slightly
James Humphries do severely
Thos. Humphries do do
Timy Javins do severely
Saml Johnson 2nd do dangerously
Joseph Janes
Wm Lane
John Legg wounded severely
James Mead do do
Silas Mills
Owen Monyhan wounded severely
Thos. Neal do do
Robt. Philimore do do
Isaac Pomroy do do
George Poole—killed
John Stevenson 2nd wounded severely
Henry Torrent do dangerously
Wm Vincent do severely
George Alborough
Wm Beasly
Shad'k Byfield wounded severely
Robt. Clayton
Chas. Coggan killed
Wm Coombs
James Cottrell
Thos. James wounded severely
Rich. Jarvis
John Lucas wounded severely
Wm Nightengale
John Pearce
Danl. Robins
John Want
George Holding, wounded severely
Wm Knapp.
Jn McNamara
James Mead 1st wounded severely
Wm Minty do do
Richd Prangley
Joseph Stagnell wounded severely
John Walker killed
James Webb wounded severely
Joseph Wilson do do
Henry Yeates do do
Chas Lorain do do
Henry Webb do do
Henry Procter Volunteer
John Tolly killed

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*State of Debts and Credit with a List of Necessaries of the Undermentioned Men, belonging to Capt. Derenzy's Company, ordered to Amherstburg—Fort George 1 Feby 1813.

* Vol. 109, p. 216.

Number.	Name.	Flannel shirts.	Stockings.	Shoes.	Grey trousers.	No. of each class entitled to pay for length of service.		Debts 24th Feb.			Credit 24 Feby.			Signatures.
						14 yrs	7 yrs	£	S	D	£	S	D	
1	Seg. E. Denham	3	4	2	1						2		1	Edm'd Denham.
1	Corp'l Menzies	2	3	2	1	1					1	8	6	Rob't Menzies.
P	James Bailey	2	3	2	1		1					16	10	his Jas. X Bailey. mark
2	Joseph Cadby	2	3	2	1	1						19	5	his Josh X Cadby. mark
3	John Catchmie	2	3	2	1		1					17	2	his Jno. X Catchmie. mark
4	William Cooper	2	3	1	1			1	10	1¾				his Wm. X Cooper. mark
5	Elias Davidson	2	3	1	1			1	11	1½				his Elias X Davidson. mark
6	Philip Edwards	2	3	2	1							14	3	P. Edwards.
7	Robert Hart	2	3	1	1							13	7½	his Rob X Hart. mark
8	William Hayter	2	3	2	1							8	3	his Wm. X Hayter. mark
9	James Haynes	2	3	2	1		1					9	10	James Haynes.
10	Joshua Holdfield	2	3	2	1		1					17	7	his Joshua X Holdfield. mark
11	Richard Gregory	2	3	1	1				8					Richard Gregory.
12	William Hanaford	2	3	1	1							14	3	William Hanaford.
13	Peter Holmes	2	3	2	1			2	3	3¾				his Peter X Holmes. mark
14	William Leavesly	2	3	1	1				13	8¼				Wm. Leavesly.
15	John Oldfield	2	3	2	1				13	9				Jno. Oldfield.
16	John Payne	2	3	1	1			3	4	3¼				his John X Payne mark
17	Titus Perham	2	3	2	1							14	3	his Titus X Perham. mark
18	Christ'n Ripley	2	3	1	1				7	8½				his Christ'n X Ripley mark
19	Dennis Whittle	2	3	1	1			1	1	9½				his Den. X Whittle. mark
	Debts of army							11	13	9½	10	14	½	
	Deduct credit							10	14	½				
	Balance due Ens. Smith							£	19	9				

	£	S.	D.
Debts of Army	11	13	9½
Deduct credit	10	14	½
Balance due Ens. Smith	£ 0	19	9

Feby. 24

Jn. Smith Ensign
41st Regiment.

Witness
Robt. Hillhouse
Sey 41 Regt.

R. O. Captain Chambers feels proud in having it in his power to express his admiration of the highly Soldierlike Appearance of the Detachment ordered to Amherstburg this morning. There was not an Individual of it but was in a State of *Perfect* Sobriety which Conduct if Pursued is the surest means of Maintaining the High Credit the Regiment has Obtained both in the Field & in Quarters.

Jn. Smith Acg—
41st Regiment.

Fort George 2nd Feb.

Sergt. Hillhouse enter the above.
J. S.

Due as on other Side	—19—9
Omitted Charging Jas Haynes	1—8 for repairing M
Total due Ensign Smith	1— 1—5 Army

Jn. Smith Ensign
41stRegiment.

*Monthly Pay list of one man of the Canadian Fencibles from —25th January 1812 to the 24th February 1813—

No. of each class Intitled to higher Part			Names	Periods.		No. of Days	Rate per Day	Amount
14 yrs	7 yrs	No		From	To			£. S. P.
		1	William Carter	25 Jan'y	24 Feb	31	6	15 6
		"	William Carter	25 Feb'y	24 Mar	29	6	14 6
			William Carter	25 Mar	24 April	31	6	15 6
			William Carter	25 April	24 May	30	6	15 "
			William Carter	25 May	24 June	31	6	15 6
			William Carter	25 June	24 July	30	6	15 "
			William Carter	25 July	24 Aug	31	6	15 6
			William Carter	25 Aug	24 Sept	31	6	15 6
			William Carter	25 Sept	24 Oct	30	6	15 "
			William Carter	25 Oct	24 Nov	31	6	15 6
			William Carter	25 Nov	24 Dec	30	6	15 "
					1813			
			William Carter	25 Dec	24 Jan	31	6	15 6
				1813				
			William Carter	25 Jany	24 Feb	31	6	15 6
					Total Army			£ 9 18 6
					Allefax			£ 10.12. 8

Amherstburg 6th March
1813

Sir—

The undersigned Officers concerned in the Capture of Detroit request you will have the goodness to order a Board of Officers to assemble for the purpose of Investigating the Amounts of Sale of the different Articles of Prize Captured at Detroit and to ascertain the Value of the Vessels & unsold and also those Vessels taken in the Government employ.

They also request you will be pleased to order the Commissioners and others concerned to lay the regiment accounts before the Board

We have the honor to be
Sir yr very obedt Serts.
Signed J. B. St. George L. C. I. H.

M. Elliott Lieut. 1st Essex Militia
Robert Gilmore D. Aj. Con
A. C. Garden. Lt. R. M. Regt.
Fredk Bolette L. F. N.

* Vol. 109, p. 229.
† Vol. 109, p. 235

Wm Elliott Left. Essex Militia
Jas. Gooden Leut & Paymaster.
Essex Militia
Felix Troughten
Lt. Roy. Artillery
Jos Fulton Lieut 41 Rgt.
P. Z. Chanler, Lieut 41 Regt
R. Merkbr Capt
Geo. B. Hall Comm R. N.
Dixie Capt R E.
Wm. Faulkner. Aj.
Wm. Neill Capt 1st

Commons House of Assembly
York Upper Canada 8th March 1813.

**Resolved.* That the Thanks of this House be given to Brigadier General Proctor for the skill with which he planned, and the Intrepidity with which he Executed An Enterprise against a Division of the North West Army of the United States under the Command of Brigadier General Winchester, on the 22nd January last which terminated in the Capture. and Destruction of the Enemy's whole force.

Which passed in the House Nemine Contradicente

Signed Allen McLean
Speaker.

Commons House of Assembly
York Upper Canada 8th March 1813.

Resolved. That the Thanks of this House be given to Officers and Men of His Majesty's Regular and Militia Forces, and of the Provincial Marine Department, who under the Command of Brigadier General Proctor, so nobly supported the Characteristic Bravery of the British Nation in an attack on a Division of the North Western Army of the United States of America on the 22nd day of January last. and which Terminated in the Capture and Destruction of the Enemy's whole force.

Which passed in the House Nemine Contradicente

Signed Allen McLean
Speaker.

A true copy
A W McLean
B M.

† I am of opinion that his Majestys Officers are justifiable in seizing wherever they may find the same, all Arms, such as Guns, Rifles and Musquets, Which belonged to or were taken from the Enemy—By the Law of Nations all arms, ammunition & Warlike Stores, as well as Provisions, taken from the Enemy belonging to the King. I am also of opinion that it is no excuse for the persons in possession of such Arms that they purchased them of the Indians—. Their having done so subjects them, in my Opinion, to the penalties of the following Clause contained in the Ordinance passed by the Governor & Council of Quebec in the year 1777, which Clause is still in force in this Province.

From and after the publication of this Ordinance, no person or persons What so ever shall purchase or receive in pledge or in exchange, any Cloaths or Blankets,

* Vol. 109, p. 236.
† Vol. 109, p. 243.

fire Arms or Ammunition, belonging to any Indian or Indians Within this Province under penalty of £5, and Imprisonment for any time not exceeding one month for the first offence, and of £10 & Imprisonment for any time not exceeding two months for the Second & every other Subsequent offense.

The above offence may be tried before any one Justice, or more, of the Peace in a Summary Manner & the penalty belongs to the Informery. The Offender must be prosecuted Within six Months after the Offence is cômmitted. One Witness is sufficient who is not to be Informer. I am of opinion that if any person is found in possession of such Arms & that he acknowledges to or before any person, besides the Informer, that he bought them of the Indians within 6 months it is quite sufficient evidence to convict him of the Office. Js Woods

A true copy Advocate 14th March 1813

W McClean B M

*WEEKLY STATE OF GARRISON F DETROIT COMMANDED BY CAPTAIN ADAM C, MUIR, 41st REGT, MARCH 21st, 1813.

Corps.	Commissioned Officers		Present		Rank & File					Casuals					
	Captains	Subalterns	Sergeants	Drummers	Present & Fit for Duty	Sick		Command	Total	Joined	Dead	Left	Deserted	Returned	
						Hospital	Quarters								
Royal Artillery	"	"	"	"	1	"	"	"	1	"	"	"	"	"	Remark: Christopher Garrett } joined John Andrew } from Amhersburg;
41st Regt.	1	2	7	1	86	8	3	16	113	2	"	"	"	"	Since last—& Sick in Quarters.
Total	1	2	7	1	87	8	3	16	114	2					

Stations	Commanded by	Rank & File 41st Reg't
Sandwich	Brig. Gen. Procter	15
Amhertsburg wounded	Lt Col St. George	8
Amhertsberg artifices	do	1

A. C. MUIR, Capt. 41 Regt. Commanding.

*Vol. 109, p. 245.

Rivier au Raisin le 24 Mars 1813.

*Monsieur

Comme j'ai ust le neuv de votre Laitre danc la quels vous demande que vous aviest ait tai enforme que ja vest quantité de fariene danc mon moulen jai a put prait Deux mille senq Cent Livre que je pouvest vous le sesc avoire sie lex Chauvage mavest pat pillye six sant livre javest put tons vous Donné vous mé Demande sie je pouvest vous Donné dubledende sai ovedemont, pout voire Care je nait poit du tous mait sie je put vous en faire avoire je fait Ret mon pausible pouve a lex Garre des animaux je tacheré de pouvoire ennavoire mes pouve moit je ne put vous en Donné vous Dite que vous Donnere le prit Courand je vous prit davoire Labonte demenformé le prit le plus juse care lex a bitanc Vous savet Des siré avoire unpritpoure tous lex est fait que vous me demandé pouve moit tous se que je pouvé faire je lefeve avest plaisire poure lex Deux mille senq sant Livre de fariene que jai de paveze Riend de.

plus a vous en forme je suit
Votre Serviteur
Ant. Lassalle

to Mr. Robert Gilmore
Amhersburg.

Amhersburgh 25 March
†Sir 1813.

I have the Honor to acquaint you that the Gun Boats are advancing but would you wish to have one finished, immediately in preference to having the Carpenters Employed on Both you perhaps may have occasion for one as soon as it could be launched—therefore would it not be advisable to push one forward as will be some time ere both can be finished.

I had the honor to address you yesterday and shall thank you to send me the Returns as soon as Possible as I want the Hesse to be made as Immediately some of the Long Point Artificers give us a vast Deal of Trouble. They have refused to work, one of them who has been tampering with oue Quebec, Ship Carpenters. I am about laying by the Heels; Dr. Richardson has been puzzling his small Portion of Brains with Cooke upon Littleton and discovered that an attempt of that kind is punishable. I Intend to carry it as far as the Law will stretch some more of the Ring Leaders. I intend to Discharge as we can do without them they not being Carpenters but mere Choppers. I wish they had never been employed they have caused much discontent in the yard having Double wages to some of our Best Workmen and no written agreement to bind them to the Performance of their Engagements.

I shall be obliged to you to let me know when you intend sending off a Dispatch for Below—present my best Compliments to Mrs & Miss Procter.

Believe me sir
Your faithful humble servt
B. Chambers
Capt & Asst. D A Gen

to B. General Procter
Commanding
Sandwich

* Vol. 109, p. 248.
† Vol. 109, p 249.

* REGULATIONS for the Indian Department.

I

PRESENTS Purchased in Detroit.

1. Presents will be given to the Indians by the Governor or in his absence in such a manner as he shall point out.
2. They will be purchased by one of the Agents on a warrant signed by the Governor & countersigned by the Secretary.
3. They will be Purchased as such stores as may have been previously selected by the Governor on the report of the Secretary & Agents at which they can be procured upon the most favorable terms.
4. At the end of every month, the Secretary will collect from the stores their respective accounts, & will charge to each Agent the amount, for which he may have drawn goods during that month.
5. The goods obtained in the manner above mentioned will be distributed by the Agent, who procures them to the Indian named in the warrant.
6. Goods shall be distributed by the Agents in the presence of two respectable Citizens.
7. The Certificate of two respectable Citizens will be a voucher to the Agent for the delivery of goods.
8. At the end of every month, each Agent shall produce to the Secretary his warrants for the purchase & his receipts for the delivery of goods.
9. The Agents shall be credited for the amount, for which they produce warrants & vouchers.
10. The account when thus stated shall be submitted to the Governor, & if found correct, it shall be closed.

II.

PRESENTS forwarded to this place.

1. Presents of this description when sent here shall be received by one of the Agents, who shall be directed by the Governor.
2. They shall be immediately examined by the Secretary & Agents & compared with the Invoices.
3. The Agent directed to receive them shall be charged by the Secretary with the quantity he shall receive.
4. After this, they shall be drawn from the store, distributed & accounted for in the manner pointed out in the preceding article.

III.

ANNUITIES.

1. Annuities when forwarded or purchased here will be distributed in bulk by the Secretary & Agents in the presence of three or more respectable Citizens upon the order of the Governor.
2. If purchased here, the purchase will be made as near as may be in conformity with the first article, and if forwarded here, they will be re'd & accounted for as in the second article.

* Duplicate.

IV.

The Duty of AGENTS.

1. It is the duty of the Agents to receive all Indians belonging to the tribes under their respective care as they arrive, to procure from them all possible information, to take care they have provisions issued to them, to make any applications they may with the Governor & to report to him any occurrence which happens & any information they procure in the Department.
2. The Agents will superintend every expedition fitted out, they will see that it is furnished with the necessary articles, and when directed will procure expresses.
3. They will also endeavor to discover whether any persons are in the habit of communicating to the Indians false information or of attempting to prejudice them against our Govt. If any are discovered their names will be reported to the Governor, in order that immediate prosecutions may be commenced against them.

V

The Duty of INTERPRETERS.

1. Interpreters will hold themselves in readness to proceed to any quarter, to which they may be directed.
2. They will endeavour to procure all the information in their power from any Indians who may arrive, & will report it to one of the Agents. They will use their exertions to prevent & to detect any selling of whiskey to Indians, & in case they discover by whom it has been sold, they will immediately enter a complaint against him before a Justice of the Peace. They will take care that the Indians commit no injury themselves & are not injured by others. In case any Indians are intoxicated in town they will if possible remove them from it.
3. Horses will not be furnished the Interpreters unless they are ordered to a distance.
4. On their return from an expedition they will immediately report to one of the Agents.
5. Interpreters stationed at a distance will report by letter, whenever any thing occurs worthy of being communicated.
6. One Interpreter will constantly attend at the Council House. He will be designated by the Agents.
7. An Interpreter will always attend when provisions are issued to the Indians, to see that justice is done to them in the quantity & quality.
8. The secret instructions which Interpreters receive they will accurately observe & will not communicate to others.
9. Any person in the Department deficient in zeal, industry or fidelity will be immediately dismissed.

VI.

MISCELLANEOUS REGULATIONS.

1. At the end of every month the Secretary will require from the Contractor an abstract of all rations issued by him in the course of the month for the Indian Department, & will ascertain whether the issues have been correct.
2. Rations for Indians & Interpreters will be issued upon the return of the Agents.

3. Rations for the Agents will be issued upon the return of the Secretary.
4. The Agents & Interpreters will be paid quarterly upon a proper Pay Roll. The first payment will be on the first day of January next.
5. The Armourer employed by the Governor will do any work he may be directed by the Agents, & in repairing the Guns of the Indians he will use as much expedition as possible. He will also be directed to repair publick arms. He will be paid at the same time with the Agents & Interpreters but upon a separate account. His return for rations will be signed by the Secretary.

The foregoing Regulations will be observed by every person in the Indian Department.

Detroit September 15 1814.

GOVERNOR OF MICHIGAN.

Fort George 18th November 1812

* Sir

I have to acknowledge your letter of the 13th Inst. and am quite disappointed that the Lady Prevost only, has been sent from Fort Amherstburg to Fort Erie this Trip.

Altho I have received no Communication from you for nearly† two months past—yet from a private Letter you addressed to Mr. Warren I discovered you were in great Want of Provisions. Therefore by very great exertions, procured about 800 Barrels of Flour & sent them to Fort Erie in readiness to be shipped on board the first Vessels that might arrive there from your Post naturally expecting that if your Wants were great the whole of the Vessels at the Disposal of government would be Sent down immediately for Supplies. however as this has not been the Case I have great Reason to hope that the Resources of the Country in your District are adequate to meet the exigencies of the Service and your letter just received Confirms me in this Opinion—

I have now to desire that every Means in your Power may continue to be used to procure Supplies of Provisions from all Quarters within your Reach & I would particularly recommend your drawing from the American Side as soon as possible every Article of Provisions you can lay your hands on.

Whatever Persons may be required to go in Search of Supplies you have my Authority to engage for the purpose & to afford you a greater facility in procuring them I shall sepd you by Lieut.‡ Barnard about £2000 in Sp.—& about £1500 in Army Bills the former I beg you will reserve as much as possible for Provisions purchased in the Interior—As Persons far removed from Towns are not at all partial to paper Money altho it bears Interest & with Government Security.

I observe from your pay List that you have engaged a Storekeeper at Detroit at 4-8 per Day with Allowances—. Should you wish Some of this Gentleman's Assistance in your office you may further engage an Issuer at that post @ 2-6 Army. Pay & Day those in addition to the persons you employ temperary in collecting Supplies I trust will enable you to carry on the Service with regularity and dispatch—

I shall not fail of immediately reporting to the Commissary General the very great exertions you have made in Conducting the Complicated Duties of your Department & my firm persuasion that you will continue to do So during the arduous Contest we are now engaged in—

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* Vol. 110, p. 114.

† My Letters to Mr. Couche sent by the Brig Detroit were unfortunately lost.

‡ Sent afterward by Lieut. Merit.

I shall also represent the good conduct of Mr. Reynolds in such a Manner I trust as will cause him Promotion— This is the only hope I can hold out to you of the assistance of another officer of the Department: in this Part of the Province we remain almost in the peace Establishment Mr. Coffin with five important posts has only One Clerk in addition—and altho in my office there is as much occupation as at Quebec when I had charge of the Department there I have only one Gentleman to assist me so that we are all fully employed in this Quarter

Mr. Green has been appointed Acting D'y Asst Comm'y. General with the Charge of six posts below Kingston.

Your accounts as stated have been received Say Cash Amounts to 24 October — Store D'r. to the 24th July last— I am well persuaded I need not impress on you the Necessity of Shortly attending to this important part of your Duty being convinced that your utmost exertions will be used to forward your accounts with the least delay possible—

Fuel & savings of Fuel should be charged under the Head "Barrack Department" & not "Commissariat Supplies." I have been obliged to alter your former Abstract on this Account.

I have received no acknowledgement from you of the Receipt of my letters of the 15th, 16th, 20th & 21st September & 28th Oct. nor of a Letter wrote you by D'y. Asst. Comm'y. Genl. Coffin during my absence, about the 16th ulto. wherein he desired you to forward a Duplicate of your Letter of the 4th Oct. which had not been rec'd. & which he learned you had written to me by a letter of the Day following wherein you refer to it.—

Should any assistance be wanted from the Troops or Militia to enable you to prepare provisions &c Such as Cutting Wood threshing Wheat &c I have no doubt Col Proctor would furnish you with as many Men as may be required for this important Service— A Similar Measure has been adopted here & a District order issued in the Occasion which I suppose you have Seen

I am
Sir
Your very humble serv't.
Edward Couche
D'y Com. Gen'l.

D'y. Assistant Comm'y. Genl. Gilmor
Amherstburg.

D'y. Ass't. Commd'n. Genl's Offiec
Amherstburg 27th March 1813

*Sir,

For the information of Brigr. General Proctor I send you an Extract of a Letter from D'y. Commissary General Couche to me dated Fort George 12th March 1813.

"I have formed a Depôt of Flour & Pork at Long Point.—and am to request that you will apply for a Vessel to be sent there from Amherstburg immediately on the opening of the Navigation."

* Vol. 110, p. 2.

In consequence of which I beg leave to request that the General May be pleased to give the necessary orders for removing the said Provisions to the Post as soon as practicable.

I have the honour to be
Sir
Your Most obd. serv.
Robert Gilmore
Dy. Ass
Genl. Commis.

Brigade Major McLean
Sandwich.

I have again this morning spoken with Mr. McGregor relative to Letting his House to the General—he declines giving me an answer 'till he can consult with Mr. John McGregor who (he says) is now at River Thames

D'y Asst. Commd. Genl. Office
Amherstburg 27 March 1813

† Sir,

I have to acknowledge your letter of yesterday & to day, and will come up to Sandwich as soon as possible—but hope that the General will excuse me for a few days 'till Mr. Askin returns—I have promised a number of Artificers &c payment on Monday—I shall let you know without loss of time when I can be spared from hence, as it is my intention to go up to Sandwich & Detroit for 3 or 4 days I hope that it may answer about the middle or latter end of next week.

I did not hesitate a moment to give every attention of Colonel Elliots wishes to promote the forwarding of Provisions &c to Tecumseh the Indian Warrior—well knowing that the General would sanction any thing done for that essential service.

I wrote to Mr. LaSelle at River Raizin to know what could be obtained there—and inclose his answer.

In concert with Colonel Elliot I appointed Mr. Wilson to act in the Commisariat to procure the Provisions at River Raizin—He was to have gone this morning—but hearing from the Indians that the roads were impracticable by the Bridge over (I think) the River Huron being carried away by the Ice.

I have the honour to be
Sir
Your most obedt. Serv.
Robert Gilmor
A
D C.
Y

P. S. I wrote you that Mr Jas McGregor waits to consult with Mr. John McGregor before he gives his answer relative to. Letting his House to the General.
R. G.

‡ Franklinton April 24th 1813

Dear Sir,

I arrived here last evening with a detachment of Militia ordered out to protect the Military stores at Sandusky. the Governor being absent I undertook to exercise my authority as Major Genl. in cutting out light companies required by Genl. Harrison.

* (This was written in pencil along the margin of above letter.)—C. M. B.
† Vol. 110, p. 3.
‡ Vol. 110. p. 18.

All cheerfully obeyed except the Chillicothe guards, commanded by Capt. Brush.—Creighton, Sterett & Brush held a council afterward and concluded to make a great parade about marching, to wit, move in military style up and down the streets of Chillicothe with their Blankets & Knapsacks on their backs and pretended that they very anxious to be off for Sandusky, but—at the same time got Col'o Ferguson to countermand my order eledging that my appointment in the army destroyed my authority as commandant of the 2nd Division. Consequently I was under the necessity of arresting both Colo. Ferguson and Capt. Brush and the Governor on hearing the facts has seconded the motion by ordering the company out.

I have not heard from them since and know not how they will act.

They intended it as an electionearing trick to pretend to be willing to march and turn the people against me for ordering the light companies out without authority as they pretended. It will, however, I think have the contrary effect. Creighton and his party, I have no doubt are inopposition to the administration but all will be well if we can get the republicans to attend the election.

In haste
I am Dear Sir
Very respectfully yours
Duncan McArthur.

Mr. Woodbridge Esq.
Marietta
Ohio

*RETURN OF THE KILLED, WOUNDED, MISSING AND PRISONERS OF THE ARMY UNDER THE COMMAND OF BRIGADIER GENERAL PROCTER AT THE BATTLE FOUGHT AT THE MIAMI, 5TH MAY, 1813.

Corps.	Killed.						Wounded.						Missing.						Prisoners.						Remarks.
	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	
Royal Artillery	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	Lt. Bullock wounded on the 3d ultimo.
41st Regiment	....	....	....	....	....	11	....	1	....	3	....	35	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	....	1	....	33	Prisoners Lieuts. McIntyre and Hailes.
Royal Newfoundland Regt.	....	....	....	....	1	2	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	Captain Bendy, since dead.
Militia	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	
Total	....	....	....	....	1	13	1	1	....	4	....	41	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	....	1	....	37	

* Vol. 110, p. 22.

Fort Meigs May 10th 1813.

*Dear Sir

Your Favour of the 7th Instant Came to hand last. Evening on Reading of it I went Immediately to the postmaster to Inquire for the Letter that I wrote and put in the office in Answer to the one I recd. from you Some Time Since he Readily Acknowledgd. that he had miss laid it and that it had not ben Mailed untill last Evening—you'll undoubtedly Receive it by Return mail—with respect to the Indian news that you had the Goodness to Communicate I was Quite at a loss how to Conduct I however Shew your letter to the Commedant Lieut Williams and one or two others our Conclusion was that it wou'd. not be best to Cause a Gen'l. Alarm among the Inhabitants but Jently Caution them to be a little on the watch as Indian Hostilities Did not appear to be Intirely at an End but I shall not at present Let it be fully known the high Authority from which I have rec'd. my information—I shall wait a few Days before I let the Information be fully known Some of our Setlers have Scatter'd themselves up the River on the North Side 6 or 7 miles Should any of these people fall a Sacrifice to the Savages for the want of Information that you have had the Goodness to Communicate. I Coud never pardon myself for withholding it from them—I shall however wait a few Days in hopes that by the Next Mail to Receive some more favourable Information that may in Some measure Dissipate our fears—I hope the Goverument will Take Effectual measures to Quell the hostile Disposition of the Savages You'll have the Goodness to Continue your Information on Acct. of Indian News or Any Other that you may think proper—

I am Dear Sir with high
esteem your Obt Servt.
Amos Spafford

Hon'l. W'm. Woodbridge Esq'r.
Dep'y. Governor Detroit.

Sunday 10th May 1813.

Dear Sir

I enclose you an abstract of your Account for Subsistence for my Company from Paymaster to 24th June 1812—The Balance amounting to £20-9-7¾ Halx I will thank you for—The Amount of your wine bills due to 24th July 1812. £10-18-2

I am
Dear Sir
Your very obed. servt.
Richd Bullock

Lieut McLean
41 Regt
&c &c
Sandwich

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† Amherstburg 12th May 1813

Sir

I have the honor to Enclose an account of the Sum of Money Disbursed by me while employed Conducting the American Officers Prisoners of War (taken

* Vol. 110, p. 24.
† Vol. 110, p. 25.

at the River Raisin) from Sandwich to Fort George I beg you will have the Goodness to lay it before the General for his Approbation.

I beg your further Recollection of the Subject of my Official Note to you Previous to the Sailing of the Expedition to the Miamis River

I have the Honor to be
Your Most Obedient
Humble Servant
Eben Reynolds
Major & Rif E M

Brigade Major McLean
Amherstburg

Sandwich 9th Augt 1813

*Sir

Before you can have possession of my Store I must have it in writing that Government will pay me five pounds currency p'r Month rent, also should the building be Destroyed by the Enemy or any other accident that I shall be paid three hundred pounds Province Currency.—

John MGregor

To
Brig'd. Major M Lean

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† Detroit Nov. 9th 1813

Dear Sir

Agreeable to promise I now inform you, that I have this day resigned the office of Marshall of Ohio. I have recommended no person.

Our situation here furnishes me with nothing to communicate to you either new or interesting. Everything around us is quiet, exhibiting a striking to the recent scenes of hostility. The Indians daily come in throwing themselves upon our mercy. Their situation is truly deplorable. They are totally destitute of all means of existence and unless we supply them with small quantities of ammunition they must perish. Through fear or policy, the British suffered them to pillage the poor miserable inhabitants at pleasure. This Country is totally exhausted of all its resources, and except as a frontier is scarcely worth possessing.

Removed as we are from the sphere of passing politics, they appear to us as questions of comparative insignificance. Nothing strikes us as important but a vigorous prosecution of the War, and I hope yet to see the day when united counsels and united measures shall secure to us a permanent and honourable peace.

With much esteem
I am D'r Sir
Your &c
Lewis Cass

William Woodbridge Esq
Marietta
Ohio.

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‡ Zanesville, September 12, 1814.

William Woodbridge Esqr.

Dear Sir—

I must plead your indulgence for delaying to answer your agreeable and friendly letter of the 25th Ult. until this late period. A Press of business which

* Vol. 110, p. 75.
† Vol. 110, p. 110.
‡ Vol. 110, p. 246.

always urges me most on the day of the departure of the mail for Marinette is my only excuse.

The newspaper I sent you in July, was truly sent with no other view than as a testimony of my friendly recollection, and that you might perceive we were not politically dead.

* * * * * *

The federalists or Washingtonians in this quarter do not seem to have any particular object in view—or if they have, they keep it close. I am rather inclined to think they will not run a governor at all. Their chief aim will be to endeavor to create division in order to have a chance at slipping in a congressman, But in this they will fail.

I received the Oration, for which I thank you—I shall be at all times happy to hear from you, when you may have anything interesting to communicate. The times are truly trying and will test the energy and integrity of the American people. God grant we may all remain firm and unshaken in a determination to maintain the integrity of the Union, and the right of self government, in spite of internal or external foes.

Did the same spirit prevade the whole Union which predominates in Ohio & Kentucky, our liberties would be secure against all the force which England can ever bring against us.

But the astonishing and unnatural defections and prejudices which prevail in many of the New England States is to me truly alarming. I can not fairly perceive the probable result, in case of a continued and inveterate war, which is the most likely to ensue under present appearances.

Nay, for the honor of this nation, I can scarcely wish for peace (much as I deprecate war) until we shall have at least conquered Upper Canada. Should Great Britain in consequence of her success on the continent, and the *eclat* with which *John Bull* will hail the destruction of the *American Capitol*—rise in her claims and pretentions—we may possibly become an *United people.* This event (viz. a perfect and cordial union of all *real Americans*) I shall hail as a glorious epoch, auspicious to the future destiny of our young and growing empire.

With sentiments of esteem and respect
I am sir
Yours &c
David Chambers.

William Woodbridge Esq.
Marietta
Ohio.

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*Provision Return for G. Godfroy. Sen'r as Indian Agt. Signed by Gov'n Lewis Cass —commencing 29th Sept'r. 1813 & Ending 31st Augt. 1814—is 337 days at 3 rat's. pr. day———— 1011
—Ditto —— Ditto —— for Ditto as Ind: Interp: signed by ditto —— commencing same time and ending same time—is 337 days—at 2 Rat's. per day 674

1685

Issued on the 18th Oct'r. 1814.

* Vol. III, p. 14.

Washington
Nov. 12
—1814

*Dr Sir

Understanding that you was nominated for the Secretary Ship of Michigan & Collector &c—I had no other Part in yr. Appointments than to express my great Satisfaction & the highest Confidence of yr. Fitness. Attwater yr. Predecessor was here—& upon your Nomination—went to the President to know why he proposed to supersede him—The P—replied that he had not attended his Duty that he ought to have repaired to Detroit as soon as it was reoccupied—

Attwater excused himself by saying no one had ordered him there—the P—answered him that no one had ordered him *from* there—& the conference closed—I think when Peace arrives—a Judgeship (for which I think you better qualified than any there) would suit you better—a Secretary is confined to his residence more than a Judge—when the Court is not in Session a Judge is emphatically "his own Man" independent of any Authority—& responsible to none—but the Senate of the United States—intangible even by the President—The Gov & Sec'y are appointed Triennially—The Judges—quamdiu se bene gesserunt—& immoveable except by impeachment—this is not the Case in those Territories latterly formed—in which near the Expiration of the Judicial Term—Cabals arise—this I know is invariable in these Territories—As Judge you can be absent more or less from the Territory every year—

When you shall have resided awhile in y'r. Gov't.—should you prefer a Judgeship —($1200 p'r. Annum if a Vacancy occur.—you can *undoubtedly* have it—It will give me pleasure to aid you in any Way—I consulted with the War Sec'y (at his request) on the Protection of Detroit—The regulars were sent to join Browns Army—I advised to send a Reg't. from Ohio to winter at Detroit—& (as the Campaign on the Niagara Frontier is over—that regulars return to Detroit—If the British should be strong near the head of Ontario—they can attack D—by marching across—our present Command of the Lake avails little or nothing in the Winter—I know not how Det't. if fortified—it ought to be picketted in—it was so when the British possessed it with Cedar which is abundant—As to Indian Promises I can only say "Punica Fides"—a Close Correspondence should be kept up between D't and Gn B Worthington—I will enforce to the W Sec'y—the Importance of holding Detroit—if it falls—the Vessels will be seized. & the Command of the Lakes be recessed.

Mackinac—might have been taken last Spring the Moment the Ice was gone—At the Time the Expedition was undertaken I predicted its failure—If you go—by M't Vernon to Sanduskey it will be the nearest Col'o. Enos—or Maj'r. Kratzer of—the Place can take you the Trace—If you go by Deleware call on (my old Aid)—Col'o P D Butler—he know everything about the Route to D't—It has been customary for Gov'r. Sec'y & Judges to have Escorts thro Indian Countreys—by waiting at Sandusky &c—You will find Company—Mrs W—ought not to go till Peace—

Mrs Meigs, Mrs Jackson & Gen J—went last week to Clarksburg—

With good wishes
I am Y'r obd
R. J. Meigs

W. Woodbridge Esq
Marietta

* Vol. 111, p. 23.

Detroit Nov'r 17th '14

* My Dear Friend

I this evening returned from a tour to Grand river and had the honour to receive your favour of the 30th Ult.

It gives me real pleasure to hear of your appointment as—Secy of the Michigan Territory, but am sorry I could not give you more incouragement as to removeing to this place.

I must advise you to come and see the place before you decline your business in Ohio. To me the society is truely disagreeable. Every article necessary for the support of a family is extravegently high, and no prospect of a favourable change. In short should the war continue I have no hesitation to say, that it would be to the advantage of the Government to remove every inhabitant of the Territory, pay for the improvements and reduce them to ashes; leaving nothing but the Garrison posts. From my observation, the Territory appears to me not worth defending and merely a den for Indians and traitors Of this, however, you can perhaps judge more correctly yourself, after spending a few months at this place.

Should the war continue, this place—will be harrased by Indian depredations say the least of it. The banks of the Detroit river are hansome. but 9-10 of the land in the territory is unfit for cultivation. On the subject of your enquiries I have perhaps said more than will be pleasing and as I am in great haste I will dwell no longer on it.

On the subject of our late expedition to Grand river. I have barely time to say that we left this on the 23rd Ult. under pretence of going to Sagana. passed up on the N. W. side of lake St. Clair crossed the river—above the settlements and passed through the woods to Moravin town, from there we passed along the usual rout towards Burlington through Delaware Oxford, and Burford to Grand river 25 miles from Burlington where we found that river imensely high, wide & rapid. and a small company of Dragoons about 40 Militia and as many Indians on the opposit bank, a small skirmish took place between some of our troops and the enemy across the river, in which we killed five Indians and wounded seven. and had one man killed and four wounded. We were informed that about 400 Militia were embodied ten miles from us on the road to Long point to which place we immediately marched but the enemy would not stand to give us battle. we however on the retreat killed eleven of them wounded two that we found and took about 120 prisoners. Had not the night covered their retreat few, if any, would have escaped. We returned to this place, by the way of Dover, Long point & Port Talbot, then crossed over on to the Thames. We burnt five of the best Mills I have ever seen from which emense quantities of Flower were furnished to the enemy. Our force was about 700. we have lost but one man on the expedition our wounded are recovering and our troops are healthy. Yours in haste

Duncan McArthur

W'm. Woodbridge Esq'r.
Marietta
Ohio

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† Washington Dec 15, 1814

Dr Sir—

I have rec'd yours—I notice by the Chilicothe Papers that the Troops under Major Puthuff are going to Detroit—it would be two or three days longer for you to go with them from lower Sandusky—where you might overtake them—

* Vol. 111, p. 25.
† Vol. 111, p. 38.

I do not know whether the Express Mail has an Escort—I think the Sec't of War is well appized of the Situation of Detroit—and its Importance—I shall induce our Representatives here to call on him—& state the Anxiety in Ohio in relation to (Detroit) its Barrier—If you go by Chillicothe I think you will find no Difficulty in having Company by waiting there a little.

—Peace is expected by many—it is of too doubtful Aspect to found Predictions on—the Tax Bills will soon pass—The Military & Militia Laws & the Bank—There is no despondence here as to the War.

I hope sincerely that you may have a good Journey—& find y'r Situation pleasant at Detroit—I have no Doubt you will so—when Peace shall have arrived.

With much regard
& esteem I am
yr
R. J. Meigs.

To William Woodbridge

Chillicothe Dec. 21st, 1814.

*Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 19th Inst has been recd. I hope you are only going to Detroit on a visit and that you have not thrown yourself out of business in Ohio. Should the War continue, which is most probable, you will find Detroit a very unpleasant place, and more especially for Mrs. W. yet I think it highly proper that you should spend a few months in that country. I am confident that you can never be satisfied until you do, and I have but little doubt, that a few months will be sufficient to enable you to determine whether it is or is not preferable to Ohio.

Provisions are scarce on the lines. My object in coming here, was to endeavour to forward supplies through a special Commissary, the Contractor having failed. But there are no friends in the district to enable a Commissary to make purchases.

When I left Detroit the troops were subsisting entirely on the resources of the country and unless supplies are sent on from the interior, Malden Detroit and Fort Gratiot must be abandoned. This I tell you in confidence, but I am apprehensive it cannot be long kept a secret.

On the subject of an escort I cannot say whether it would be necessary. There is a company of Riflemen now at Franklinton and another at Urbana waiting to escort provisions, should any be sent to the lines—There is also a Regt. of Militia ordered from Ohio—but cannot March until provisions are sent out for their subsistance. Neither of those will set out in time for you; nor will they travel sufficiently faste, and I know of no others,

With best wishes
I am Dear Sir
very respectfully
Your friend
Duncan McArthur

William Woodbridge Esq.
Merietta
Ohio.

Chillicothe, Janry, 20th 1815

† Dear Sir

I recd yours, and shall attend to your request, as soon as the act for regulating the time of holding courts should pass.—I have transcribed you a letter from the south recd by last evenings mail, for your information—

* Vol. III, p. 46.
† Vol. III, p. 63.

Nashville Jan 10th 1815.

Extract of a letter to his excellency Gov. Blount from Col. A Hynez, dated orleans city, Dec. 30. The British have landed with a large Army and are now within about five miles of the city of New Orleans. We began fighting them on the night of the 23d inst. and have been at it almost every day since, but the principle mischief has been done by cannonading. Gen Coffee's division of the army covered themselves with glory, on the night of the 23d inst. His loss was considerable, among whom were the brave Col. Lauderdale, and Maj. Cavanough—Col Dyer and Gibson were wounded. Whatever may be the issue of the pending conflict, rest only with Heaven. We pray to the Almighty that we may not tarnish the reputation of the Troops at Tennessee. A detachment is this moment advancing from our lines on the enemy, and our heavy artillery are firing almost constantly on them. Day before yesterday the brave Col. Henderson and some others were killed by the advance of the enemy's column on the left wing. of our army.

We hope you and the people of Tennessee will render that homage to the ruler of the Universe for his holy protection and invoke our deliverance from this great and powerful Enemy.

I offer you the salutation of my friendship

And. Hynez.

Admiral Cochran is said to be with the army and perhaps is not more than a mile from us—Gen. Reave is said to be the Commander—This is said to be the army that took the city of Washington.

There has been several other letters rec'd. but they contain nothing more than is contained in the above. Write me if you please and give me such information from that quarter as you may think proper to communicate.

to William Woodbridge Esq
Detroit.

In haste
I have the honor to be
Yours etc Jas. Barnes

Wachatomoka near Zanesville
Feby. 11, 1815

*Dear Sir—

I was much rejoiced to hear of your safe arrival at Fort Meigs and I trust long ere' this you have reached in safety the termination of your journey.

Such is the irregularity of the mails between here and Detroit that your letter of the 18th Ulto never reached me till yesterday.

With respect to the control of the Indian affairs, my opinion upon mature reflection is that as the executive Chief Magistrate of the Territory you have a right and probably it is your duty generally to superintend the Indian affairs. Gen. McArthur informs me that Col. Butler has been ordered to Detroit to take the Command. I presume he is with you before now. I have no doubt of your acting in cooperation with him in everything, in which you may be required to act in concert. you will find him every way qualified for his station.

If the Potawatomie Chief Macpack or Manipote is at Detroit I am clearly of the opinion that he ought to be confined, till unterior measures can be adopted for his disposition.

* Vol. 111, p. 75.

You must excuse my not writing more in detail. I am in daily expectation of seeing two Messengers from Detroit. By them I will write you.

Be pleased to keep me informed of all that happens.

I am my dear Sir
Yours as
Lew Cass.

William Woodbridge
Secretary of Mich.
Detroit.

Gen. Post Office
Feby. 14
1815

*A Treaty of Peace was signed at Ghent on the 24th Dec.—signed by the Prince Regent on the 30th—& arrived here this Day.

In haste
R. J. Meigs.

Hon. Wm Woodbridge.

A List of Indian Agents and Interpreters With their place of Residence Detroit February 16th 1815

Gabriel Godfroy	Indian Agent	Residenter at	Detroit	
Whitmore Knaggs	ditto	ditto	do	" do
Francois Manton	Indian Interpreter	Residenter at	R. Raison	
William Knaggs	do	do	do	" do
Thomas Knaggs	do	do	do	at Detroit.
Jean BaptDenoyer	do	do	do	" do
Francois Harsen	do	do	do	" do
William Tucker	do	do	do	" do
James Riley	do	do	do	" do
John Riley	do	do	do	" do
Petre Riley	do	do	do	" do
Henry Graverod	do	do	do	" do
John Walker	do	do	do	" do
Jean Bapt Chondomy	do	do	do	" do
Jean Bapt Marsac	do	do	do	" do
Jean Bapt Beaugrand	do	do	do	" do
Louis Beaufait	do	do	do	" do
Whitmore Knaggs	do	do	do	" do
Gabriel Godfroy Sen	do	do	do	" do
George McDougall, French Interpreter			do	do
Bartron Indian Interpreter			do	at St Joseph
Charles Larned Secretary for the Indian dept				do
at Detroit				(Detroit)
David Cooper Clerk for the Indian dept			do	" do

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‡ Detroit, May 6th 1815.

The Honorable Wm Woodbridge
Secretary of Michigan
Sir

By all the Information that Jean Ricard from the Indians They tell me that Chippawas & Potowatomies are going daily to the British.

* Vol. 111, p. 78.
† Vol. 111, p. 80.
‡ Vol 111, p. 142.

The British have told them that Peace is to last but for a short time perhaps for one Winter and Summer and tells them to hold one another fast by the Hand and always Keep themselves in readiness. In the Month of April the British have been sending belts of Wampum and Strings of Wampum among the different Nations. Principally the Chippaway Nation seem Indisposed to take their American Fathers by the Hand. The friendly Indians are of opinion that the Indians Will commit Hostilities on the Americans. They also give Notice that they are very fearful that When the Americans goez to take possession of Michilimackinac that they may meet With some difficulties from the Indians at that place. And therefore Would advise them to be on their guard, as they may try to lay a trap for them. They Observe that pease is made between England and America but not With us They are likewise fearful that they Will make an attac on Fort Megz. I have this day received Information from cososh or Hog that after his departure from this place he met With Francois Cadot a British Agent, Which Information he received from him Which was about the 20th of April. He told him that peace Waz not made and that he Would convince him about the Middle of the Summer Which you will see. And at that time I will have the pleasure of laughing at you. Do you recollect being at Michilimackinac.—Yez—did you not see that Fort that we built.—Yez—there is not the bigness of a nail all round that Fort but What is undermined. Therefore the Americans Will never be able to land on the Island Without being destroyed. Then the Indians Who were with Cadot and then Went to Michilimackinac With him Whom are Jaco—Macatawaycha or Black Skin and several Young men observed that the Americans should never but their foot on the Island of Michilimackinac.

I am Sir Your obedient
humble Servante

The Honourable
William Woodbridge
Secretary of Michigan
Presents

W. Knaggs
Indian Agent.

Detroit May 10, 1815.

*His Excellency Thos. Worthington Esquire
Sir,

Without intending in any wise to Vouch for the correctness of the information which from time to time has been communicated to me through Indian sources:—it is proper for me to state to your Excellency that hostile designs are said to be entertained by very many of the Indians living within the borders of this & Indiana Territories

Advice has been received that several war parties are out, & that an attack upon the detached settlements about the Rapids, is contemplated by them. There are several circumstances tending to strengthen the opinion (which most of our decided friends among the Indians entertain) that this information is correct.

Aware of the serious evils which most usually result from exciting unnecessary alarm, I have been cautious of giving too much publicity to Indian news I have however deemed it proper to advise Maj'r. Safford the Collector, at Fort Meigs of the nature of the rumours which have relation to the safety of the people of that neighborhood, with a request that he would so use the suggestion as that the people might be on their guard & yet not uselessly alarmed.

I have already had the honor to suggest to yr excellency an opinion that there remained yet among the Indians much vindictiveness of temper toward us. In the

* Vol. 111, p. 144.

correctness of that opinion I am rather confirmed by recent indications—Their divisions & mutual differences may & probably will relieve us from an universal Indian War—But I am convinced that we shall be greatly exposed to their occasional acts of outrage.—Even those Indians, the first to come in to us after having turned against us, & who have since then until recently exhibited a spirit of much humility & submission, have altered their tone since they have been advised that the British are about to occupy Malden in great force:—& that the American force at Detroit will be so small—I have recently had occasion to sound them with a view to ascertain if the lines dividing Ohio & the Territory of Michigan & Indiana could be safely surveyed—& also with a view to obtain some of the chiefs to accompany the surveyors who will probably be directed to run the line of lands purchased from them at the treaty of Detroit—Concerning the boundary lines of Ohio & Michigan they are silent—concerning the purchase of lands by the treaty of Detroit—they they will not admit that in that sale, there is any validity—in this council were assembled many chiefs of influence.

When our Government shall have stationed a respectable military force at this post & shall have occupied in strength Michilimackinac & the proper points of connection between the Lakes & the Mississippi & Illinois Rivers, then I have no doubt but the consent of the Indians may be obtained & their aid procured in the establishment of those lines—And I very much fear until that arrangement be made objects so very desirable as that of throwing into market a very large tract of land in this Territory—& that of establishing the lines of this Territory & of Ohio bordering upon it, cannot be safely effected.—Gov. Cass, I am very happy to learn is probably on his way or will soon be for this place—He will come fully possessed, I hope of the views of the Govt concerning the Indians—& prepared formally to announce to them the provision in their behalf contained in the treaty of Ghent—or otherwise, instructed to draw to a crisis our Indian affairs.

With much respect
I have the honour to be
Yr. Excellencys
Obed Servt
Wm Woodbridge
Sec'y of Michigan

His Excell'y Thom Worthington Esq
Chillicothe

Lower Sandusky
May 15th 1815.

*Dear Sir,

I am ordered to run a boundary line agreeably to the treaty made by the late Governor Hull at Detroit, with the Pottiwatimies, Tawas, Wiandots &c, and shall be ready to commence the line at Fort defiance, ("or the mouth of the great Auglaise river") within about three weeks from this date; and request you as Superintendant of Indian affairs within the Michigan territory, to notify the chiefs of those Nations concerned, that in as much as they are a party to the contract, I am desirous that they (or as many as may choose) may attend with me during the time I am running the line.

Perhaps the most convenient place for those chiefs to meet me at, would be fort Meigs; for I am now about to run the road from the western boundary of the Connecticut reserve, to that place; and to lay off the land into sections for one mile on

* Vol. 111. p. 146.

each side of the road; and I shall finish at fort Meigs about the time I have mentioned above—

Understanding that no particular treaty has taken place since the ratification of the treaty with Great Britain, to terminate the difference, or hostilities between those nations and the United States,, I am the more desirous that you should in your official capacity call those chiefs together, and explain to them the nature of the work I am about to execute: and if possible to remove every obstacle which the indians might throw in my way while running that line, or while Mr. Alexander Holmes and myself are running out the ranges and townships of the land allotted for the soldiers within the Michigan territory; which will lay east of the boundary line, and nearly west of Detroit, (a plan of which the Surveyor General has enclosed to you) and should it be found necessary during the execution of any of the work, to call for protection, I shall then be under the necessity of claiming it from you, as being in the service of the United States, while executing the public surveys—

You would oblige me by writing to me at Fort Meigs, and if you can ascertain the disposition of the Indians, you will please to inform me there

Another part of my business is to run the line between the State of Ohio and the Michigan territory, provided the consent of the indians can be obtained to permit that line run from the southerly bend of lake Michigan, to lake Erie—I have brought on the proper instruments to ascertain the latitude of the extremity of that line, and after I arrive at Fort Meigs, and previous to my going to fort defiance, I shall go down to the Miami bay, and ascertain that point—You will therefore while in conference, endeavor to obtain permission from those indians concerned, to suffer that line run and marked—I would also wish you to communicate to Mr. Holmes, the result of the conference with the indians, at the same time you do to me; he will be at Detroit, or in the neighborhood of that place.

With all due respect, I am
Yours etc
Beny'n. Hough.

William Woodbridge Esq.
Secretary and acting Governor
of the Michigan Territory.

P. S. Hearing that Governor Cass was not at Detroit, is the reason that I address this directly to you—The Surveyor General has also addressed one letter to you, and one to Governor Cass: and should Governor Cass be absent when his letter arrives, (which will accompany this) I presume it would be proper for you to open it, and observe its contents—

Wm Woodbridge, Esq. Benj'n. Hough.

Detroit July 9th 1815.

*Extract from a letter from Austin E. Wing to Hon. William Woodbridge Esquire.

Fort Malden was given up on the first of this month, and our troops have embarked for Michilimackinac under the command of Col. Butler—accompanying him are Major Morgan Capt. Gray, Lieut Heddleston Edmundson &c—the command at this post at present devolves on Maj'r Putoff—You will not be astonished that Colo. Butler & Capt. Gray are much disappointed in not being retained in the service—the Col. talk of impeaching the Pres't. of the U. S.

The people of Detroit are almost in Arms against Col. James the British commandant in Sandwich & Malden who by the advice of some of the good citizens of

* Vol. 111, p. 192.

Sandwich, treats our citizens in the most abusive & brutal manner, Many indeed dare not cross to Canada for fear of being put to death—a number have been threatened without any greater offence than crossing on business—he indeed out Devils the Devil without comparison—Mr. Chittenden who was left at Malden in charge of some public property—has been pillaged by the order of Col. James & 3 indians was ordered by the Col. to blow out his brains, it is now made a subject of negotiation with Gov. Cass. Col. Gratiot has this day gone with a very spirited and severe letter from the Gov. to Col. James—

Detroit Feb. 25. 1815.

*His Excel'y Tho's. Worthington Esquire

Sir,

I deem it proper to communicate to yr Excellency that the enemy appear for some time past to have designed a general & combined attack upon the Frontiers of Ohio, & upon the Posts in this Territory, at farthest, in early spring.—The agents of the British Government have been for some time past actively employed among the Indians, in preparing them for a simultaneous movement, *at the going off of the snow.* Dixon has succeeded in affecting a peace between the Chippiwas & the Seieux—& it would seem that both nations are expected to join in the effort:—Dixon is said to have with him a very considerable Indian force on the heads of the Mississippi or at Prairie des Chiens—and an Indian force our agents say, is controlling at Michilimackina.—Little doubt is entertained but that if properly furnished & supported by the English, the spring will find the whole Indian wilderness in arms against us. In such an event, the people of this Territory will look with hope & confidence of support to Ohio:—as the natural barrier, as a Frontier at which the safety from the enemy can be the most cheaply defended, this Territory will cheerfully appeal to the interests of the people of Ohio, as well as to the publick spirit & energy which characterize both themselves and their chief magistrate.

But while I communicate to your Excellency the general purport of the information conveyed to us from a variety of sources, it is also proper that I should state that there is some hope that this storm with which we are threatened may be averted.—Many of those Indians most decidedly hostile, have not received their promised supplies—and when applied to by the British agents to prepare themselves for the attack some of them have reproached their allies with such breach of promise —their agents too were reminded that they had promised to support them in retaking this country last fall—There is much reason also to hope that the supplies of provisions which the enemy have at Michilimackinac are most ample—If therefore the American fleet should be able to reach the Upper Lakes in early spring—if the difficulty of transporting cannon & supplies from the lower end of Lake Erie should prevent a powerful co-operation on the part of the English, we should have good reason to hope that altho' much injury should be done to the scattered inhabitants of the Country, no permanent foot hold can be obtained by them.

I have it in view also if possible to enduce some of the most powerful of the hostile Chiefs to visit Washington—Their wants may during the severity of this winter be most powerfully appealed to—several of them have exhibited a disposition to come in, affecting a wish to be friendly—The agents in the Department, who are most acquainted with them, think the project practicable & most seriously urge it. I am sorry to feel obliged to take even an incipient measure toward the accomplishment of such an object in the casual absence of Gov. Cass without the previous

* Vol. 111, p. 87.

sanction of the Genl. Government. But if this object be desirable delay would defeat it. The people in this country are in the most lamentable condition—if prevented from working their farms by Indian incursions another season the general distress will be inconceivable—and such is represented to be the devotedness of Indians to their Chiefs, that while they should be in the interior, our settlements will remain undisturbed by their followers—As the general subject of their remarks must be interesting also to yr excellency in relation to the people of Ohio, I have thought that an exposition of my views in this respect might not be useless more especially, as a consideration of the subject may suggest to yr Excellency the propriety of enforcing this plan (by the weight of your own character) or any other more eligible upon the consideration of the Genl' Government. I shall endeavor to procure the attendance here of six or eight Chiefs about the first of March: With very great respect I have the Honour to be yr excellencys

most obedt servt
Wm Woodbridge
Sec T & acting Gov'r. of Michigan.

P. S. By advice from Fort Wayne I have learned that the British agents have offered $600 each for the scalps of Mr. John Kinzey & of Mr. Chandonnier—of the Indian department. This report seems but too well supported—if it be true I hope it may be traced & authenticated.

Detroit April 30th, 1815.

*Extract from letter of William Woodbridge to his wife Mrs. Julianna T. Woodbridge, Marietta Ohio.

* * * * *

The Indians whom I expected by the 20th inst. have not yet all arrived—But I shall wait no longer than Tuesday for them—A young Indian Chief & one of the few who have signalized themselves for their constancy & activity in our behalf during the war—was murdered a few nights ago with his wife—They were on their way to see me.—Whether this atrocious act was committed by some faithless Whites—or by some hostile Indians, is not yet ascertained.—Two Sac. Indians this day passed through Town, on their way from the British at Burlington to the Mississippi— carrying the news of Peace.—Malden, & that part of the Upper Province of Canada which is in our possession has not yet been delivered up to their former masters—so soon as the British will deliver up Michilimackinac, the opposite country will also be delivered.—

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† By William Woodbridge Secretary of the Territory of Michigan—superintendent of Indian affairs for the time being &c—

A Proclamation.

Whereas by two several acts of the Legislature of Michigan of the date of the 13th of August A. D.—1812—and of the 1st of February A. D. 1815 the selling or giving away to any Indian of any spirituous Liquor is forbidden, unless sanctioned by the written permission of the superintendent of Indian affairs or of some other person duly authorized in the premises:—

* Vol. iii, p. 104.
† Vol. 111, p. 123.

And whereas the perfect propriety of the rigid enforcement of the provisions aforesaid is manifested by past experience;—

I therefore the above named William Woodbridge Secretary said Territory and ex officio clothed, in the absence of the Governor with all the executive powers of the government do exhort and require of all persons whether citizens or others upon the penalty of what may befal thereon to conform in the premises to the injunctions of said acts—I do further by these presents exhort all officers of the peace and others to be vigilant and constant in their exertions to inform against and bring to justice any person who may be guilty of an infraction of the Laws in this particular; that they may thereby arrest the progress of an evil destructive to the peace of society—dangerous to the personal safety of the citizens—And jeopardizing the best interests of the Government.

Given under my hand at the
City of Detroit this 17th day of
April A. D. 1815.

2 copies

*Account of Merchandize delivered to the following Indians per Whitmore Knaggs Indian Agent as per Warrents Viz.

1815

Jany	28	Amt of Merchandize del'd	to Piquost & party	$30.00
Feb	4	do.....do.....do	to Negro and party	89.46
	9	do.....do.....do	" Mishkemon do	124.58
	15	do.....do.....do	" Mocatashh do	15.00
	22	do.....do.....do	" Negro .....do	91.49
	19	do.....do.....do	Cobagescoqua do	11.00
	27	do.....do.....do	Catawaysin do	18.50
March	11	do.....do.....do	" Macarty ....do	12.00
	28	do.....do.....do	" Tusson .....do	166.00
	15	do.....do.....do	" Michkimon ..do	10.00
	31	do.....do.....do	" Cocosh .....do	50.00
	14	do.....do.....do	" Negro .....do	4.81
April	1	do.....do.....do	" coba .....do	17.50
	3	do.....do.....do	" Chocin .....do	29.50
	8	do.....do.....do	" Bubby .....do	40.00
	20	do.....do.....do	" Noguogugo .do	44.25
	9	do.....do.....do	" Mischimaux .do	22.50
	26	do.....do.....do	" Mocataship .do	32.50
	8	do.....do.....do	" Crow .....do	1.00
	29	do.....do.....do	" Ocemos .....do	15.00
		do.....do.....do	" Mochikia ...do	4.00
May	5	do.....do.....do	" Nequigan ..do	10.00
				839.09
	8	do.....do.....do	" Nequigan ...do	126.50
	"	do.....do.....do	" Niqua .....do	125.00
				$1090.59.

* Vol. 111, p. 140.

REPORT OF MEMORIAL COMMITTEE.

ALLEGAN COUNTY.

BY HON. JAMES W. HUMPHREY.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Aldrich, William	Allegan	Dec. 4, 1901	100	
Barjrow, Harriet A	Otsego	June 13, 1901	71	
Barnes, Harriet C.	Wayland	Mar. 16, 1902	74	
Barnhart, Mary J	Fennville	Jan. 1, 1902	68	
Billings, Rebecca	Fennville	Sept. 3, 1901	86	
Blackman, James	Trowbridge	Jan. 14, 1902	80	
Bliss, Geo. W.	Plainwell	May 31, 1902	79	
Boise, Peter	Leighton	May 2, 1902	82	
Bond, Geo.	Pearl	July 14, 1901	75	
Brigham, John W.	Plainwell	Feb. 9, 1902	79	
Bristol, Kate	Allegan	Mar. 9, 1902	79	
Bronson, E. C.	Allegan	July 1, 1901	89	
Bullard, Chas. T.	Allegan	Jan, 1, 1902	81	
Chamberlain, Joseph	Allegan	Jan. 17, 1902	76	
Clark, Nancy M.	Wayland	Oct. 5, 1901	77	
Cushman, Henry J.	Plainwell	Jan. 15, 1902	86	
Donald, Sarah	Saugatuck	May 16, 1902	86	
Dubbink, Fredrikus	Heath	Apr. 26, 1902	80	
Ellinger, Geo. S	Allegan	Sept. 2, 1901	80	
Ensfield, Christian	Ganges	Jan. 21, 1902	77	
Forbes, Mary V.	Allegan	May 18, 1902	89	
Germain, Fred	Allegan	Mar. 23, 1902,	82	
Gunn, Hezekiah K.	Valley	June 24, 1901	84	
Haines, G. H.	Plainwell	Nov. 25, 1901	68	
Halsey, Emeline B.	Plainwell	Apr. 14, 1902	81	
Harig, Gertrude	Dorr	Feb. 1902	73	
Harnden, Simon	Allegan	Oct. 14, 1902	83	
Harrington, Amanda	Gun Plain	Apr. 1, 1902	68	

ALLEGAN COUNTY.—Continued.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Hazen, Nancy	Wayland	June 6, 1901	70	
Heath, John	Plainwell	Nov. 29, 1901	77	
Hoffman, Israel O.	Allegan	Aug. 19, 1901	70	
Hughes, Stephen.	Allegan	May 28, 1902	64	
Hydenberk, Amanda	Wayland	June 26, 1901	70	
Joseph, Mary Ann	Gun Plain	Jan. 11, 1902	81	
Kinney Charles	Allegan	Feb. 26, 1902	70	
Krause, Geo	Dorr	Dec. 1901	81	
LaFleur, Geo. H	Allegan	Dec. 29, 1901	70	
Lathrop, Jared M.	Wayland	Sept. 30, 1901	80	
Levett, Geo.	Dorr	Feb. 1902	80	
Mallory, John	Trowbridge	Sept. 24, 1901	95	
Mather, Anna C	Saugatuck	Aug 26, 1901	82	
Mead, John	Saugatuck	Feb. 11, 1901	79	One of the oldest pioneers.
Miller, Anna M.	Gun Plain	Feb. 13, 1902	85	
Mosher, Sarah	Wayland	July 27. 1901	82	
Muma, Alfred	Allegan	Nov. 7, 1901	79	
Munroe, Nancy	Plainwell	Apr. 21, 1902	82	
Noyes, Lovina	Wayland	May 3, 1902	70	
Oliver, Henry B.	Douglass	Apr. 11, 1902	73	
Owen, Joel W	Otsego	Mar. 3, 1902	84	
Parish, Ralph	Otsego	Aug. 12, 1901	76	
Patterson, John	Plainwell	Mar. 3, 1902	78	
Payne, Isabella S.	Allegan	Feb. 18, 1902	89	
Pierson, Hannah S.	Cheshire	Sept. 8, 1901	91	
Purdy, Electa S	Dorr	Aug. 1901	87	
Reed, Anson O.	Allegan	Apr. 4, 1902	68	
Richardson, Wm. C.	Wayland	Dec. 25, 1901	80	
Shad, Conrad	Leighton	July 3, 1901	71	
Schultz, Katherine	Pearl	Mar. 3, 1902	88	
Schultz, Frederick	Douglass	Jan. 8, 1902	65	Husband and wife.
Schultz, Dessa	Douglass	Apr. 24, 1902	59	Husband and wife.
Selkirk, James E.	Wayland	Oct. 4, 1901	69	
Sharpless, Wm. H.	Trowbridge	Oct. 26, 1901	88	
Shay, Perkins L.	Wayland	June 18, 1901	79	
Sherwood, Giles	Plainwell	Feb. 1, 1902	84	
Shook, Myron	Leighton	May 27, 1902	75	
Smith, Emily L.	Allegan	Oct. 9, 1901,	66	
Sprague, Ashel	Cheshire	July 21, 1901	66	
Sprague, Mrs. James	Wayland	Apr. 8, 1902	85	

ALLEGAN COUNTY.—Continued.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Stiles, Franklin H.	Allegan	Oct. 9, 1901	85	
Simmons, William	Marten	Sept. 4, 1901	81	
Tomlinson, Harriet E.	Allegan	Apr. 16, 1902	77	
Thomas, Mary	Gun Plain	Feb. 25, 1902	69	
Truax, Louisa	Dorr	Oct. 1901	85	
Weber, Mary E.	Salem	June 13, 1901	75	
Wetmore, Elizabeth M.	Allegan	Apr. 5, 1901	68	
Wright, Spencer	Allegan	Dec. 27, 1901	68	

CHAPPLE.—Mrs. Catharine Chapple was born in Stafford, New York, November 11, 1822. She was married to John Chapple, November 27, 1847.

In the fall of 1863 they moved from Wisconsin to Wayland, Mich., from which time they were closely indentified with the financial, educational and moral interests of that village. Mr. Chapple began the manufacture and sale of boots and shoes in 1865.

July 1, 1866, he was appointed postmaster at Wayland, under President Johnson, and held the position for over 17 years. Mr. and Mrs. Chapple always took an active interest in all that went to make for the upbuilding of their village, and were highly respected. She survived him several years, but passed to her reward June 4, 1901.

CLACK.—Mrs. Susan Hull Clack was born in Littlefoot, England, December 18, 1824, and was married to Frederick Clack of the same place in 1842. Ten years later they came to America, settling in Allegan county. They were closely identified with the early history of Dorr and Wayland townships. Mrs. Clack was a member of the Methodist Episcopal church 36 years, and died at her home in Wayland January 25, 1902.

GRAVES.—Mrs. Lovisa Gleason Graves was born in Warrensville, Ohio, September 18, 1825, was married to Dr. John Graves May 6, 1849, and died March 5, 1902. In 1862 they moved to Wayland, where he practiced medicine until two or three years before his death, September 1, 1890. As a physician he ranked high in his profession, and he was greatly esteemed for his sterling character and the interest he felt towards all that went to the betterment of his town. Mrs. Graves was a very consistent and faithful member of the Christian church.

HUDSON.—Theron Hudson, one of the earliest pioneers of Allegan, was born at Hudson, Ohio, September 1, 1824. He was a direct descendant, eighth in line, of Hendrik Hudson, captain of the Half Moon, the famous discoverer of the Hudson river. Mr. Hudson came to Allegan in 1845. He had the first drug-store in Allegan, in company with Dr. H. S. Lay, it being the only store of its kind between Kalamazoo and Grand Haven. He also kept the first restaurant in Allegan. He was prominent in Masonic circles and was the first W. M. of Allegan Lodge No. 111, as well as H. P. of Eureka Chapter R. A. M. He always took an intelligent interest in politics and filled with credit many local offices. His was a consistent Christian life, a useful member of the Congregational church since 1874. He died March 31, 1902, aged 79. The funeral was largely attended and abundant were the tributes rendered by word, emblem and flower.

NICHOLS.—Carlos Percival Nichols was born in Vershire, Vermont, February 27, 1827, and when a boy came with his parents to Ohio, making a part of the journey with an ox team. In 1852 he married Melvina A. Jackson, and in the fall of 1869 they settled on a farm in Dorr, Allegan county. Eighteen years later he sold, removing to the adjoining town of Hopkins, where he resided until his death, February 26, 1902. He took a very active part in the Republican politics of his district, and was a kind father, a good neighbor, and a patriotic citizen.

SOOY.—Jonathan Sooy was born in Ohio, March 29, 1818, and died, April 10, 1902, aged 84 years. His early life was spent in Medina county, Ohio. September 29, 1841, he married Rachel M. Wood, daughter of Rev. Abel Wood, of Spencer, Ohio. They came to Michigan in 1856, settling in Dorr township, where he spent the rest of his life. Dorr was then almost a wilderness and theirs was truly a pioneer life. Beautiful farms and pretty villages have supplanted their forest home. He took a very active interest in local affairs, and was highly respected. Mrs. James W. Humphrey, now a resident of Lansing, is his daughter.

ANTRIM COUNTY.

BY J. J. M'LAUGHLIN.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Birthplace.	Age.	Remarks.
McLaughlin, Chas. S.....	Elk Rapids..	May 11, 1901..	Michigan...	39	
Parks, Joseph.....	Elk Rapids..	June 10, 1901..	Ireland.....	57	Lived in Michigan 30 years.

BARRY COUNTY.

BY MRS. SARAH E. STRIKER.

Name.	Residence.	Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Barlow, Mrs. Fred H.....	Hastings.....	Dec. 14, 1901	53	Daughter of P. S. and Eliza Barlow who came to this county in 1829, where Mrs. B. was born and died.
Barnes, Mrs. A. E.....	Wayland.....	Mar. 16, 1902	74	Widow of Dr. H. C. Turner of Orangeville.
Barnum, Albert.....	Woodland.....	Mar. 15, 1902	65	A well known pioneer.
Barnum, Mrs. Eunice.....	Hastings.....	Mar. 15, 1902	77	Came to Carleton in 1845, widow of Hafrison Barnum.
Benedict, N. E.....	Rutland.....	June 10, 1901	67	Resided in Rutland 40 years.
Benjamin, Richard.....	Thornapple.....	Feb. 1, 1902	76	Resided in Thornapple over 60 years.
Bishop, Charles.....	Hastings.....	Jan. 27, 1902	64	Came to Yankee Springs in 1855.
Blanchard, Martin W.....	.....	Feb. 20, 1902	63	
Bolton, Alfred...	Woodland.....	Feb. 22, 1902	65	A pioneer of Carleton.

BARRY COUNTY.—Continued.

Name.	Residence.	Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Brown, Cyrus H	Hastings	Apr. 24, 1902	86	Came to Rutland in 1847.
Buel, Lydia A	Irving	Nov. 21, 1901	75	Came to Michigan in 1830.
Bullen, Albert	Woodland		70	
Burdick, Mrs. Adalina	Hickory Corners	Feb. 20, 1902	70	
Cappy, Peter	Hastings	Nov. 16, 1901	84	Born in Ireland in 1817.
Cotant, Benjamin	Hastings	Jan. 29, 1902	72	
Coulter, Mrs. Mary B	North Irving	Aug. 17, 1901	44	Born and died on same farm. Daughter of Mrs. Peter Cobb.
Crank, Levi	Hastings	Apr. 9, 1902	85	
Crowell, Geo. A. L	Hastings	June 12, 1902	73	A resident of Hastings 27 years.
Dean, Robert	Rutland	Dec. 8, 1901	104	Born in Ireland, a veteran of the civil war.
Dibble, James	Lake Odessa	Apr. 21, 1902	87	Came to Barry county in the early 40s; last of the first pioneers.
Dillon, John C	Maple Grove	Mar. 18, 1902	73	Resided in Maple Grove 50 years.
Dowling, Albert M	Middleville	Apr. 25, 1902	73	Came to Middleville in 1855.
Dunn, Mrs. Mary Eliza	Lawrence, Kansas	Dec. 5, 1901	84	Came to Johnston with her husband, Daniel C. Doty, in 1844, died at her daughter's.
Durkee, Sophia A	Nashville	May 1, 1902	66	Came with her husband Lewis A. Durkee to Nashville 40 years ago.
Eaton, Abijah	Hastings Tp	Apr. 25, 1902	64	Resided here over 40 years.
Ellsworth, Wm. B	Yankee Springs Tp	Aug. 10, 1901	75	Came to Michigan in 1855.
Eno, Andrew L	Maple Grove	Apr. 27, 1902	65	
Freeman, Mrs. Louisa	Rutland	Mar. 4, 1902	89	Came to Rutland in 1846.
Fuller, John J	Carleton	Nov. 6, 1901	75	One of the oldest pioneers of Carleton.
Gaines, Mrs. John F	Nashville	Jan. 16, 1902	82	Resided in Barry county over 50 years.
Gardner, John	Castleton		70	
Gibson Mrs. Effie O	Maple Grove	Feb. 13, 1902	51	
Grant, Lydia	Woodland	Mar. 27, 1902	80	An early pioneer of Woodland.
Grohe, Mrs. Alice L	Castleton	May 30, 1902	48	Born and died in Castleton.
Handy, Harvey E	Hastings Tp	Apr. 1, 1902	70	
Harder, Rev. J. S	Nashville	Sept. 25, 1901	83	Came to Michigan in 1844, and preached in Michigan Conference over 40 years. Died at the home of his daughter, Mrs. John Smith.
Heater, Jacob	Hastings	Feb. 14, 1902	62	Came to this county in 1848, was a soldier in Co. C. 13th Mich. Infantry.
Heckathorn, Jacob	Nashville	Nov. 8, 1901	74	Lived at Nashville since 1842.
Heckathorn, John	Carleton	Oct. 30, 1901	76	Brother of Jacob.
Heckathorn, Nancy Ella	Castleton	Nov. 15, 1901	41	Always lived in Castleton.
Hinchman, John T	Baltimore	Jan. 28, 1902	66	
Hoard, Philo	Middleville	Jan. 10, 1902	83	Came to Yankee Springs in the 50s.
Hunt, Mrs. Jane A	Van Buren	Feb. 5, 1902	68	Formerly Mrs. Robt. A. Kelly and an old resident of Hope.
Johncock, Mary A	Orangeville Tp	May 26, 1902	76	Resided in Barry county 50 years.
Kehoe, Mrs. Katherine	Carleton	Feb. 14, 1902	74	Came to the county in 1856.

BARRY COUNTY.—Continued.

Name.	Residence.	Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Kennedy, Andrew D	Hastings Tp	Feb. 6, 1902	77	Born in Ireland and lived in Hastings 50 years.
Kennedy, John A		June 14, 1901	69	Born in Ireland, came to Michigan in 1855.
Kerner, Bertha	Castleton	Sept. 8, 1901	85	Pioneer of Castleton. Kalamazoo asylum.
Kocher, Lucretia	Nashville	Aug. 20, 1901	88	Wife of Samuel Kocher, came to county in 1855.
Landon, Emily M	Carleton	July 2, 1901	68	
Lee, James A	Woodland	Jan. 26, 1902	75	Came to Michigan in 1852.
Lee, Jefferson	North Dakota	May 21, 1902	78	Came to Michigan in 1855, a pioneer of Thornapple.
Leinaar, Peter	Hickory Corners	Mar. 9, 1902	87	Born in Netherlands 1813, came to Michigan in 1862
McGlynn, Mrs. James	Baltimore Tp	May 5, 1902	65	Resided in county 40 years.
McIntosh, Prinda L	Hastings	Feb. 26, 1902	65	Pioneer of Barry county.
McOmber, Darwin	Hastings	June 23, 1901	79	Came to Barry county in '35, one of the oldest settlers.
Matthews, Mrs. Gilbert	Hastings	Dec. 2, 1901	72	A resident of Hastings over 40 years.
Matthews, Mrs. Oscar	Hastings Tp	Dec. 9, 1901	66	Came to this county in 1857.
Maynard, Mrs. Almira	Rutland	May 18, 1902	53	Widow of John Lanbaugh.
Meade, Kenyon	Hart	Oct. 19, 1901	85	Came to Castleton in 1839.
Merritt, Mrs. Helen M	Shultz	Mar. 16, 1901	64	Came to Michigan in 1853.
Miller, James	Castleton	Jan. 24, 1902	85	Died at his daughter's, Mrs. Wm. Varney.
Moon, Ahag	Hickory Corners	Apr. 29, 1902	80	Resided there 50 years.
Moon, Mrs. Eliza	Irving	Mar. 22, 1902	83	A pioneer of Irving.
Morgan, John	Morgan	Apr. 25, 1902	75	A resident for 40 years.
Morris, Mrs. Robt	Hope	Feb. 23, 1902	72	
Murphy, James	Hastings	Dec. 19, 1901	66	A veteran of the civil war.
Myers, William	Baltimore	Dec 29, 1901	85	A soldier in the war of the rebellion.
Nevins, Mrs. J. M	Hastings	Apr. 27, 1902	74	Came to Hastings in 1853.
Nye, Mrs. W. S	Johnstown	May 21, 1902	57	Born and died at Johnston.
Olmstead, Mrs. Mary	Hastings Tp	Feb. 28, 1902	59	Resided in Hastings 40 years
Patton, Spenser	Hastings Tp	Feb. 23, 1902	65	Resided in Hastings 40 years.
Pierce, Priscilla	Baltimore	Dec. 23, 1901	92	Settled in Baltimore over 50 years ago.
Powell, Geo. W	Baltimore	Aug. 20, 1901	70	A soldier of the civil war.
Robinson, Elihu	Hastings	Oct. 28, 1901	73	Came to this county in 1842. The pallbears were all born in 1823.
Sanford, William	Maple Grove	Nov. 10, 1901	76	Came to Maple Grove in 1857. Died at Janesville, Wis.
Senter, Mrs. Jennie	Carleton	Nov. 7, 1901	49	Born and died in Carleton.
Sheldon, Mrs. Martha	Woodland	May 17, 1902	79	Came to Barry county in 1842, wife of Clinton Sheldon.
Shrantz, Mrs. Hannah	Woodland	Nov. 15, 1901	77	Came to Hope in 1850.
Slater, Geo. L	Richland	May 15, 1902	73	One of the oldest pioneers of the county.
Smith, Jacob F	Woodland	Dec. 25, 1901	82	Lived in Woodland many years.
Smith, Leonora McDonald	Castleton	July 3, 1901	75	Wife of David W. Smith, came to Castleton in 1842 lived and died in the same home.

BARRY COUNTY.—Concluded.

Name.	Residence.	Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Smith, Sylvester C	Maple Grove	May 2, 1902	73	A resident of the State for 40 years.
Stoeking, Mrs. D. W	Yankee Springs	Sept. 6, 1901	78	
Turner, Arthur	Yankee Springs	May 26, 1902	69	A pioneer of Yankee Springs.
Varney, Geo	Castleton	Dec. 5, 1901	65	An old resident of Castleton.
Waite, Watson W	Mancelona	Oct. 6, 1901	76	Came to Orangeville in 1850.
Wellman, Albert E	Hastings	Apr 3, 1902	89	Came to county in 1839. Died at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Phin Smith.
Wheeler, Parsol M	Woodland	Oct. 29, 1901	69	Came to Woodland in 1840. His father built the first schoolhouse in Woodland.
Whitcomb, Cornelius S	Hastings	Mar. 14, 1902	65	Served in the civil war and was a conscientous christian man.
Wilcox, Harmon	Irving	Oct. 10, 1901	82	Settled on the farm in 1846, where he died.
Williams, Samuel	Barry Tp	May 15, 1902	72	Resided in Barry 50 years.
Wood, Mrs. Anson	Carleton	July 12, 1901	69	Came from N. Y. state when very young.
Young, Peter	Barry Tp	Mar. 19, 1902	80	Lived on his farm over 50 years.

DRAKE.—Dr. A. Philo Drake died at Hastings March 10, 1902, aged 74 years. He was born July 31, 1828, at Palmyra, N. Y., and came to Michigan when quite young. He graduated from a medical college in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1850, and after a few years' practice in Wisconsin settled in Hastings. In 1855 he made governmental surveys in Nebraska, and during the civil war, in 1864, he entered the service as surgeon of the 3d Michigan volunteers. For several years he was one of the pension board, and in Masonry he rose through the successive degrees, reaching the 32d, and occupying the highest offices in the gift of each.

No man will be more greatly missed, and for his kindness to the sick, and his charity for all he will ever be remembered as one of God's noblemen.

BAY COUNTY.

BY MELVIN A. ROOT.

CORBIN.—Charles F. Corbin died March 11, 1902, aged 90. He was one of the earliest settlers in Bay county, and did very much towards building up its schools.

GREEN.—Hon. Sanford H. Green died at Bay City August 13, 1901, aged 94. He was for many years a vice-president of this society for Bay county, and ever very active for the promotion of the work. Many articles from his pen may be found in the volumes, and he could always be found in attendance at its meetings.

For more than 40 years he served as judge of the circuit, and of the supreme courts, and was a very able lawyer.

MAXWELL.—Hon. Andrew C. Maxwell died at Bay City, February 15, 1902, aged 71, He was very prominent in the early days of the Saginaw valley, and was judge of the circuit court just before his death.

MOULTHROP.—Clark Moulthrop died December 10, 1901, aged 91. He was a pioneer in the lumber industries of Michigan.

PIERSON.—Frank D. Pierson died December 10, 1901, aged 53. He had been very prominent in lumber matters since he took up his residence in West Bay City, many years ago.

TUPPER.—Dr. Horace Tupper died April 16, 1902, aged 72. He was a surgeon in the civil war, and an old pioneer of the Saginaw valley.

BENZIE COUNTY.

BY WILLIAM A. BETTS.

Name.	Residence.	Born.	Died.	Age.	Remarks.
Collins, John B.	Frankfort	May 18, 1839	Oct. 25, 1901	62	Prominent in busines in Frankfort since 1868.
Coots, Charles Henry				88	A prominent farmer.
Reid, Wilson S.				87	A pioneer farmer.

BERRIEN COUNTY.

BY THOMAS MARS.

BACON.—Col. Edward Bacon, of Niles, died April, 1901. He was a son of Judge Nathaniel Bacon, who came to Niles in 1833, and was born in Rochester, N. Y., in 1830. He graduated from the University of Michigan in 1850, and was admitted to the bar in 1853. In June 1861, he enlisted in the 6th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, was made major that same year, then lieutenant colonel, and finally colonel February, 1864. Returning to Niles at the close of the war, he took up his profession and achieved destinction. He was pre-eminently industrious, honest, courteous and manly. The eulogies uttered by his colleagues attest his worth and the esteem in which he was held. Mayor Plummer characterized his life as "one of sunshine."

BELL.—Dr. John Bell was born in Milton, Ontario September 25, 1840, and died at Benton Harbor, January 3, 1902. He came to Benton Harbor in 1862, and in 1867 was married to Annetta Hopkins, who survives him. He had an extensive and successful practice, and in one of his operations he received a wound which resulted in blood poisoning, causing his death. Dr. Bell was mayor of the city two terms, and closely identified with all its business interests. He was very prominent in Masonic circles, was an Elk, and also sergeant general of the Knights of Pythias. He built the Bell opera house, and it was here that his body lay in state, and all business was suspended during the funeral services. This building and the Benton Harbor college are the best monuments to his name and memory.

DEAN.—Henry M. Dean was born in New Jersey, 1831, of fine English ancestry. In 1848 he located in Edwardsburg, and a few months later made his home in Niles. He was engaged in the drug business, retiring in 1890, his two sons keeping the old name and work intact. In 1861 he married Sarah Coan, of Albion, N. Y., who, with three sons, survives him. He held many official positions, including that of mayor, acquitting himself creditably in all. He was a trustee of the Presbyterian church over 40 years. He took great matters in pioneer matters, and was president of his county society at one time. Niles felt that the grain reaper had claimed its best in him.

GARD.—John Gard died at St. Joseph, March 5, 1902, aged 57. Born and raised in Michigan, he was closely related to the commercial and business interests of his city, and was county treasurer at the time of his death. A wife and three children mourn his loss.

GRAHAM.—Mrs. George Graham died at the home of her daughter, Mrs. T. L. Wilkinson, May 3, 1902, aged 72. She was Mary B. Garrow, and was born in Auburn, N. Y., in 1830. She married George Graham in 1849, and came to Berrien Springs, where they celebrated their golden wedding in 1899.

HIGBEE.—D. C. Higbee died at Bertrand February 5, 1902, aged 81. He was born at Mexico, N. Y., December 6, 1811, and came to Bertrand in 1833, and for over 50 years had been its postmaster. He leaves a wife and eight children.

HILL.—Elizabeth Hill died at Niles May 3, 1902, aged 87.

JARVIS.—Burton Jarvis died January 2, 1902, at Buchanan, aged 86. He was a native of North Carolina, coming to this state in 1828. He married Elizabeth Sparks, but she and their five children all died before him. A thoroughgoing successful pioneer, he lived to reap the reward of his labors and prove his faith in the glory of Michigan.

JENNINGS.—Mrs. Rebecca Jennings died at the home of her only daughter, Mrs. J. H. Gardner, in Pipestone, April 25, 1902, aged 85. Her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Warner lived in Ohio, where, in 1817, she was born, and afterwards she and her husband and five children came to Michigan. She literally grew up with the town, helping to organize the Methodist Episcopal church of 47 years ago. Three of her sons served in the struggle of '61, one dying in service.

BRANCH COUNTY.

BY MAJOR GEO. H. TURNER.

Name.	Residence.	Born—State.	Died.	Age.	Remarks.
Alken, Abram	Union City	Canada	July 13, 1901	74	
Alger, Orfa	Matteson	New York	Nov. 24, 1901	81	
Angevine, Sanford C	Coldwater	New York	Sept. 5, 1901	79	
Barnes, Guilford	Bethel	Ohio	May 8, 1901	62	
Bassett, Norton E	Coldwater	New York	Sept. 9, 1901	77	Closely identified with church interests for many years.
Booklass, Wm	Coldwater		April 20, 1901	80	Died at his daughter's at Hart.
Brook, Catherine	Bethel	Ireland	Feb. 18, 1901	82	
Brooks, Henry	Bronson	New York	July 6, 1901	74	
Brown, Mahlon W	Coldwater	New York	Mar. 22, 1901	68	
Brown, Jane	Coldwater	New York	Jan. 25, 1901	74	
Carl, Henry E	Girard	New York	Sept. 21, 1901	74	
Caruthers, Samuel B	California Tp.	Ireland	May 31, 1901	76	One of the first settlers.
Case, Mrs. Mary J	Coldwater		Mar. 5, 1902	70	Burned from gasoline stove.
Chestnut, Martha	California Tp.	Ireland	July 25, 1901	75	
Coddington, Phœbe Jane	Union City	New York	Aug. 4, 1901	66	
Coffman, Polly	Coldwater	Pennsylvania	Oct. 16, 1901	89	
Crapo, Catherine	Algansee Tp.	New York	Feb. 10, 1901	70	
Denham, Sarah	Butler	New York	Jan. 2, 1901	82	
Ent, Louisa M	Kinderhook	Ohio	Sept. 26, 1901	70	
Fellers, Sylvester	Union	New York	Sept. 3, 1901	74	
Fonda, David Clancy	Union	New York	Feb. 21, 1901	72	His three sons served in civil war.
Foster, Mrs. Almira	Coldwater		Feb. 26, 1901	74	

BRANCH COUNTY.—Continued.

Name.	Residence.	Born—State.	Died.	Age.	Remarks.
Fox, Betsey	Girard	New York	Mar. 6, 1901	83	
Gordiner, Susan	Algansee Tp.	Vermont	Jan. 19, 1901	78	
Gorton, Duty	Algansee Tp.	New York	Mar. 4, 1901	79	
Hawkins, B. F.	Coldwater		Feb. 10, 1901	80	Advocate of temperance.
Hawley, Nelson	Union	New York	Feb. 27, 1901	85	One of the oldest settlers in township.
Hildebrand, Charlotte	Algansee	Germany	June 13, 1901	57	
Holmes, Mary	Bronson	New York	May 2, 1901	94	One of Bronson's first settlers.
Hoyt, Henry	Kinderhook	New York	Nov. 24, 1901	77	
Hudson, Mary Ann	Girard	New York	April 7, 1901	81	
Hungerford, Henry W	Algansee	New York	Jan. 31, 1901	66	
Jones, Alva	Kinderhook	New York	July 26, 1901	74	
Keesler, Joseph	Gilead	New York	Sept. 9, 1901	76	
Kerr, Mrs. Alex	Coldwater		April 18, 1902	71	
Kilbourn, Holton	Quincy	New York	Sept. 3, 1901	80	
King, Eliza A.	Coldwater	New York	Jan. 10, 1901	78	
Klose, Barbara	Batavia	Germany	May 26, 1901	65	Her husband and she kept the hotel for many years.
Knight, J. W.	Coldwater		Jan. 25, 1901	78	
Leonard, Mrs. Sarah	Union City		Jan. 3, 1901	70	
Lockwood, Mary Ann	Quincy	New York	July 15, 1901	91	
Logan, John S.	Algansee	Ireland	July 25, 1901	82	
McNaughton, Archibald	California Tp.	Indiana	Feb. 28, 1901	70	One of Rays first settlers and influential citizens.
Massey, Benjamin	Ovid	Ontario	Oct. 5, 1901	83	
Millard, Geo. W.	Matteson	New York	May 1, 1901	77	
Miller, Geo.	Batavia	Ohio	Mar. 20, 1901	61	Wounded in the civil war. Supervisor for many years.
Miller, Ruth	Batavia	New York	Jan. 10, 1901	77	
Moon, Susan	Batavia	Pennsylvania	Feb. 5, 1901	79	
Morrison, Alexander	Girard	New York	May 18, 1901	77	
Morrison, Arthur	Gilead	New York	Jan. 15, 1901	84	
Newman, John	Coldwater		May 3, 1901	85	
Nivison, Mrs. Jane	Coldwater		Jan. 24, 1901	74	
Paine, Elnora	Bethel	New York	May 17, 1901	62	
Pelton, John O.	Coldwater	Mass'chusetts	May 23, 1901	87	
Pierce, Lewis J.	Girard	New York	Feb. 11, 1901	73	
Ramsdell, Lorenzo B.	Butler	New York	Feb. 15, 1901	82	
Reynolds, Sarah	Batavia	New York	May 15, 1901	82	
Roberts, John	Coldwater	New York	Jan. 25, 1901	83	
Russell, Zill Myra	Batavia	Pennsylvania	Jan. 25, 1901	68	
Sherman, Amos	Bethel	New York	July 11, 1901	73	

BRANCH COUNTY.—Concluded.

Name.	Residence.	Born—State.	Died.	Age.	Remarks.
Stearns, Mrs. Geo.....	Coldwater....	New York...	Jan. 2, 1901	82	
Tallmadge, Mrs. Lewis.....	Coldwater....	.....	April 6, 1901	70	
Tilton, Geo. W.....	Matteson.....	New York....	June 18, 1901	89	Resided here over 60 years.
Turner, Dr. T. J.....	Coldwater....	.....	Aug. 20, 1901	72	Was a retired surgeon of the regular navy, health officer for Branch county, at one time secretary of National Society at Washington, D. C. A scholarly, cultured gentleman.
Van Gorder, Samuel.....	Quincy.....	Michigan.....	June 6, 1901	83	
Weaver, Ann.....	Gilead.....	Pennsylvania	Jan. 7, 1901	82	
Wheeler, Miles.....	Gilead.....	Connecticut.	Jan. 28, 1901	84	
Wilbur, Hart J.....	Quincy.....	New York....	Jan. 13, 1901	74	
Wilcox, Elizabeth.....	Coldwater....	New York....	May 15, 1901	82	
Wilder, Andrew L.....	Girard.....	New York....	Sept. 29, 1901	83	
Williams, Mrs. Lucy C. A..	Coldwater....	.....	June 4, 1901	86	
Whitehead, Ruth.....	Quincy.....	New York....	July 12, 1901	78	
Whitney, Rhoda C..... ..	Quincy.....	New York....	Mar. 23, 1901	84	
Withington, Ann Dorethea	Kinderhook..	England.....	Sept. 29, 1901	79	

CALHOUN COUNTY.

BY H. B. SMITH.

KELSEY.—Newell J. Kelsey was born in Leroy, Michigan, June 20, 1843, and died at Lansing March 4, 1902. He was the first in his township to enlist for the civil war, entering the service April 28, 1861, as corporal. He became a member of the famous Merrill Horse Cavalry, and rose by merit through the ranks, until in 1864 he was commissioned first lieutenant. He was wounded several times, making him a cripple for life.

Prominent in county politics, he was for four years supervisor, Register of Deeds for four years, and was a delegate to the national convention which nominated U. S. Grant for the presidency.

He was closely identified with the fraternal orders, and occupied high places in the G. A. R., the Grange, Masonic Lodge, Knights of Pythias, and was serving as exalted ruler of the Elks at the time of his death. He was an active worker for the State Agricultural society, and while attending to these duties was shot by a cowboy lost a limb. Officially he served our society faithfully and well as one of our committee of historians, until his duties in the auditor's office employed his entire time.

CASS COUNTY.

BY L. H. GLOVER.

Name.	Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Adams, Jacob	Milton, Dec. 11, 1901	79	One of the early settlers of Milton.
Aldrich, Zacheus	Grand Rapids, June 13, 1902	73	Came to Newberg 45 years ago.
Bair, Harriet Ann	Marcellus, Apr. 16, 1902	67	Married Leander Bridge, Nov. 28, 1852.
Banks, Caroline M	Cassopolis, Sept. 10, 1901	76	Married Hiram Bisbee 1847. Came to Cassopolis in 1862.
Barager, Frances	Cassopolis, Apr. 9, 1902	76	Married Dan'l Twedell 1845. Came to Michigan 1844.
Beverstock, Fanny	LaGrange, June 3, 1902	73	Married Homer Wells Dec., 1858. Came to Wayne in 1866.
Bonar, James	Marcellus, May 8, 1902	81	Resided in Marcellus 20 years.
Cady, John	Pokagon, Jan. 24, 1902	86	A pioneer of Pokagon.
Calkins, Mariah	Marcellus, May 19, 1902	81	Married Dan'l Snyder, 1841, and settled in Marcellus 1842.
Cannady, James N	Williamsville, Nov. 14, 1901	85	Came to Porter 1896.
Carr, Lucy Jane	Laporte, Jan. 2, 1902	77	Married Rufus E. Jerome, 1847. Came to Edwardsburg 1855.
Coates, Jason B	LaGrange, Feb. 23, 1902	85	Came to Michigan 1831.
Coates, Laura	Cassopolis, Mar. 17, 1902	90	Came to Michigan in 1831. Married William Arrison 1834.
Crawford, John S	Dowagiac, Aug. 16, 1901	72	A pioneer of Dowagiac.
Dean, Henry M	Niles, Apr. 3, 1902	71	Settled at Edwardsburg in 1847.
Elliott, Esther A	Wakelee, Oct. 22, 1901	70	Married Jonathan Reames, Dec. 11, 1853.
Emmons, Nancy	Pokagon, Jan. 18, 1902	76	Came to Michigan 1839. Married Jas. Simpson, 1846.
Enos, B. Sheridan	Elkhart, Jan. 2, 1902	69	A pioneer of Niles.
Foster, Margaret	Dowagiac, Oct. 28, 1901	68	Came to Jefferson 1839. Married Abram Cays 1872.
Foster, John McKinley	Edwardsburg, Jan. 27, 1902	67	Came to Jefferson in 1839.
Glenn, Thomas H	Chicago, July 21, 1901	73	Came to Milton in 1834.
Glover, William H	Cleveland, O., June 10, 1902	57	
Guilford, Caroline	Cassopolis, Jan. 29, 1902	86	Married Joseph Harper, Oct. 25, 1836.
Harper, Emily S	Cassopolis, Jan. 7, 1902	64	Married J. B. Chapman, Aug. 20, 1857.
Hause, Louise M	LaGrange, July 11, 1901	82	Came to Wayne in 1844. Married Gideon S. Wilbur in 1843.
Halloway, Charles	Petoskey, Feb. 1, 1902	86	A pioneer of Penn.
Huff, Sarah J	Volinia, Jan. 8, 1902	64	Married John W. Dine May 12, 1867.
Hutchings, Charlotte A	Osage, Iowa, Sept. 25, 1901	76	Came to Newberg in 1835. Married Rulof Crego.
Irwin, William A	Jones, Feb. 8, 1902	63	Came to Jones in 1870.
Jaquays, Jarius	Marcellus, June 10, 1902	71	Settled in Cass Co. in 1842.
Jarvis, Burton	Berrien Co., Jan. 2, 1902	86	Settled in LaGrange 1834.
Jewell, E. Whitney	Dowagiac, Feb. 21, 1902	82	Came to Dowagiac in 1875.
Jones, Mary	Cass Co., Feb. 11, 1902	68	Came to Cass Co. May, 1857. Married James Westfall, 1854.
Kantz, Conrad	Calvin, Mar. 6, 1902	79	
Ketcham, Elizabeth	Calvin, May 18, 1902	69	Married Jas. S. Bulhand, Oct. 22, 1853.
Kingsley, Charles R	Ontwa, Jan. 2, 1902	71	Came to Michigan in 1839.
Larzelere, William	Dowagiac, Apr. 15, 1902	60	Resided in Dowagiac 40 years.
McGee, Polly	Cassopolis, Jan. 8, 1902	81	Came to Mason 1855. Married Rev. Jas. Ashley, Dec. 12, 1838.

CASS COUNTY.—Continued.

Name.	Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Mann, Isabel Jane	Calvin, Aug. 4, 1901	94	Came to Calvin 1854. Married John Mourar, 1824.
Mitchell, Allen	Calvin, Apr. 25, 1902	80	
Munn, Amanda	Howard, Dec. 16, 1901	82	Married Albert Westfall 1847. Came to Howard in 1857.
Nichols, Charles N	Volinia, Feb. 18, 1902	68	Came to Michigan in 1835.
Noyes, Lucina	Bangor, Nov. 7, 1901	87	Married Elisha Flint 1834. Came to Edwardsburg in 1856.
Ort, Sarah Ricks	Howard, May 6, 1902	85	
Osborn, Parker B	Sabrina, Ohio, Nov. 14, 1901	80	Came to Cassopolis 1843.
Osmer, James	Evart, Apr. 24, 1902	69	Came to Calvin 1870.
Pemberton, Joseph M	Pennsylvania, Dec. 8, 1901	66	Resided at Penn 66 years.
Radford, Cynthia	Williamsville, June 14, 1902	98	Resided in Porter many years.
Reames, Jeremiah B	Jefferson, Dec. 17, 1901	76	Came to Michigan 1831.
Reese, J. Raymond	Edwardsburg, Feb. 22, 1902	69	Came to Ontwa in 1835.
Rex, Phebe	Cassopolis, May 17, 1902	65	Came to Michigan in 1862. Married Samuel Pipher, 1857.
Reynolds, Daniel	Cassopolis, Feb. 9, 1902	71	Came to Cassopolis in 1864.
Richardson, John E	Vandalia, Feb. 7, 1902	79	Came to Porter in 1843.
Roberts, Rachel M	Mason, Aug. 12, 1901	68	Came to Michigan in 1839. Married Andrew Gardner, 1850.
Rose, Benjamin F	Cassopolis, May 2, 1902	63	Resided in Cassopolis 50 years.
Runkle, Cool	Milton, Oct. 21, 1901	83	Came to Ontwa in 1845.
Russell, Mary E	Marcellus, May 24, 1902	73	Came to Marcellus in 1850. Married Edwin Russell.
Schofield, Susan	LaGrange, Feb. 2, 1902	82	Lived in LaGrange 50 years. Married Wm. Cook, David Brady, Thomas Moore and Joseph Foresman.
Sherrill, Mary Angeline	Niles, July 28, 1901	67	Came to Jefferson 1836. Married Rev Chas. Ager in 1858.
Shivels, Geo. W	Pennsylvania, Oct. 23, 1901	78	A resident of Penn 60 years.
Shurte, Margaret	Wayne, Feb. 6, 1902	75	Came to Michigan 1827. Married Adolphus Hardenbrook, 1849.
Silver, Mary	Cassopolis, Feb. 14, 1902	86	Come to Ontwa in 1837. Married Herman Rood 1840, and Thos. C. Cutler, 1853.
Simpson, Sarah	LaGrange, Apr. 3, 1902	79	Came to LaGrange in 1830. Married David Lilly, 1844.
Smith, Sally A	Newberg, Dec. 26, 1901	83	Came to Newberg in 1828. Married Thomas Pound in 1834.
Smith, Eleanora C	Cassopolis, May 1902	70	Married Jas. Sommers, 1852 and Harrison Adams, 1855.
Smith, Susannah	Jefferson, Apr. 20, 1902	99	Came to Jefferson in 1840. Married Reuben B. Davis, 1834.
Stannard, Jane	Dowagiac, Feb. 13, 1902	67	Married Samuel Ingling.
Steck, Catherine	Porter, Feb. 20, 1902	77	Came to America in 1849. Married Geo. Steck in 1845.
Steck, Geo	Porter, Apr. 19, 1902	85	Came to America in 1849. Resided in Porter 40 years.
Stephenson, Celia	Jefferson, Mar. 14, 1902	85	Came to Jefferson in 1831 or 1832. Married Isaac Williams in 1838.
Tharp, John L	Brownsville, Apr. 25, 1902	74	Came to Cass Co. in 1840.
Tietsort, Catherine	Dowagiac, Jan. 21, 1902	72	Came to Wayne 1834. Married Wm. Laporte, 1850.
Truitt, Elizabeth C	Santa Cruz, Cal., Mar. 24, 1902		Came to Milton in 1831. Married Jacob Tittle.
Truitt, Henry P	Milton, Apr. 23, 1902	78	Came to Milton in 1831.
Van Vlaer, John	Pokagon, Apr. 16, 1902	75	Settled in Pokagon in 1834.
Waterman, Wm	Dowagiac, Mar. 12, 1902	90	Came to Michigan in 1832.

CHARLEVOIX COUNTY.

BY EDWARD H. GREEN.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Bowdish, Albert N...	Charlevoix.....	May 11, 1902	64	Lived in Michigan 30 years. Died at Port Orange Florida.
Cook, Clark Y.....	Charlevoix.....	Dec. 20, 1901	....	A resident of Michigan 44 years and of Charlevoix 24.
Graves, Jerome.....	Charlevoix.....	May 11, 1902	74	Lived in Michigan 40 years.
Mudge, Roswell.....	Charlevoix.....	May 14, 1902	76	Spent his life in Michigan.
Otoshquabona, Leon.	Ironton.....	Apr. 3, 1902	61	A resident of Michigan 40 years; of Charlevoix 3. Was a member of Co. K, Mich. Sharp Shooters.
Taylor, Wm. B.....	Charlevoix.....	June 15, 1902	84	A resident of Michigan 40 years. He was a landscape gardener. This was the first death in the family, his wife and five children surviving.

CLINTON COUNTY.

BY MRS. RACHEL BRINK.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Baker, Laura.....	St. Johns.....	Sept. 25, 1901	67	
Boughton, Lucretia..	Alma.....	Feb. 1902	83	Had lived in Ridge Township many years.
Carrier, Cassius.....	St. Johns.....	Oct. 13, 1901	....	Sheriff of Clinton county in 1872.
Daniels, Olive B.....	Wacousta.....	Mar. 19, 1902	83	A true pioneer.
Dunham, Melvin W...	Elsie.....	Feb. 10, 1902	72	
Frink, Lucinda.....	Bengal.....	Aug. 20, 1901	78	One of the first and last remaining settlers of the Township.
Hewitt, Simeon.....	Maple Rapids..	Apr. 10, 1902	70	
Hollister, Margaret..	Victor.....	Mar. 3, 1902	....	
Huntley, Alonzo C....	St. Johns.....	Dec. 1, 1901	83	
Lankton, Lucretia...	Olive.....	May 2, 1902	60	A noble woman.
Lyon, John L.....	Essex.....	Jan. 6, 1902	65	
Marshall, John C.....	Marshall.....	Nov. 19, 1901	70	He was a member of Co. C, 24th Mich. Infantry during the war of the rebellion.
Moore, Richard.....	St. Johns.....	May 2, 1902	73	
Norton, William.....	Duplain.....	Feb. 17, 1902	80	A genuine pioneer who helped found the first Baptist church at Bath, and preached many years.
Watt, Harriet.....	St. Johns.....	May 24, 1902	68	A colored woman who brought up two contraband boys and two nieces and was greatly respected.
Whitney, Russell.	Maple Rapids..	Aug. 20, 1901	73	A highly esteemed citizen.

EATON COUNTY.

BY ESEK PRAY.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Booth, Geo.....	Eaton	.....	50	Always lived in the county.
Bush, Willis C.....	Eaton Rapids ..	Aug. 14, 1901	84	Came to Michigan in 1835 and took up a homstead under territorial government, married Pruella Bunker in 1838, who with one son is left.
Butterfield, Hiram ...	Walton.....	Dec. 19, 1901	96	Located his farm in 1837 at Butterfield Corners, married Lydia Conant of New York in 1837.
Case, Mrs. Lucy	Carmel.....	July 20, 1901	66	Married Chas. H. Case 42 years ago. Rev. Williams performed both marriage and burial service for her.
Conklin, Sarah A.....	Hamlin.....	——— 1901	76	Sarah A. Walton married Allen Conklin, 1844, living and dying in the same home and survived by husband and five children.
Corbin, Isaiah H.....	Eaton Rapids ..	Feb. 17, 1902	86	Came to Charlotte in 1853, admitted to the bar in 1856, one of the county's pioneer lawyers.
Felps, Lucy.....	Eaton Rapids ..	May 21, 1902	46	Born and died on the same place.
Foreman, Geo.....	Charlotte	Apr. 10, 1902	....	Resided here 40 years.
Freeman, Chauncey..	Eaton	Feb. 24, 1902	91	In 1839 he married Ruth A. Babcock of N. Y. State, came to Michigan in 1842.
French, Mrs. Lucy C..	Windsor.....	Apr. 3, 1902	74	Lucy C. Hilton married Silas French, 1846, came to Michigan in 1856.
Gardner, Charles A...	Diamondale	Mar. 4, 1902	81	In 1855 married Sarah A. Dusenberry, came to Diamondale in 1865.
Holmes, Ann M.....	Hamlin.....	Jan. 31, 1902	80	Widow of Alvah Holmes, early pioneers.
Kent, Leander.....	Kalamo	Oct. 1902	90	Resided here many years.
Laverty, Hiram.....	Eaton	Nov. 23, 1901	70	Lived in Michigan 69 years.
Longmate, Enoch	Windsor.....	Jan. 4, 1902	78	Came to America in 1834, to Windsor in 1849.
Nye, Mrs. P. H.....	Kalamo	Aug. 19, 1901	67	Hannah M. Foot married P. H. Nye, 1859, took up a farm in Kalamo in 1865.
Rowley, LaFayette..	Charlotte	——— 1902	55	Born and died in county.
Sayre, Mrs. Eliza E...	Hamlin.....	Aug. 25, 1901	92	Eliza E. Kirdendall married Nathan Sayre, 1830, and lived here since.
Sherman, Mrs. NellieM	Vermontville ..	June 24, 1901	62	Married J. C. Sherman, pioneer of Brookfield.
Sprague, Geo.....	Kalamo	May 28, 1902	71	Lived in Kalamo over 40 years.
Squier, John H.....	Charlotte	July 19, 1901	68	Came to Vermontville in 1836.
Stewart, Nelson.....	Charlotte	July 27, 1901	76	Settled in Charlotte in 1854.
Worden, William.....	Kalamo	Oct. 1901	66	Lived in Kalamo 50 years.
Wright, Mrs. Catharine.	Windsor.....	Apr. 28, 1902	75	Resided here 50 years.

HAMLIN.—Mary A. Gallery was born in Monroe county, N. Y., in 1822, coming to Adrian in 1836, and to Eaton Rapids in 1837. She taught the first school in Eaton Rapids, and helped to make the first tax roll for Tyler township, now comprising Eaton Rapids and Hamlin. Helped to organize first Sunday school and church, 1854. She married David B. Hamlin and lived in the same place till May 9, 1902, when she died, leaving her aged husband.

GENESEE COUNTY.

BY MRS. MARY R. FAIRBANK.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Blackinton, Charles..	Flint Tp.....	June 14, 1901	85	
Buckingham, Geo. W.	Flint.....	June 14, 1901	63	He was prominent in city and state affairs and his accidential death deprived Flint of one of its most influential citizens.
Butts, Mrs. Purlina....	Grand Blanc...	May 10, 1902	93	
Cook, Henry H.....	Grand Blanc...	Oct. 1901	65	Born in Avon, N. Y. in 1836, and removed to Grand Blanc with his father, who purchased government lands. In 1863 he married Sarah D. Parker, who with three children are still living.
Featherstone, Mary..	Flint Tp.....	Sept. 29, 1901	104	
Knight, John.....	Swartz Creek..	Feb. 10, 1901	84	
Luther, David.....	Gaines Tp.....	Oct. 19, 1901	91	
McNeil, Charles.....	Gooderich.....	June 21, 1901	87	
Mann, Sarah Ann.....	Richfield.....	Jan. 16, 1902	85	Wife of Geo. Mann.
Paine, Sarah.....	Fenton.....	Dec. 6, 1901	91	
Riggs, Frederick.....	Fenton.....	Mar. 27, 1901	91	
Taylor, Dr. Lewis.....	Flushing.....	Mar. 4, 1902	83	He came to Flushing when a young man and practiced medicine there over 50 years. He was remarkable for his physique and athletic skill.
Van Slyke, Elizabeth.	Flint.....	Jan. 7, 1902	87	She had lived in Flint over 60 years. Her husband died 28 years ago and she is survived by 8 children.
Worden, Joseph.....	Grand Blanc...	Jan. 23, 1902	86	He was the oldest pioneer of Grand Blanc, having resided there over 70 years.
Wright, Lucy.....	Grand Blanc....	Feb. 23, 1901	82	

GENESEE COUNTY.

GOLD.—Geo. Ruggles Gold was born October 9, 1830, at Cornwall, Connecticut. He graduated from the law courses in Yale in 1853. In 1857 he was married to Miss Murdock, of Massachusetts, and came to Birch Run, Mich., in 1858, and moved to Flint in 1860. He had an extensive law practice and was regarded very highly by the people. The many tributes from the bank in which for 27 years he was a director, from the bar, and from friends both near and far, bespeaks the worth of the man and the loss sustained by Genessee valley in his death.

LONG.—Charles Dean Long died at Detroit June 27, 1902. He was born at Grand Blanc, June 14, 1841, and was preparing for the university when the civil war broke out. He enlisted in Company A, 8th Michigan Infantry, in August, 1861; was wounded in battle of Wilmington, Ga., 1862, losing his left arm and receiving a wound in groin which never healed. After his discharge from the service he took up the profession of law. He served his county in many official capacities, and was elected justice of the supreme court in 1887, and was re-elected in 1897. He was president of Detroit Law college, and was chosen as state commander of the G. A. R. Rarely are such talents, brave as a soldier and eminent as a jurist, combined

with such sweetness of character and sunny, genial manners; always just and kind he made and kept friends who will ever revere the memory and mourn the loss of one of nature's noblemen.

BY MELVIN D. OSBAND.
(A brother of the deceased.)

OSBAND.—William Henry Osband died in Flint, Mich., November 13, 1901, aged 81 years.

Mr. Osband was son of William and Martha (Reeves) Osband, and was born in Palmyra, N. Y., December 12, 1820. When he was five years old his parents removed to the Territory of Michigan and settled at Nankin, 20 miles west of Detroit. Nankin was then a vast wilderness of heavily timbered land, and they were three miles from neighbors. In 1846 he engaged in the lumber business, under the firm name of Straight, Osband & Co. In 1848 he married Sarah Malissa Glass, to whom were born two sons and two daughters, of whom Edgar James and Rosetta Estella (Mrs. Zachariah L. Stringer), both of Otisville, Genesee county, Mich., who, with their mother, survive his death. In company with numerous friends they, on March 29th, 1898, celebrated their golden wedding at Otisville. In early life Mr. Osband united with the Methodist church. His personal habits were strictly temperate. He never used alcohol or tobacco in any form. In his old age he removed to Flint to be near his children and church.

EMMET COUNTY.

BY ISAAC D. TOLL.

BURBANK.—Samuel Burbank, a prominent farmer of Emmet county, was found dead near Petoskey October 29, 1901, having shot himself.

Mr. Burbank was wounded in the head during his services in the civil war, and had shown signs of insanity, by wandering away three years ago, reaching California in this manner. He was 65 years old and had lived on a farm near Petoskey for 20 years. He was highly respected, and very generous, contributing largely for Lockwood hospital in Toll Park. In appearance he was said to resemble President Lincoln.

MELVIN D. OSBAND. GRAND RAPIDS

INGHAM COUNTY.

BY JOHN N. BUSH.

Name.	Residence.	Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Alton, Mrs. Mary	Lansing	Dec. 21, 1901	78	Resided in Lansing since 1848.
Ashworth, Rev. Joseph	Lansing	Mar. 9, 1902	85	Resided in Lansing 25 years.
Baker, Mrs. Ellen	Lansing	Dec. 15, 1901	75	
Bauerle, Gottlieb	Lansing	Mar. 16, 1902	68	Resided in Lansing 49 years.
Beeves, Nathan	Leslie	May 1, 1902	.....	One of the oldest settlers.
Bergin, Mrs. Ann	Lansing	Feb. 14, 1901	74	Resided in Lansing 40 years.
Brake, Mrs. Sarah A.	Hazlett Park	Aug. 16, 1901	62	
Briggs, Daniel B.	Lansing	Jan. 7, 1902	74	Son of Gov. Briggs, of Massachusetts. Born in Adams, Mass. Came to Mich. in 1855 and was Superintendent of Public Instruction for many years.
Brusch, Samuel	Lansing	Dec. 9, 1901	70	A veteran of the civil war.
Cabot, Chester	Le Roy Township	Feb. 6, 1901	90	
Callahan, Mrs. R.	Lansing	Feb. 24, 1902	61	Born in Stockbridge, Mich.
Casterline, Charles	Mason	Dec. 26, 1901	66	
Chappel, Enoch	Lansing	May 7, 1902	70	Veteran of the civil war.
Clark, Edgar A.	Lansing	Jan. 10, 1902	69	Came to Lansing in 1858, enlisted in Co. G, 3d Mich. Vol. Inf. in 1862; was in 30 battles; lost a limb at Petersburg, and was honorably discharged Feb. 27, 1865.
Clark, William H.	Mason	Jan. 5, 1902	70	A pioneer of Mason and veteran of the civil war.
Clough, Aaron J.	Lansing	Apr. 16, 1902	80	Resided in Lansing 36 years.
Cook, James N.	Okemos	Mar. 13, 1902	51	An old pioneer of Okemos.
Cooke, Samuel Lee	Lansing	Aug. 8, 1901	68	
Dayton, David	Dansville	Mar. 15, 1902	92	
Dunsbeck, John	Mason	June 10, 1901	77	
Ferris, Rev. Jesse C.	Lansing	July 21, 1901	80	One of the pioneers of Lansing.
Furgerson, Mrs.	Dansville	Mar. 14, 1902	95	
Green, Valorous	Holt	Apr. 9, 1902	80	
Gunderman, Mrs. Harriet V.	Locke Township	Jan. 7, 1902	75	Came to this county in 1836 and on their way to Delta Mills camped at the junction of Cedar and Grand Rivers, now the city of Lansing.
Hackley, S. O.	.....	July 18, 1901	80	A pioneer of Ingham.
Holcomb, Horace	Lansing	Jan. 5, 1902	61	
Halsey, Mrs. Hannah	Dansville	Mar. 12, 1902	84	
Hayden, Dr. C. N.	Lansing	Apr. 7, 1902	70	
Hedges, Joseph L.	Lansing	Apr. 6, 1902	83	Resided in Lansing 36 years.
Howard, M. J.	Lansing	Apr. 15, 1902	75	
Hilliard, Nelson	Delhi	May 9, 1902	77	Lived in Delhi 56 years.

INGHAM COUNTY.—Concluded.

Name.	Residence.	Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Jennison, Mrs. Lucina	Lansing	July 18, 1901	82	A Lansing pioneer.
Longyear, Mrs. Harriet	Lansing	Sept. 20, 1901	68	The Womans' club of Lansing was organized at her house.
Lee, George	Lansing	Dec. 19, 1901	79	Resided in Lansing since 1852.
Lee, George N.	Leslie	Mar. 10, 1901	78	Veteran of the civil war.
Marshall, George	Lansing	July 15, 1901	60	Pioneer of Lansing and veteran of the civil war.
Marshall, Thomas	Lansing	Jan. 13, 1901	65	Resident of Lansing 35 years.
Maloy, F.	Lansing	Feb. 23, 1902	63	Born in Ireland.
Maynara, Robert S.	Onondaga	Mar. 1, 1902	76	
Moore, William E.	Lansing	May 3, 1902	91	One of the oldest settlers.
Osband, Charles	Lansing	Jan. 17, 1901	40	Born and lived in Lansing.
Pattengill, Mrs. Mary G.	Lansing	Feb. 23, 1902	87	Born in Otsego county, N. Y., wife of the first Baptist minister in the state, and mother of Hon. H. R. Pattengill.
Potter, Mrs. Anna	Lansing	Apr. 8, 1902	82	Resided in Lansing many years.
Root, Mrs. Clarence	Lansing	July 25, 1901	61	
Rulison, Henry	Lansing	Dec. 9, 1901	67	
Robbins, Williams	Mason	Mar. 20, 1902	84	A pioneer of Ingham Co., coming here 63 years ago.
Strong, Mrs. Charles	Lansing	June 12, 1901	80	
Strong, Mrs. Emily A.	Lansing	July 24, 1901	75	
Smith, Mrs. Samuel B.	Lansing	Jan. 5, 1902	79	Resided in Lansing 52 years.
Stroud, Samuel P. S.	Mason	Feb. 10, 1902	77	
Scheyrze, Henri	Lansing	Feb. 13, 1901	82	Born in Germany.
Swan, Isaac	Wheatfield	Mar. 11, 1902	84	
Tooker, Mrs. V. W.	Lansing	Mar. 7, 1902	66	One of the earliest pioneers of Lansing.
Tillotson, Mrs. E. A.	Lansing	Apr. 2, 1902	85	
Van Dyne, O. W.	Lansing	Apr. 14, 1902	62	
Whipple, George	Williamston	Feb. 26, 1902	69	
Wright, Mrs. Martha Ann	Meridian	June 10, 1901	79	
Zelt, Mrs R.	Lansing	July 10, 1901	93	She remembered many incidents of Napoleon's march through Bavaira, her former home.

ISABELLA COUNTY.

BY C. S. LARZELERE.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Bowen, Mrs. Eugene S....	Mt. Pleasant.....	June 11, 1901	55	
Cohoon, Mrs. Fannie J.....	Mt. Pleasant.....	Feb. 26, 1902.	59	
Curtis, Chas. O.....	Mt. Pleasant.....	——— 1901	60	Lived in Michigan 40 years. Had been superintendent of Mt. Pleasant schools, and county superintendent of schools.
Luce, Mrs. Lucy.....	Crawford.....	Mar. 1, 1902	58	
Warner, Mrs. Jane.....	Mt. Pleasant.....	July 26, 1901	69	
Wheaton, Judge E. D.....	Mt. Pleasant.....	July 4, 1901	63	Served as prosecuting attorney of Clare and Isabella counties, and judge of probate of Clare county
Whitman, John O.....	Mt. Pleasant.....	Jan. 1, 1902.	.....	
Williams, Mrs. Clara.....	Dushville.....	July 28, 1901	60	Resided in county 33 years.

JACKSON COUNTY.

BY EDWARD W. BARBER.

De Lamater.—John Luther De Lamater died at Grand Rapids March 13, 1902. He was born 56 years ago in Buellville, N. Y., and came to Jackson in 1834, and at his death was proprietor of the resort called Eagle Point.

He was well versed in the flora and fauna of Michigan, a great student of nature, liberal in his views, and charitable in his deeds.

Emmons.—Jonathan Emmons was born in New York State, and came to Michigan in 1835. He married Mrs. Huldah Jane Harrison October 10, 1850. For 13 years he was supervisor of his ward in the city of Jackson, and was a trusted, helpful citizen.

Faxon.—Edward S. Faxon was born in Milford, N. Y., May 13, 1817, and died March 17, 1902. At 17 he became a resident of Tecumseh, and learned his trade of cabinet maker. He married Jane Fry in 1850. He lived in many towns in Michigan, and for the last 21 years in Jackson. His father was a revolutionary soldier, and he was an earnest temperance worker. He leaves a wife over 81 years old and five children.

Hatch.—John A. Hatch died December 12, 1901, at Hanover, Mich. He was born at Spring Arbor, Mich., and passed his 65 years of life near there. His first home was a log house, and he said there were 17 stumps in his door yard. In May, 1865, he married Angeline M. Thorn, and they possessed a fine farm and happy home.

Hudson.—W. H. Hudson, Sr., died at Michigan Center, December 10, 1901. He was born in Vermont and came to Michigan in 1836. He married Rhozema M. Palmer in 1837. She died three months before him, after they had passed 62 years together. They had six children, only two of whom are living.

Hutchins.—William Hutchins died October 26, 1901, aged 76. He passed 70 years of this in Michigan, and 67 in Jackson county. He was a sturdy pioneer and an excellent citizen.

LUDLOW.—Mrs. Harriet D. Ludlow died at Parma, May 2, 1902. She came to Springport in 1839 with her father, Comfort Joy. She was born in Ridgeway, N. Y., August 16, 1818, and married Luther H. Ludlow in 1838. She was an earnest worker in the Presbyterian church for over 70 years.

NASH.—Susan A. Nash was born in Lockport, N. Y., May 11, 1832, and died at Henrietta, Mich., December 3, 1901, where she had lived 60 years. She came to the State when 9 years old in a covered wagon drawn by an ox team. Jackson was then a town of only a few buildings, and covered with tamarack stumps. The State prison, was then called The Tamaracks. The first night the family stopped at the Log Tavern, kept by Harry Hurd. In 1856 she married William E. Pickett, and lived near Munith.

RUSS.—Albert D. Russ only survived his sister, Mrs. Lucretia M. Sharpsteen, who lived with him, three days, dying at Jackson at the age of 64. These two had lived in the same house for 56 years. Their father, Dr. Oliver Russ, came to Jackson in 1830, and built a log cabin which had the distinction of possessing two windows whose sash was painted red, and window glass instead of the customary blankets. The track of the Michigan Central railroad destroyed this house. Mr. Russ' sister, Mrs. Corwin, of Parma, now 80 years old, has lively reminiscences of the time when Jackson county could boast of only 25 white people, and her father, the first doctor in that vicinity, traveling on horseback, his office being his saddle-bags. Many of his patients lived in Marshall.

SEVERANCE.—William T. Severance was born in Rutland, Vt., in 1837, and when very young settled with his parents in Ohio. When 25 years old he married Lavina Mitchell, and of the six children born to them only one, Mrs. George Barstow, remains. He served in the 104th Ohio Volunteer Infantry during the war of the rebellion, and at its close he removed to Brooklyn, Mich., where he died. He was a member of the G. A. R., and one of the oldest Masons of Brooklyn.

SHELDON-STEWART.—Mrs. Electa M. Sheldon-Stewart died at the Home for the Friendless in Jackson, February 4, 1902. She came to Michigan with her father, Ira Bronson, in 1823. Her "Childhood Memories of Life in Detroit," written in 1845 and published in the Detroit Tribune November 28, 1897, are a most interesting recital. When the steamer which bore her father's family from Buffalo arrived at the head of Grosse Isle, "a loud, shrill whoop, thrilling the nerves like an electric shock, startled everyone on board," she wrote. "There, on the Canadian shore, a band of young Indians enjoyed with great zest the surprise of the pale-faces," and occasionally they launched a flight of arrows, "in a vain attempt to send some of these missiles on board."

Mrs. Stewart gave an excellent pen-picture of Detroit life in 1823. The Indians were a constant source of terror to the women and children of the frontier port. The remains of three tribes infested the city, attracted by the baneful fire-water which could be had in exchange for baskets and moccasins of their own manufacture. Sometimes they even bartered their blankets for liquor, and at night, when all more or less intoxicated, they passed the Bronson house on their way to their wigwams in the forest, the consternation of the newcomers from the East can be imagined. Invasion of the home by red men was of common occurrence. Some had amiable dispositions, however, and were held in esteem by the whites.

Mrs. Stewart's first husband was Berthier M. Sheldon, for years confidential clerk of Capt. Eber B. Ward. His death from cholera occurred in 1854. Previously Mrs. Sheldon had become the editor of the Western Literary Cabinet, a monthly magazine, in which she began the publication of a series of articles on the early history of Michigan. Gen. Lewis Cass was her friend, and assisted her with matter from the French archives, collected while he was minister to France. These she afterwards revised and published in book form as "The Early History of Michigan." Subsequently she was one of the founders of the Detroit Industrial school,

and while an officer of a Home for the Friendless in New York wrote a short poem, "Buy a Brick," which was sold in aid of the home for $300. She was married to John Stewart in 1868. Mr. Stewart died in 1890, at Michigan Center.

Mrs. Stewart at the time of her death owned a little property at Michigan Center. She had no immediate relatives, but Mrs. A. G. Lawrence, a daughter of Mr. Stewart, with other friends, provided for her wants at the home.

KALAMAZOO COUNTY.

BISHOP.—Henry Bishop, vice-president of this society for many years, died at his home in Kalamazoo, January 1, 1902, aged 88. He was born in Dorsetshire, England, November 23, 1813. After the death of his mother, and financial losses, he came with his sister to Buffalo, N. Y., in 1830. At the age of 16 he returned alone to England, working his passage as cabin boy, and brought back five of his brothers and sisters, the voyage consuming seven weeks and four days. After many hardships, and suffering from sickness, and pecuniary loss, in 1835 he came to Schoolcraft, and thence to Kalamazoo, where for many years he was engaged in the mercantile trade.

In 1847 he married Mrs. Sarah A. Hinman, who died in 1891, leaving one son, Henry L. Bishop.

After celebrating his 88th birthday, he was re-elected secretary for the Children's Home, an office he had held for many years, and for which society he was a very earnest worker.

He was a strong character, honest, industrious, and charitable. He was deeply interested in pioneer matters, contributing many items for the papers, and doing much valuable work for this society, and for his adopted country.

KALKASKA COUNTY.

BY MRS. HELEN L. CARLISLE.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Birthplace.
Barden, Mrs. Amy A	Rapid River	Mar. 23, 1902	51	Ohio.
Clark, Frank	Springfield	Nov. 8, 1901	51	New York.
Davis, Mrs. Geo	Kalkaska	Nov. 1, 1901	51	Wales.
Finly, John	Rapid City	Nov. 3, 1901	75	Pennsylvania.
Foster, Mrs. Sarah	Kalkaska	May 15, 1902	69	England.
Getty, William	Kalkaska	Feb. 22, 1902	69	Ireland.
Gibbs, Mrs. Sarah	Orange	July 15, 1901	64	New York.
Holbrook, David O	Springfield	Dec. 29, 1901	57	Michigan.
Kneiss, Mrs. Mary	Oliver	May 2, 1901	74	New York.
Lantzer, Fred	Orange	May 19, 1902	62	Germany.
Leach, Mrs. Esther	Boardman	Feb. 25, 1902	51	Ontario.
Peck, Mrs. Caroline	Clearwater	Jan. 7, 1902	77	New York.
Puffer, Mrs. Louis C. R	South Boardman	Jan. 3, 1902	67	
Pyles, James	Wilson	Jan. 14, 1902	57	Ohio.
Sage, Mrs. Martha	Boardman	Mar. 9, 1902	85	Ireland.
Sieting, Carl	Orange	Nov. 1, 1901	65	Germany.
Smith, Ira	Boardman	Oct. 31, 1901	99	Connecticut.

KENT COUNTY.

BY W. N. COOK.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.
Adams, Eliza A	Grand Rapids	Dec. 7, 1901	80
Ames, Abijah	Grand Rapids	Oct. 6, 1901	86
Avery, Noyes L	Grand Rapids	June 8, 1901	85
Bailey, William L	Grand Rapids	July 24, 1901	61
Ball, Mrs. Sidney S	Grand Rapids	Mar. 10, 1902	67
Barnard, William R	Grand Rapids	Sept. 25, 1901	87
Baxter, Julia	Grand Rapids	Apr. 15, 1902	78
Baxter, Uri J	Grand Rapids	May 28, 1902	69
Boyle, Jonathan	Grand Rapids	Mar. 13, 1902	76
Brown, Elliot G	Grand Rapids	Sept. 29, 1901	74
Burton, Margaret	Grand Rapids	Aug. 23, 1901	87
Casewell, Laura Jane	Grand Rapids	Dec. 29, 1901	70
Cheesebrow, A. D	Grand Rapids	Apr. 13, 1902	80
Congdon, Warren H	Grand Rapids	Feb. 10, 1902	72
Crawford, Abram	Grand Rapids	Feb. 24, 1902	65
Darling, Melisse M	Grand Rapids	Feb. 28, 1902	69
Davis, John S	Grand Rapids	Oct. 29, 1901	74
Degraff, Berand	Grand Rapids	Apr. 2, 1902	77
Dejonge, Adrian	Grand Rapids	Jan. 24, 1902	81
Dudley, James M	Grand Rapids	Aug. 5, 1901	70
Fisk, Philinda	Grand Rapids	July 10, 1901	86
Fitch, James O	Grand Rapids	Apr. 9, 1902	87
Fox, Mrs. Louisa Newton, wife of P.V. Fox	Grand Rapids	Oct. 25, 1901	73
Fox, Samuel	Grand Rapids	Feb. 19, 1902	70
Greenley, Emilisse	Grand Rapids	Jan. 20, 1902	78
Hollister, Mrs. Harvey J	Grand Rapids	Dec 25, 1901	68
Huntington, Helen M	Grand Rapids	Dec. 29, 1901	82
Idema, Kemper F	Grand Rapids	Sept. 10, 1901	55
Jones, Wilson	Grand Rapids	July 6, 1901	85
Jones, Almira	Denver, Col	Oct. 11, 1901	.....
Kimball, George C	Grand Rapids	Dec. 25, 1901	72
Kipp, Nellie	Grand Rapids	Feb. 12, 1902	93
LeRoy, Mrs. William H	Grand Rapids	Feb. 9, 1902	79
Mathewson, Isaac B	Grand Rapids	May 20, 1902	66
Moore, Lucy Fuller	Ripon, Wis	.....	95
Nellis, Barnhart B	Grand Rapids	Oct. 23, 1901	76
Parks, Samuel D	Grand Rapids	Feb. 19, 1902	84
Patterson, Miner	Grand Rapids	Mar. 25, 1902	.....

KENT COUNTY.—Continued.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.
Peirce, Mrs. Sarah L.	Grand Rapids	Mar. 25, 1902	79
Powers, Mrs. William T.	Grand Rapids	Dec. 25, 1901	68
Richmond, Mrs. Lorain Z.	Grand Rapids	Nov. 16, 1901	90
Rundle, Edwin	Grand Rapids	Aug. 23, 1901	69
Sawyer, James	Grand Rapids	Mar. 8, 1902	87
Scribner, Charles H	Grand Rapids	Apr. 18, 1902	60
Siegler, Isaac	Grand Rapids	Jan. 1, 1902,	68
Smith, Samuel C.	Grand Rapids	Aug. 20, 1901	83
Stanley, Justin M.	Grand Rapids	Mar. 6, 1902	77
Stuart, John R.	Grand Rapids	Dec. 28, 1901	81
Wendt, Edwin W.	Grand Rapids	Jan. 3, 1902	74
Wood, Uri Z.	Grand Rapids	July 7, 1901	70

BALDWIN.—S. L. Baldwin died at Grand Rapids August 10, 1901, aged 81 years. Mr. Baldwin was born in Canterbury, Conn., and came to Michigan in 1844 and engaged in business with D. W. Coit, of Grand Rapids. In 1852 he commenced brickmaking, and built up a successful trade. He served his State as representative in 1876, and his city as alderman in 1895, and in many other official positions, acquiting himself honorably.

BERKEY.—William A. Berkey died at Grand Rapids January 17, 1902, aged 79 years. Mr. Berkey was born in Ohio, and came to Grand Rapids in 1855. He was the pioneer of the furniture factories, for which the city is so noted, building the first one in 1860. He has since been connected with the largest and best companies in the city.

A self-educated man, he has kept abreast of the questions of the day, and in 1876 published a volume entitled "The Money Question," dealing with the then greenback problem. He was offered positions of honor, but declined, preferring to devote his time to his extensive business. He married Mary Springer ,of Ohio, in 1848, who, with two daughters, survives him.

DAVIDSON.—Robert Davidson died at his home in Grand Rapids, December 9, 1901, aged 90 years. Mr. Davidson came to this city in 1856, and for 43 years was a deacon in the Fountain-Street Baptist church.

Before coming to this city he lived 25 years in Ann Arbor. In 1830 he married Miss Rebecca Lamb, who died in 1878, leaving a family of six daughters.

EATON.—Captain Charles W. Eaton died in Florida. His remains were brought to Grand Rapids and placed in the Fulton Street cemetery March 25, 1902. The Loyal Legion acted as guard, and his comrades of the 21st Michigan Infantry testified to the bravery and patriotism he displayed in the national struggle of 1861. He was identified with many of the business interests of the city, and had an honorable record.

LUCE.—Ransom C. Luce died in Grand Rapids, March 22, 1902. Mr. Luce was born in Middlebury, N. Y., February 28, 1822, and came to Detroit in 1832. After several years' residence in different parts of the State he settled in Grand Rapids in 1841, which was then only a town of about 1,200 inhabitants, and the pay day for the great number of Indians then living there, was as marked a characteristic as the furniture expositions of the present day.

For 17 years Mr. Luce was engaged in the grocery business, and spent 13 more in the dry goods trade. He built the large block now occupied by Friedman. At the time of his death he was largely interested in the Luce Furniture Co. He held the office of cemetery commissioner for 20 years, and might be said to be the father of the beautiful Oak Hill and Valley City cemeteries.

Mr. Luce was twice married; in 1852 to Sarah Hoyt Gregory, who died in 1864, leaving two sons, Charles A. Luce, of Grand Rapids, and Gregory M., of Mobile, Ala. In November, 1872, he married Charlotte C. Montague, who, with two sons, survives him.

WHITE.—George H. White died at Grand Rapids, May 28, 1902, aged 68 years.

Mr. White was better known as Chancellor White, and following the trail of the Michigan woods came to Grand Rapids in 1855. He held many offices of trust, including that of circuit court commissioner, city attorney, prosecuting attorney, and district attorney for Western Michigan, and performed his duties well. He was particularly well versed in the early history of our State and that of Grand Rapids.

LAPEER COUNTY.

BY MRS. A. W. JONES.

PALMERLEE.—Heman Palmerlee died at Hadley, November 12, 1901, aged 91. Mr. Palmerlee was born in Cattaragus county, N. Y., in 1832, and came to Michigan in 1852. In 1859 he married Elmina Kelley, of Farmers Creek, and there their home has since been and where he possessed a model farm. He was a charter member of the Masonic lodge and was buried by that order. His widow was buried just one week after his funeral. Three children, Charles, of Hadley, Mary B. Brown, of Saginaw, and Mark L., of Detroit, survive them.

REED.—Levi H. Reed died at Metamora township November 12, 1901, aged 91. Mrs. Reed moved from Oakland county in 1859, and died on the farm he bought there. He leaves one daughter, Mrs. A. W. Jones, of Lapeer.

LENAWEE COUNTY.

BY A. L. BLISS AND HON. JOHN I. KNAPP.

Name.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Allen, Silas	Aug. 14, 1901	73	
Ames, Delia B.	Feb. 15, 1902	84	
Badgerly, George W.	June 18, 1902	84	
Canniff, Mrs. Matilda L.	July 18, 1901	76	Came to Michigan 1844.
Chase, Mrs. Julia	——— 1901	76	
Collins, Michael	——— 1901	67	Came to Michigan 1850.
Corbett, William	Mar. 18, 1901	75	Came to Michigan 1830.
Davenport, Pardon T.	Apr. 17, 1901	86	Came to Michigan 1835.
Eaton, John	Nov. 7, 1991	51	Came to Michigan 1851.
Eddy, Elisha	Apr. 12, 1901	77	Came to Michigan 1832.
Fitzpatrick, Mary	July 12, 1902	80	Came to Michigan 1861.
French, Russell B.	Nov. 27, 1900	65	Came to Michigan 1835.
Hart, Mrs. Elvira	Jan. 21, 1901	.....	Came to Michigan 1836.
Lawrence, Loren A.	Sept. 30, 1901	64	Came to Michigan 1858.
Meade, Stephen	Apr. 26, 1901	78	Came to Michigan 1851.
Petee, Louis	Jan. 11, 1901	108	
Root, Daniel	Aug. 4, 1901	73	Came to Michigan 1870.
Rufel, William	Nov. 27, 1900	71	Came to Michigan 1840.
Savage, David	July 1, 1901	69	Came to Michigan 1865.
Watson, Charles	Mar. 28, 1901	78	
Willett, Abram	Nov. 27, 1900	80	Came to Michigan 1863.

MACKINAC COUNTY.

BY DR. J. R. BAILEY.

Name.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Bellant, Israel	Nov. 11, 1901	37	
Grennell, Mary L.	Jan. 18, 1902	23	
Hintz, Emily	Oct. 12, 1901	72	Widow of John Hintz, pioneer, deceased.
Metiorer, Louis J.	.....	57	Veteran of the civil war.
Moloney, Helen E.	Mar. 7, 1902	66	
Newton, Mary J.	Jan. 29, 1902	54	
Stellwagen, Anna E.	Aug. 9, 1901	84	

MACOMB COUNTY.

BY GEO. H. CANNON.

Name.	Residence.	Died.	Age.	Remarks.
Carleton, Mrs. Eliza Preston.	Shelby.....	May 30, 1902	73	She was the sixth child of Ira and Deborah Preston, married Alfred P. Carleton, Sept. 16, 1852. She was widely known and greatly esteemed, and passed her life in her old home.
Giddings, Edwin W.....	Preston, Conn..	Jan. 7, 1902	84	Came to Michigan in 1828, settling in Romeo. He was a merchant and banker, and identified with all the interests of the city for 64 years. He was a member of the Romeo Congregational church.
Hosmer, Geo. H. C.....	.....	June 7, 1902	59	
Milton, Robert.....	Armada.....	June 1, 1902	79	Came to Michigan in 1854 and became a successful farmer, passing 48 years in Armada.
Orisman, Mrs. Mary.....	.....	June 7, 1902	76	Came to Michigan in 1843 and lived in Macomb county 59 years.
Phillips, Geo. W.....	Armada.....	May 5, 1902	.....	Came to Michigan in 1831, settling in Armada. He was eminently a patron of agriculture, being a member of the State Society all of its existence, and an officer of it for 22 years. He was a member of the State Board of Agriculture for two terms. One of the charter members of the Armada Agricultural society and one of its officers for 30 years. Being liberal in his religious views he made his home in the Armada Congregational church.

MISSAUKEE COUNTY.

BY M. D. RICHARDSON.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
De Zeuw, Wm.....	Clam Union.....	Apr. 17, 1902	50	Came to the county 40 years ago.
Stout, Mary Ann.....	Lake City.....	Oct. 5, 1901	81	Lived in county over 33 years.

MUSKEGON COUNTY.

BY MRS. MARY A. CHAMBERLAIN.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Birthplace.	Age.
Brooks, John	Laketon	Mar. 23, 1901	New York	78
Carpenter, Laura	Muskegon	Sept. 8, 1901	New York	74
Dodge, Mary M.	Moorland	Apr. 13, 1901	New York	67
Dubois, John	Muskegon	Jan. 8, 1901	Netherlands	72
Eggert, Aaron W.	Muskegon	June 12, 1901	Pennsylvania	78
Evans, Seth	Cedar Creek	Feb. 3, 1901	Rhode Island	76
Holthe, Nelius	Muskegon	Dec. 28, 1901	Norway	69
Humphrey, William	Muskegon	Sept. 3, 1901	Ireland	90
Knowles, Lafayette	Moorland	July 28, 1901	New York	62
McMillen, James A.	Fruitland	Nov. 5, 1901	New York	79
Mears, Albert	Whitehall	Feb. 6, 1901	Massachusetts	79
Peabody, Daniel	Ravenna	Jan. 29, 1901	New York	68
Radway, Joseph	Muskegon	Aug. 13, 1601	England	90
Ripley, Burnett	Muskegon	Oct. 6, 1901	New York	71
Skeels, Daws	Whitehall	July 4, 1901	New York	71
Snowdin, William	Ravenna	Feb. 11, 1901	England	71
Squires, James D.	Cedar Creek	Feb. 9, 1901	New York	72
Taylor, Amos R.	Ravenna	June 13, 1901	Connecticut	73
Thatcher, Edwin	Ravenna	Dec. 2, 1901	Pennsylvania	76
Utter, James P.	Holton	Mar. 22, 1901	New York	73
Walker, John	Muskegon	July 13, 1901	Netherlands	77
Williams, Oliver C.	Muskegon	July 8, 1901	New York	69

SAGINAW COUNTY.

BY MRS. ANNA A. PALMER.

Name.	Residence.	Born.	Died.	Age.
Baker, Moses P.	Kochville	New York	Nov. 25, 1901	81
Blover, William	Saginaw Tp.			87
Buehler, Robbert C	Saginaw City	Michigan	July 6, 1901	39
Burnham, Joseph T.	Saginaw City	Ohio	Apr. 8, 1901	77
Chapman, Smith	Chesaning			74
Christensen, Rasmus	Saginaw City	Denmark	May 6, 1902	52
Culver, Margaret	Saginaw City	Canada	Sept. 9, 1901	75
Dalke, Wm. G.	Saginaw City	Prussia	Aug. 14, 1901	52
Davenport, George*	Saginaw Tp.	Michigan	July 2, 1901	61
Driggs, Mrs. Anna H.	Saginaw City			82
Ewing, Arzilla	Brant	Vermont	Sept. 1, 1901	83
Fradd, Mrs. Ann	Saginaw City	England	Jan. 6, 1902	73
Greer, Mrs. Ann	Saginaw City	Ireland	Jan. 10, 1902	61
Guillott, Margaretha	Saginaw City	Ireland	Sept. 15, 1901	63
Hemmeter, John G.	Saginaw City	Germany	July 24, 1901	92
Hill, William	Blumfield	England	Oct. 4, 1901	79
Jones, John	Brady	England	Aug. 23, 1901	75
Kimmel, Isaiah	Buena Vista		Sept. 7, 1901	77
Kinney, Horace B.	Saginaw City			65
Krause, August	Saginaw City			77
Little, Mary C.	Saginaw City	New York	Jan. 13, 1902	58
McCarthy, Mrs. Mary	Saginaw City	New York	Aug. 19, 1901	68
McCarty, Mrs. Sophia	Saginaw Tp.			74
McDowell, Lewis	Maple Grove		Aug. 30, 1901	90
Marsh, Dennis D.	Fremont	New York	July 19, 1901	64
Montague, Reuben	Brant	Canada	Aug. 6, 1901	59
Munger, James A	Tittabawassee	New York	Sept. 28, 1901	75
Peck, Matthew V. V.	Saginaw City	New York	July 8, 1901	44
Quackenbush, Jesse	Saginaw City	New York	Apr. 20, 1902	76
Saunders, Mrs. Emily Jane	Saginaw City	New York	July 17, 1901	60
Smith, Peter	Bridgeport			111
Spindler, John F.	Saginaw City	Michigan	Feb. 21, 1902	32
Stark, Mrs. Rebecca	Saginaw City			82

* Killed by lightning. He was a son of a pioneer family—served his city in several offices and was once a member of the legislature.

SAGINAW COUNTY.—Concluded.

Name.	Residence.	Born.	Died.	Age.
Thayer, Adelbert R	Saginaw City	New York	July 22, 1901	54
Thompson, Thomas T	Saginaw City	Ireland	Apr. 7, 1902	70
Treanor, Hugh O. C	Saginaw City	Ireland	July 18, 1901	63
Tyler, Mrs. Marcia J.*	Saginaw City	New York	Aug. 13, 1901	62
Webber, Wm. L†	Saginaw City	New York	Oct. 15, 1901	76
Wright, Jane C	Saginaw City	Ireland	Jan. 13, 1902	70

* Sister of Gov. Bliss.
† Very prominently identified with Saginaw business affairs. See biographical sketch of him in Vol. 29, page 496.

ST. CLAIR COUNTY.

BY MRS. CAROLINE FARRAND BALLENTINE.

FARRAND.—Helen Mae Wheaton Farrand was born October 29, 1824, in North Branford, Conn., the daughter of John and Orrit Johnson Wheaton, both of old colonial families. In New Haven, whither her parents had moved, Helen received an education unusually advanced for those days. With a class of young men she finished the college preparatory course of study, but Yale college was closed to women, and she devoted herself to teaching. While associate principal of the Hartford Conn., high school, in 1851, Miss Wheaton's services were accured by Hon. Henry Ledyard, of Detroit, for the establishment of a young ladies' school in that city. She was recommended by the eminent educator, Hon. Henry Barnard, of Hartford, as especially qualified for this work. Among the pupils of the admirable school thus founded were many of Detroit's most influential ladies of today.

In 1854 Miss Wheaton became the wife of Bethuel C. Farrand, of Port Huron, Mich, one of the most prominent lawyers of St. Clair county, who survived her only six months. Together with her chosen husband, then, this noble woman labored in all good causes. In church and Sunday school work she was indefatigable. One of the leaders of the Soldiers' Aid society during the civil war, she was its local representative at the Sanitary fairs in Chicago. Where the Port Huron W. C. T. U. was organized in Port Huron in 1877, Mrs. Farrand became its first president, and was one of the organizers of the humane society of that city. As founder of the Ladies' Library Association, and repeatedly its president, Mrs. Farrand held, undoubtedly, the first place among the literary women of Port Huron. In historical and pioneer researches she was most painstaking. She fulfilled for many years the duties of vice-president of the State Pioneer and Historical society, and of secretary of the Pioneer society of St. Clair county.

While performing well so much public and literary work, this unusualy gifted woman yet made her home the delight of husband, children, grandchildren, and friends. Its radiance cheered many a heart beyond its circle, and the unfortunate ever found help and comfort there.

On June 4, 1901, at twilight, in the fullness of her brilliant intellectual powers, Mrs. Farrand fell asleep. By a strange coincidence her pastor, at the farewell services, concluded his eulogy with her favorite poem, one that she has said voices her own thoughts. It is Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar."

FARRAND.—Bethuel Clinton Farrand was born in Cayuga, N. Y., of English ancestry, and died at Port Huron, Mich., December 29, 1901, aged 82. His father was the first probate judge of Washtenaw county. At 19 years of age Mr. Farrand began the study of law in Detroit, under very adverse circumstances, doing janitor work to meet his expenses, and when sent to Lansing on business, going on foot to save his fare. His first salary was $1 per week.

He successfully practiced his profession at Port Huron, being associated with Senator Conger and other distinguished lawyers in business. He never entered official life to any extent, preferring to devote his entire time to his profession, and in which he attained a fine record. His first wife was Laura Whitman, and afterwards Helen M. Whèaton became his wife, she dying in June, 1901, leaving five children, prominent in business and social circles.

ST. JOSEPH COUNTY.

BY THOMAS G. GREENE.

Name.	Place of birth.	Date of death.	Age.
Adams, John E	New York	Jan. 4, 1902	84
Akey, Mary E.	Ohio	June 25, 1901	77
Anduss, Moraldus	New York	Dec. 2, 1901	84
Anderson, Rebecca	England	Oct. 20, 1901	78
Argus, George	Germany	June 28, 1901	70
Barks, William	England	Aug. 10, 1901	79
Bateman, David M.	New York	Oct. 6, 1901	68
Benfer, Alex.	Pennsylvania	May 28, 1901	86
Bent, Frederick	Germany	Apr. 24, 1902	84
Bittenbender, Mary E.	Pennsylvania	July 4, 1901	70
Bitzing, Christian	Germany	Sept. 26, 1901	81
Black, Joseph W.	New York	Apr. 15, 1902	72
Bogen, Joseph	Germany	Aug. 23, 1901	78
Bower, Isaac D.	New York	Apr. 22, 1902	80
Brody, Lewis K.	Ohio	Aug. 1, 1901	93
Broman, Joseph E.	Pennsylvania	Dec. 5, 1901	68
Bucknell, Betsey	England	July 27, 1901	86
Bunn, William S.	Massachusetts	Oct. 9, 1901	79
Burch, James V.	New York	Sept. 15, 1901	80
Butler, Benj. F.	New York	May 26, 1901	60
Buys, Adaline P.	New York	Mar. 7, 1902	73
Calvin, Orrin	New York	Oct. 21, 1901	68
Campbell, Henry C.	Massachusetts	June 6, 1901	69
Casper, Esther	Pennsylvania	Oct. 7, 1901	69
Castaler, Mary	Pennsylvania	Dec. 11, 1901	74
Cattell, William	England	Mar. 3, 1902	75
Clark, Charles M.	Vermont	Jan. 3, 1902	75
Clewes, Duntra P.	Michigan	Jan. 9, 1902	67
Cole, Levi	Connecticut	Jan. 10, 1902	67
Copenhaver, George	Pennsylvania	Dec. 30, 1901	70
Creasey, John B.	Ohio	July 29, 1901	62
Crocker, Lucy Ann	United States	Dec. 8, 1901	74
Cuddy, Thomas	Ireland	Oct. 19, 1901	75
Darling, De Ette	Michigan	Mar. 3, 1902	68
Dentler, Frederick C	Pennsylvania	Sept. 22, 1901	85

ST. JOSEPH COUNTY.—Continued.

Name.	Place of birth.	Date of death.	Age.
Dobberton, John	Germany	Mar. 17, 1902	68
Drummond, Samantha	New York	Nov. 26, 1901	60
Eckerson, Edith M.	New York	Dec. 29, 1901	66
Ellis, John	North Carolina	June 16, 1901	62
Falkenstine, John	Germany	Feb. 21, 1902	72
Fickle, Charlotte	Ohio	Jan. 3, 1902	69
Fox, Sarah	Pennsylvania	Apr. 16, 1901	71
Francisca, Samantha	Pennsylvania	Mar. 12, 1902	92
Frankish, William	Michigan	Mar. 15, 1902	61
Fry, Daniel	Pennsylvania	Oct. 6, 1901	69
Fuller, De Witt C.	New York	Feb. 4, 1902	77
Gardner, Clara B.	New York	Nov. 24, 1901	87
Gardner, Jeremiah H.	New York	Mar. 12, 1902	83
Graham, Maria C.	New York	Jan. 7, 1902	68
Griffith, Louis	Pennsylvania	Dec. 17, 1901	94
Grinnell, Lampson H	New York	May 26, 1901	68
Griswold, Matilda	Pennsylvania	Mar. 12, 1902	78
Hackman, George	Pennsylvania	Mar. 1, 1902	68
Hackenberg, Faris	Pennsylvania	May 7, 1901	62
Hamm, Mary A	Indiana	June 16, 1901	64
Hampson, Mahala	New York	Oct. 30, 1901	88
Hart, Benjamin F.	New York	Sept. 16, 1901	62
Harvey, Ann	Pennsylvania	Mar. 6, 1902	63
Harwood, Hiram H.	New York	Mar. 14, 1901	88
Haybarger, Elias	Pennsylvania	Oct. 18, 1901	92
Hayman, Jesse	Pennsylvania	Aug. 9, 1901	68
Heidley, Jenett R.	Pennsylvania	Jan. 22, 1902	72
Helwig, Louisa	Germany	Mar. 7, 1902	63
Hewes, Betsey	England	Mar. 4, 1902	69
Hice, Samuel	Pennsylvania	May 25, 1901	81
Hoch, Sarah	Pennsylvania	Apr. 7, 1902	62
Hoffman, Elizabeth	Pennsylvania	Oct. 16, 1901	79
Hoffman, Isaac F.	Pennsylvania	Dec. 19, 1901	72
Holmes, Eva	Pennsylvania	Oct. 2, 1901	69
Holt, Hannah	Pennsylvania	Aug. 9, 1901	75
Houston, Nathaniel	New York	Mar. 15, 1902	74
Hulbert, Henry P.	Ohio	June 30, 1901	66
Hummel, Margaret	Germany	Dec. 15, 1901	80
Ingraham, Sarah N.	Ohio	May 9, 1901	72
Johnson, Jane	Ohio	July 12, 1901	81

ST. JOSEPH COUNTY.—Continued.

Name.	Place of birth.	Date of death.	Age.
Kellum, Almira	Pennsylvania	Nov. 4, 1901	84
Kellum, Mary	Germany	Mar. 19, 1902	70
Klett, Sophia	Germany	Oct. 14, 1901	81
Kline, Christine	Pennsylvania	Jan. 4, 1902	79
Kline, David	Pennsylvania	Nov. 4, 1902	72
Kline, Elizabeth	Pennsylvania	July 2, 1901	72
Klose, Reuben G.	Pennsylvania	May 26, 1901	74
Laberteaux, Susan		Dec. 20, 1901	93
Lamb, Frances M.	Ohio	Apr. 6, 1901	66
Lavarty, Andrew	Pennsylvania	Feb. 23, 1902	85
Lepley, Amelia	Pennsylvania	Apr. 5, 1902	91
Locey, John	Ireland	Jan. 18, 1902	83
Lockwood, Mary	United States	Oct. 27, 1901	76
Lohrman, Henry	Germany	Sept. 18, 1901	79
Lowe, Charles	Germany	Feb. 26, 1902	79
Lown, Powell C.	New York	Oct. 25, 1901	82
Luthardt, John N.	Germany	Sept. 29, 1901	74
McKee, Irett E.	Michigan	June 18, 1901	61
McKerlie, John	New York	Jan. 9, 1902.	77
McKinsie, Harriet	Vermont	Jan. 9, 1902,	80
McLachlin, James A.	Canada	Sept. 20, 1901	65
Mack, Betsey	New York	Dec. 9, 1901	84
Maher, Peter	Ireland	Sept. 18, 1901	83
Mahr, Catherine	Ireland	Jan. 29, 1902	73
Major, Elizabeth Y.	New York	Apr. 14, 1902	61
Margenruth, Dora	Germany	Nov. 1, 1901	80
Miller, Christianna	Germany	Mar. 27, 1901	75
Mitchell, Mary A.	New York	Sept. 3, 1901	67
Moonny, George	Ohio	Dec. 26, 1901	74
Morrison, Sarah J.	Michigan	Mar. 10, 1902	65
Mumsell, Alvira	New York	June 8, 1901	78
Nelson, Mary	New York	Oct. 18, 1901	81
Nendorf, Rachel	Germany	May 21, 1901	68
Nerhood, Mary C.	Pennsylvania	June 18, 1901	76
O'Brien, John	Ireland	Dec. 12, 1901	71
Peas, Ruth A.	Pennsylvania	Nov. 24, 1901	65
Pickard, Margereta	Germany	Mar. 25, 1902	92
Pixley, Margaret E.	New York	Aug. 12, 1901	66
Porter, William C.	New York	Dec. 5, 1901	65
Powers, Elizabeth J.	Michigan	Jan. 26, 1902	62

ST. JOSEPH COUNTY.—Continued.

Name.	Place of birth.	Date of death.	Age.
Purdy, John A	New York	Feb. 18, 1902	68
Putnam, John	New York	Mar. 29, 1901	78
Raifsnider, Benj	Pennsylvania	Sept. 22, 1901	72
Roming, George	Pennsylvania	Oct. 22, 1901	79
Schaeffer, Catharine A	Pennsylvania	Jan. 28, 1902	75
Schaeffer, Daniel	Pennsylvania	July 12, 1901	79
Schmidt, Conrad	Germany	Jan. 27, 1902	81
Schuyler, John W	New York	Oct 21, 1901	77
Scott, Luetta	Pennsylvania	Apr. 1, 1902	74
Scoville, Thomas M	New York	Apr. 12, 1901	93
Sharrer, Lucinda	New York	Apr. 10, 1902	88
Sheldon, Sarah O	Ohio	Apr. 10, 1902	62
Sigler, Jemina C	Pennsylvania	Jan. 15, 1902	66
Simons, Justus W	Massachusetts	Aug. 3, 1901	73
Simpson, William	England	July 30, 1901	90
Slinker, Ann	New York	June 4, 1901	69
Smith, Margaret	Scotland	Sept. 17, 1901	77
Smith, Thomas	New Jersey	Jan. 31, 1902	83
Snyder, John S	Pennsylvania	May 14, 1901	81
Stein, Ruth C	Pennsylvania	Nov. 30, 1901	76
Strunk, Amelia A	Michigan	July 6, 1901	62
Taylor, Diana	New York	Dec. 12, 1901	81
Taylor, Mary Ann	New York	Aug. 14, 1901	71
Thompson, George N	Michigan	June 30, 1901	60
Thoms, Mrs. Geo. W	Pennsylvania	July 3, 1901	64
Twichell, Enos M	Massachusetts	Aug. 21, 1901	69
Tyler, Warren	Michigan	July 3, 1901	76
Vesey, Geo. H	Indiana	Mar. 17, 1902	61
Wagner, Moses	Pennsylvania	Apr. 1, 1902	74
Walfinger, Solomon M	Pennsylvania	Apr. 2, 1902	68
Wakeman, Adam	New York	May 2, 1901	96
Wakeman, Sarah M	New York	Feb. 26, 1901	82
Walker, Susan	New Jersey	Sept. 30, 1901	73
Walker, William	New York	Oct. 2, 1901	72
Wallon, William	Massachusetts	Sept. 23, 1901	78
Washburn, Charles	England	Feb. 28, 1902	83
Walter, Moses	Pennsylvania	June 6, 1901	80
Weatherhogg, Oscar	Michigan	Dec. 16, 1901	64
Weaver, Edward N	Michigan	Sept. 4, 1901	60
West, Lottie	West Virginia	May 6, 1901	65

ST. JOSEPH COUNTY.—Concluded.

Name.	Place of birth.	Date of death.	Age.
Weysur, Minnie S	Germany	June 3, 1901	69
White, Peter	Pennsylvania	June 4, 1901	74
Wilcox, Lois M	New York	June 14, 1901	79
Will, Margaret	Pennsylvania	May 5, 1901	76
Wilson, Ruth	Pennsylvania	Feb. 15, 1902	88
Wing, George	Michigan	Dec. 5, 1901	64
Woodruff, Isaac	Michigan	Feb. 2, 1902	68
Worts, Elizabeth	Pennsylvania	Jan. 12, 1902	79
Wren, Emily J	Pennsylvania	Feb. 7, 1902	76
Wyman, Josie	Scotland	Jan. 6, 1902	72
Yaple, Elisha L	New York	Feb. 15, 1002	79
Zerby, Sophia	Pennsylvania	Dec. 24, 1901	67

SHIAWASSEE COUNTY.

BY A. H. OWENS.

Name.	Born in State.	Came to county.	Died.	Age.	
Amsden, Mrs. Mary E.....	1836, Kalamazoo Co., Mich.	1870	Dec. 16, 1901	65	
Angel, Atrimas.....	1824, New York state.....	1845	Oct. 5, 1901	77	
Ball, Dr. A. R.....	1822, New York state	1880	Dec. 28, 1901	79	
Beeman, Andrew.....	1832, New York state.....	1856	Dec. 13, 1901	69	
Brown, Elnathan	1818, New York state.....	1836	Apr. 29, 1902	84	
Chalker, Calvin.....	1820, New York state.....	1837	Dec. 11, 1901	81	
Chipman, Mrs. Mary Ann...	1822, New York state.....	1840	July 21, 1901	79	
Colby, James S.....	1822, New York state.....	1854	Feb. 21, 1902	80	
Ellsworth, Mrs. Charlotte..	1826, New York state.....	1853	Jan. 20, 1902	76	
Flint, Orlando	1824, New York state.....	1849	Jan. 15, 1902	77	
Hartshorn, Mrs. A. E.....	1846, Ohio state.....	1866	Feb. 2, 1902	55	
Johnson, George.....	1822, New York state.....	1857	Feb. 17. 1902	59	
Kent, Mrs. Mary A.....	1855, Brancroft, Mich.....	.....	Apr. 22, 1902	47	
Mann, Mrs. Laura	1858. New York.....	1846	July 20, 1901	43	
Millard, Charles A.....	1826, New York.....	1862	Jan. 20, 1901	76	
Ott, Mrs. Martha.....	1864, Canada	1869	Dec. 13, 1901	37	
Payne, Robert.....	1849, Oakland Co., Mich....	1850	Jan. 13, 1902	53	
Payne, Mrs. Stella.....	1851, Shiawassee, Mich....	.....	Jan. 10, 1902	50	Married Robert Payne 1870. Both buried in one grave.
Price, George.....	1822, England.....	1856	Jan. 12, 1902	79	
Reed, Mrs. Eliza B.....	1831, Oakland Co.. Mich....	1838	Jan. 10, 1901	71	
Reed, Mrs. Mary Ann.....	1822, New York state.....	1837	Mar. 1902	80	
Rogers, John.....	1831, New York state.....	1870	Jan. 12, 1902	71	
Rouse, Tyler.....	1852. New York.....	1855	Nov. 14, 1901	49	
Sanford, Horace	1835, New York.....	1865	Jan. 16, 1902	67	
Taphouse, Alfred.....	1850, England.....	1867	Mar. 4, 1902	53	
Warren, David L.....	1825, New York state.....	1847	Feb. 10, 1902	77	
Wilkinson, Mrs. Eliza.....	1814, New York.....	1839	Apr. 21, 1902	88	
Wilson, Mrs. Emily	1819, New York.....	1869	Feb. 27, 1902	83	
Woolfin, Peter.....	1821, New York.....	1838	Sept. 13, 1901	80	
Young, Mrs. Sarah.....	1824, New York.....	1845	Jan. 19, 1902	78	

TUSCOLA COUNTY.

BY N. E. YORK.

LEACH.—Mrs. Susan Leach, wife of Solomon Leach, died November 14, 1901. She was born in Ohio, and with her husband moved to Arbela in 1856, where they purchased the farm where they have lived since. Mr. Leach died ten years ago, she living to be 77 years of age.

IN MEMORIAM.

JOHN W. CHAMPLIN.

BY HON. ROGER W. BUTTERFIELD.

Judge John W. Champlin, for many years one of our honored Board of Historians, died at his home in Grand Rapids, July 24, 1901.

John Wayne Champlin was born at Kingston, Ulster county, New York, February 17, 1831. He was of English descent, his ancestors being amongst the earlier settlers of Connecticut. His years as a boy were passed upon his father's farm and in attendance upon the village school. Later on he attended the academies at Harpersfield and at Stamford and Rhinebeck. It was his first purpose to become a civil engineer. He completed his professional studies in the Delaware Institute, and spent the two years succeeding his graduation in the active practice of that profession. Coming to Michigan in 1854, he entered upon the study of law, and was admitted to the bar in 1855. From that time he continued the practice of the law for 28 years, until his election as a member of the Supreme court. The growth of his reputation as a lawyer was a gradual and steady one, and at the end of that period he was recognized as amongst the leaders of the bar, not only through the district where he lived, but throughout the State. The range of his practice was very large, and the litigation in which he was retained was amongst the most important.

As a lawyer Judge Champlin had very strongly-marked and persistent mental characteristics. It was born in him to love justice, and to revere the system by which justice was secured in civilized society. In the investigation of any legal proposition he was remarkably free from prejudice or bias, or any kind of intellectual one-sidedness. It was the necessity of his mental organization that he should see all sides of a question which he was investigating, that he should consider its application and trace its growth from some established principle of the law. There was in him an honesty that permeated his whole nature, which made him not only fair in his dealings with his fellow men, but honest in the processes of his mind. It was part of his creed never to tamper with his own legal judgment. Animated by a sincere sense of the duty which a man owes to his generation, he held it to be a very high honor to be permitted to perform that duty in securing the right administration of justice. For the accomplishment of that end he held no preparation too laborious and no effort too severe. It was not in him to become a mere advocate for hire. Each year of the 28 added to the breadth and certainty of his legal knowledge and the development of an accurate legal judgment. He was himself an example of what the right practice of the law can do in the developments of the faculties.

Judge Champlin was elected a member of the supreme court in 1883, and took his seat on January 1, 1884. He brought to his new position, as the result of his training at the law, a wide acquaintance with men and affairs, a familiarity with the learning of the law, an accurate legal judgment, and a judicial habit of thought, resulting not only from the natural tendency of his mind, but from his legal training. He bore with him to the bench the best wishes of the entire bar of Michigan, by whom he was held in high regard. The conduct of Judge Champlin as a judge upon the bench was not only marked by the traditional courtesy which pertains to the position, but by gentleness and kindness of manner that was the natural expression of his character. His whole bearing expressed what his life showed he felt,—a reverence for justice and its administration. The story of his life as a judge is a story of eight years of hard, conscientious work, ably done. The profound reverence which Judge Champlin had for the law as established may have tended to make him at times too conservative, but there is no doubt that this very conservatism was a factor for good in the work of the whole court during the time he was a member of it. It is a great deal to say of any ones work as a judge, that it maintains the traditions of the Supreme Court of Michigan, and that it has added to the usefulness and reputation of that court. We think that can fairly be said of Judge Champlin's work. The labor of a life buried in judicial opinions soon passes from the mind of the public, but those familiar with that work, and who know its value, know that it is doing well of that work which makes modern civil life successful or even possible, and the faithful worker here deserves well of his generation and of his country. If appreciation is to come only from those who by professional training are prepared to appreciate the work and its doing, it is all the more important that it be fairly and generously given.

In 1887, in acknowledgment of his position at the bar, the degree of doctor of laws was conferred upon him by the University of Michigan. After retiring from the Supreme Court, Judge Champlin resumed the practice of the law, which he continued until his death. He was appointed one of the lecturers at the law school of Ann Arbor, where for five years he served the university and the profession in the acceptable performance of that duty which every lawyer owes to those who are to succeed him in the profession.

As a man Judge Champlin, in his character, took what was best in life from a broad horizon. There was no good cause that did not find in him a friend. His life was full of acts of charity and helpfulness, known only to those immediately connected with him, but which left him, at the end of a long and remunerative practice, a poor man. He kept all his life his love for books. The story of the Nation's history, and the growth and development of his own State, were always dear to him. Caring little for distinctions of creed, he lived and died in a profound faith in the loving and tender care of a Divine Ruler. Alongside of his rugged, hard sense and his intellectual strength there was a certain simplicity of character, that kept his heart young, and made him rejoice in simple things. When the weariness of his latter years came on him, he turned to the mountains and woods for strength, with the delight almost of a child.

He was of a type of man to whom a belief was a rule of life. It was not possible for him to turn his course hither and thither at every cry of the multitude. He was true to himself, and, being true to himself, he was true to every trust reposed in him in every relation in life. It is well that the memory of such a man should be preserved. It is by such lives as his that institutions are preserved and made honorable to those who come after them. To those of his generation who knew him, there will be no need of formal record. On their hearts he has left indelibly the impression of his own strong, beautiful, and helpful life.

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